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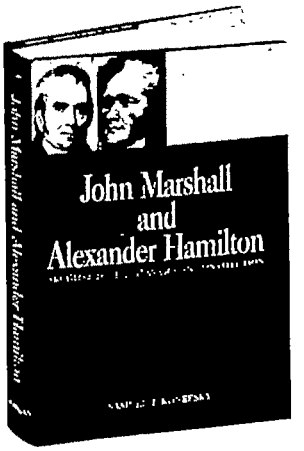
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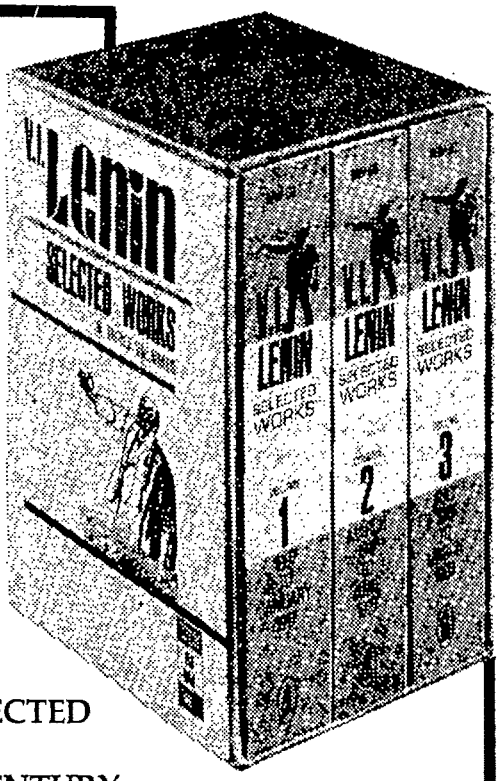
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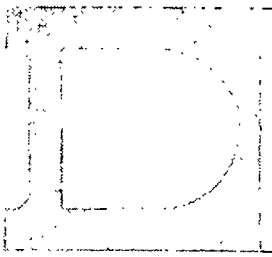
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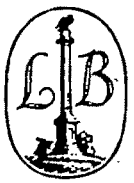
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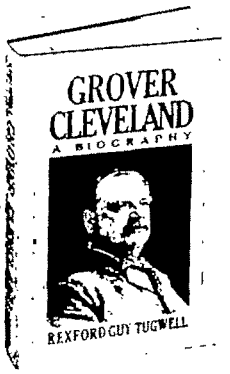
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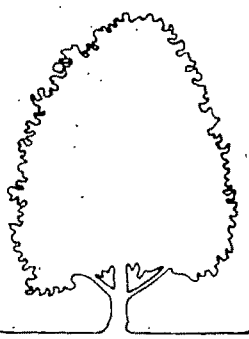
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Medieval Apocalypses as Historical Sources

PAUL J. ALEXANDER*

THE apocalypses contained in the Old and New Testaments, especially the Books of Daniel and of Revelation, as well as the many extant extracanonical apocalypses have been examined intensively by generations of scholars, most of them theologians.[1] The historian can learn much from such studies, yet their authors frequently concern themselves with historical matters only to the extent of explaining the historical allusions and prophecies *ex eventu* contained in these texts. The reverse problem—whether these ancient apocalypses may contain historical information not known from other historical sources—is rarely raised by modern scholarship, presumably because for the Jewish and early Christian periods when the best-known apocalypses were written, documentary and narrative sources provide fairly ample evidence. There is, consequently, little incentive to resort to such de-

* A professor at the University of Michigan, Mr. Alexander is the author of *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople: Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, Eng., 1958). He delivered an earlier version of this paper at the annual dinner of the Mediaeval Academy of America, New York City, December 28, 1966. The research on which this paper is based was carried out primarily in Rome, under fellowships from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, the Social Science Research Council, the Ford Foundation, and the Fulbright Organization, and a Summer Faculty Research Fellowship and several research grants from the Horace Rackham School of Graduate Studies at the University of Michigan.

[1] For Daniel, see, e.g., Otto Eissfeldt, *The History of the Formation of the Old Testament: An Introduction including the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and also the Works of a Similar Type from Qumran* (Oxford, Eng., 1965), 512–29 (with full bibliography); on apocalypses outside the canon, see Emil Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* (4th ed., 4 vols., Leipzig, 1901–1909), III, 258–370; on Revelation, see A. H. McNeile, *An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament* (2d ed., Oxford, Eng., 1953), 260–65.

liberately obscure texts as apocalypses. It is surprising, however, that apocalypses have not been used as historical sources for late ancient and early medieval times for which the documentation is less satisfactory and where every scrap of information must be used for the reconstruction of events. May not apocalyptic texts fill some of the gaps left by more conventional historical sources?

In all apocalypses, by the very nature of the genre, historical fact and eschatological prophecy intertwine. To separate the two, a historian must begin by asking a number of questions: Can he ascertain the date and place of composition of apocalyptic texts? Were they more or less evenly distributed in time and place, or were some occasions and localities especially favorable for the production of such writings? In what circles did they originate, and to what audiences were they addressed? For what purpose or purposes were apocalypses written, rewritten, copied, excerpted, and translated? What conventions did the writers follow? To what extent can apocalypses be used by the historian to corroborate historical facts contained in other, especially narrative, sources? What do they reveal concerning the reactions of individuals and groups to historical events, their judgments on the course of history, and their hopes and fears for the future? Only after disposing of such preliminary questions can the historian undertake with confidence the task of extracting from apocalyptic texts information unknown from other sources or of reaching, with the help of these texts, historical conclusions for which the evidence of the narrative sources is insufficient.

This paper will illustrate these problems by referring to a particular body of historical apocalypses, all of which are pseudonymous.[2] They claim to be the words of an ancient worthy either of classical myth (for instance a sibyl), or of the Biblical record (the prophet Daniel), or of the patristic tradition (Methodius); the true authors, however, are normally unknown. The texts were composed in what was, or had once been, Byzantine territory. They survive, or existed at one time, in the Greek language. All deal with Byzantine wars against the enemies of the Empire, notably against Persians and Arabs. In date of composition they extend from the early sixth to the ninth century. Here is the list: the Oracle of Baalbek, a prophecy of a Christian sibyl written in Greek prose at Baalbek in Phoenicia in the first years of the sixth century;[3] Syriac Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius, com-

[2] I call apocalypses "historical" if they recapitulate historical events in the guise of prophecy (prophecies *ex eventu*), and I distinguish them from other apocalypses concerned primarily or exclusively with religious topics such as the afterlife.

[3] The text is unedited. I am publishing the *editio princeps* under the title *The Oracle of Baalbek, The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress,* "Dumbarton Oaks Studies," X (Washington, D. C., 1967). Wherever in this paper the Oracle of Baalbek is referred to, the documentation

posed in the Syriac language in the seventh century;[4] First Greek Version of Pseudo-Methodius' Apocalypse;[5] Second Greek Version of Pseudo-Methodius' Apocalypse;[6] First Greek Vision of Daniel, of the ninth century;[7] Second Greek Vision of Daniel, also composed in the ninth century;[8] Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel, the translation of a lost Greek original that was composed in the ninth century.[9]

Discussion of this corpus of apocalypses may well begin with the problem of dating. The answer to this problem seems at first simple enough. Every apocalypse must have been written not long after the latest event to which it alludes. The sibyl in the Oracle of Baalbek, for instance, refers in detail to the defeats suffered by the Byzantine armies at the hands of the Persians under Emperor Anastasius I in 502 and 503, but says nothing of the military recovery of the period following the year 504, of the truce concluded in 505, or of the peace treaty of 506. It follows that in its present form the text was composed between 502 and 506, and this date is confirmed by further internal evidence.

The question next arises: how does one recognize the latest historical element referred to in an apocalypse? Usually it precedes immediately a passage in which the author shifts from history to eschatology. Thus in the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel the author gives a long list of Byzantine emperors. The last recognizable figure is Michael II of Amorion (820–829). His reign is followed immediately by a series of eschatological emperors, for instance, a tetrarchy of two Eastern and two Western rulers—

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will be found in my book. Latin versions of this work have been known for a long time; see Ernst Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (Halle, 1898; reprint, Turin, 1963), esp. 177–87.

[4] It is unpublished and occurs in *codex Vaticanus Syrus* 58, fols. 118–36, of the sixteenth century; see Michael Kmosko, "Das Rätsel des Pseudo-Methodius," *Byzantion*, VI (No. 1, 1931), 273–96, and description of the Vatican manuscript in St. E. and J. S. Assemani, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Manuscriptorum Catalogus* (3 vols., Rome, 1756–59) II, 342.

[5] *Otkrovenie Mefodiia Patarskago i Apokrificheskiia Videnia Daniela v Vizantiiski i Slaviano-Russkoi Literaturakh* [Revelation of Methodius of Patara and Apocryphal Visions of Daniel in Byzantine and Slavo-Russian Literature], ed. V. M. Istrin, in the series *Chteniia v Imperatorskom Obshchestvie Istorii i Drevnostei Rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom Universitetie*, Nos. 191 and 193 (Moscow, 1897). Istrin's work is divided into two parts, each with a separate pagination: *Issliedovie* [Research] and *Teksty* [Texts]. The First Greek Version of Pseudo-Methodius' Apocalypse is printed in *Teksty*, 5–50.

[6] The variants of the Second Version from the First are noted by Istrin in the *apparatus criticus* to his edition of the First Version.

[7] *Anecdota Graeca-Byzantina*, ed. Afanasii Vassiliev (Moscow, 1893), 33–38.

[8] *Ibid.*, 38–43.

[9] This text has been printed three times, first by P. S. Srechkovic, *Zbornik Popa Dragolia*, Srpska Kralievska Akademija, *Spomenik*, V (1890), 10–11 (from a manuscript, now lost, once No. 466 [632] of the Belgrade National Library, thirteenth century); then by Istrin, *Otkrovenie, Teksty*, 156–58 (from *codex Athos Chilandar* 24, twelfth or thirteenth century); again by P. A. Lavrov, *Apokrificheskie Teksty* [Apocryphal Texts], *Sbornik Otdeleniia Russkago Iazyka i Slovesnosti Imp. Akad. Nauk*, LXVII, No. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1899), 1–5 (from the Chilandar manuscript, with variants of the Belgrade codex noted in the *apparatus criticus*, but unfortunately without the beginning which is missing in the Chilandar manuscript).

a feature to which no historical reality corresponded in the ninth century.[10] Consequently the list was composed under Michael II, for, if its author had lived under a later emperor, he would not have missed the opportunity of recording the reign of Michael's successors to authenticate his prophecies.

Sometimes the latest historical event is less easy to distinguish from genuine predictions. The Greek versions of Pseudo-Methodius' Apocalypse mention the Muslim invasion of Africa but not of Spain. Consequently scholars have concluded that the Apocalypse must be later than the beginning of the Arab raids against the province of Africa in 670 and earlier than the conquest of Spain in 711.[11] The difficulty, however, is that in other sections of his book Pseudo-Methodius also refers to Muslim raids against Sicily and Greece,[12] and these did not occur until much later than any scholar would allow for the composition of the work. Pseudo-Methodius clearly lived in the seventh century, was observing the rapid and irresistible advance of the Arab armed forces, and prophesied, on the analogy of past Arab progress, that even geographic areas that had not yet been exposed to Muslim attacks would soon succumb to the infidels. It will not do to interpret every apocalyptic prophecy as a *vaticinium ex eventu* and to base the date of apocalyptic documents on such an assumption. In interpreting an apocalypse the historian should never lose sight of the possibility that the author may have been an intelligent observer of current affairs and have at-

[10] I translate as literally as possible: ". . . And the horns that I saw are the Roman emperors. They will arise in the last days. The first [emperor] will lift his hand against the son, and afterward he will rule five years. Woe to Thee, Babylon of the Seven Hills [Constantinople], that in Thee the Amazon will rule. A second horn [or, scepter] will arise, another emperor from the Gothic race who has the number 812 [?], and his imperial power will be strong and powerful. In his days there will go forth a strong people and it will struggle with him. And that people will flee from his face, and afterward that people will return, for he [the angel] said: finally that emperor will weaken and become powerless and will give up his soul miserably. Then another horn [or, scepter] will arise from his seed. He will be short lived above all others. Another horn [or, scepter] will arise, his name will be angelic, and he will hold his [i.e., his predecessor's] throne. A fifth horn will arise and go forth seven years. And afterward there will arise another horn [or, scepter] from the first imperial letter. And while he occupies the throne, another horn [or, scepter] [will arise]. And they will blaspheme against the Highest [God]. And because of this blasphemy he will perish miserably and they will lead him to the *Kynēgion*." The Byzantine emperors or empresses here referred to are Irene (797–802), who blinded her son Constantine VI; Nicephorus (802–811), killed on a campaign against the Bulgars; his son Stauracius (July 26–October 2, 811); Michael I (811–813); Leo V (813–820); Michael II (820–829), founder of the Amorian dynasty, a moderate iconoclast. The text probably also refers to Michael's son Theophilus who became coemperor in 821. All the emperors that follow in the text are the product of eschatological fantasy. The writer predicts that Michael II will be led to the *lovec* (literally, "hunter"), but this does not make sense. I interpret it as a literal translation of the Greek word *kynēgos* or *kynēgion*, meaning "hunter" or "hunt," respectively. These were also the designations of quarters of the city of Constantinople. In the *Kynēgion*, in particular, criminals were frequently executed (Raymond Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine* [2d ed., Paris, 1964], 376–77). Thus the author seems to predict a violent end for Michael II. In reality, Michael died a natural death, from a disease of the kidney, another indication that the author wrote under Michael II.

[11] First Greek Version of Pseudo-Methodius' Apocalypse, *Otkrovenie*, ed. Istrin, *Teksty*, 42, 8 (Africa); see Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte*, 45–46.

[12] First Greek Version of Pseudo-Methodius' Apocalypse, *Otkrovenie*, ed. Istrin, *Teksty*, 29, 2–4; 42, 8.

tempted genuine prophecies of future happenings based on his appraisal of the direction in which events were moving.[18]

Another notorious difficulty in dating an apocalypse is the essential instability of numerals in apocalyptic texts. This is illustrated in crude and drastic fashion in the text tradition of the Oracle of Baalbek. The fourth-century source of the text predicted that the city of Byzantium, refounded by Constantine the Great at the beginning of the century, would cease to rule the Empire before sixty years had elapsed. A sixth-century editor at Heliopolis in Phoenicia, obviously perplexed that Constantinople was still the imperial capital, adjusted this figure to "thrice sixty years," and a medieval successor, active in or before the twelfth century, observing that even the "thrice sixty years" had elapsed and that Constantinople was tenaciously clinging to its imperial position, played it safe and resolutely changed the numerals into "thrice six hundred years." Undoubtedly, he would, had he lived long enough, have noted with satisfaction the captures of the city on the Bosporus by the Latin crusaders in 1204, by the Ottoman Turks in 1453, and by the Allied armies at the end of World War I.

Less transparent is another case of tampering with an apocalyptic time span. Pseudo-Methodius prophesied that Arab domination would end after the lapse of a certain number of "year-weeks" or intervals of seven years. This was the unit of time popular among apocalyptic writers because it was employed in the classical prototype, the canonical Book of Daniel (9:24). The number of year-weeks is given as "ten" in the only extant manuscript of the Syriac original of Pseudo-Methodius, as "seven" in some Greek manuscripts, and as "seventeen" in others.[14] Since Muslim rule in Mesopotamia ended neither after seven year-weeks, that is around 689, nor after ten year-weeks (around 710), nor indeed after the lapse of seventeen of these units (around 751), this is clearly a genuine prophecy that was not fulfilled. If it were not for the "numbers game" played by the copyists and editors of apocalypses, such an unfulfilled prophecy would furnish a valuable *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the original text. In fact, the more one studies apocalyptic writings, the more one comes to distrust numerals

[18] When a series of events is mentioned in an apocalypse, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether the latest event, or events, in the series is historical. Thus it will be seen below that the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel speaks of an unsuccessful Arab siege of Enna in Sicily, which must have taken place in 827 or 828. Now it is true that Enna did not fall to the Muslims until 859, but one wonders whether the mention of the Arab failure before Enna reflects historical fact or wishful thinking. In the latter case, the text was written while the siege was going on; in the former, at some time after the event.

[14] Syriac original of Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius, in *codex Vaticanus Syrus* 58, fol. 122 verso: "And after those ten weeks of years they [the Arabs] also will be overpowered and subjected to the Kingdom of Rome. . . ." First Greek Version of Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius, *Otkrovenie*, ed. Istrin, *Tekśty*, 15, 10: seventeen weeks according to some manuscripts, seven weeks of years according to others.

indicating a time span even in cases where the surviving manuscript evidence does not point to the existence of textual variants.[15] The lapse of time and the course of historical events practically forced every copyist of apocalyptic numerals to turn editor if he had any respect for the prophetic merits of the author whose prophecies he was copying.

The emergence of apocalyptic texts, and especially their cumulation, at particular moments in history may interest the historian because it may serve as a kind of barometer for the measuring of eschatological pressures at a given time in history.[16] For example, no less than three apocalyptic writings were composed about A.D. 500: the Oracle of Baalbek; a "Seventh Vision of Daniel" preserved in Armenian only but derived from a lost Byzantine original;[17] and a "Very Brief Chronicle" referred to in the *Theosophy of Tübingen*.[18] Why did apocalyptic texts pile up at that particular time? The last of the three documents gives an answer. It stated specifically that the world would end six thousand years after its creation,[19] that is, either in 501 or 507–508 according to the chronological era used. Because certain millenarian circles around A.D. 500 expected the end of the world to occur momentarily, a considerable number of apocalypses were produced. This is not to say that apocalypses always or even regularly owed their composition to calculations of the end of the world, but the example may illustrate the general proposition that the mere fact of the emergence or of the copying of apocalyptic texts at any particular time may be a matter of historical interest.

As important for the historian as the date of an apocalyptic text is its place of composition. For while it is possible, or even likely, that an author writing in the area where particular historical events took place may have preserved reliable information on these happenings, it is, prima facie, less likely that such data may be found in a source written at the other end of the Empire. To events mentioned in an apocalypse the historian will therefore attach much greater weight if they took place in the vicinity of the

[15] I am not referring here to the well-known tendency of all scribes of miscopying numerals by inadvertence. In apocalyptic texts, numerals are exposed to the additional danger of deliberate changes.

[16] On the famous question whether or not there was a general expectation in Western Europe that the world would end in the year 1000, see Alexander A. Vasiliev, "Medieval Ideas of the End of the World," *Byzantion*, XVI (No. 2, 1942–43), 462–502, esp. 478–87.

[17] Most convenient translation into French by Frédéric Macler in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, XXXIII (No. 6, 1896), 290–309.

[18] *Fragmente Griechischer Theosophien*, ed. Hartmut Erbse, "Hamburger Arbeiten zur Altertumswissenschaft," No. 4 (Hamburg, 1941).

[19] *Ibid.*, 2–3, 167, 15–20; see also Hilarianus, *De Cursu Temporum*, ed. Karl Frick, in *Chronica Minora* (Leipzig, 1893), 170–71, who wrote his treatise in A.D. 397 and expected the world to end after 101 years, that is, in 498. (Professor John Eadie of the University of Michigan furnished this information.) The passage shows that the expectation of the world ending around A.D. 500 existed at least a century prior to that year and was based primarily on chiliastic calculations and combinations, rather than on particular historical events in the late fifth or early sixth century.

author's place of residence rather than if they happened in an area beyond the reach of his sources of information. An apocalyptic description of political, economic, or religious conditions couched in general terms, moreover, becomes meaningful to the historian only if he can identify the areas about which the author is writing. Such descriptions are particularly notable in the Syriac and Greek texts of the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius. It is therefore important to realize that the Syriac original was composed in Mesopotamia, as I hope to show elsewhere, rather than in Syria, as other students of the document thought probable.[20]

Frequently, therefore, it becomes imperative to identify the places and regions mentioned in a particular apocalyptic text, and this may also be a difficult or indeed a hopeless task. It would be important, for example, to identify some of the localities mentioned in the Second Greek Version of Pseudo-Methodius' Apocalypse. It is true that the author writes of Asia Minor, of Caesarea, and of the Maeander. He means presumably Asia Minor, Caesarea in Cappadocia, and the River Maeander. But where were the localities called Gephyra and Chortoranon (or Chartokoran or Chartokoranon, the spellings of other manuscripts) situated where an unnamed emperor would fight battles against the Arabs?[21] It would be interesting to clarify this problem, for the author seems here to preserve information on armed conflicts between Byzantines and Arabs that are not mentioned in the narrative sources of either side. Almost as difficult are certain place names mentioned in the Second Greek Vision of Daniel. It refers to two localities, Mariana and Elinia. Now the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel, which, as mentioned before, derives from a lost Greek original, contains a passage mentioning these two localities, but in lieu of the mysterious toponym Elinia it reads "Enna," which when written in Greek uncial script invited corruption into something akin to Elinia.[22] Now Enna is the famous natural, steep, wind-swept fortress at the geographic center of Sicily. The other lo-

[20] Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte,* 53–55, who in 1898 was unaware of the Syriac text, considered either an Alexandrian or a Syrian origin, tended toward the latter alternative, but also realized the influence of Babylonian and Persian influences on the author. I have developed my reasons for the Mesopotamian origin of the text in a paper delivered before the Twenty-seventh International Congress of Orientalists in Ann Arbor, Michigan, in August 1967.

[21] The passage relevant in the present context will be found in *Otkrovenie,* ed. Istrin, *Tekśty,* 41, in the *apparatus criticus.*

[22] Greek text, *Anecdota Graeca-Byzantina,* ed. Vassiliev, 39, 13: "And afterward the sons of Ismael [i.e., the Arabs] will be struck by fear and will cry out with a loud voice and will flee to Mariana. And afterward the sons of Ismael will once again attack the territory of Elinia." The corresponding passage in the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel (*Apokrifičeskie Tekśty,* ed. Lavrov, 3, 4) reads: "And the Ismaelites will go forth into the extremity of the island and will take many prisoners until they will come to a place called Mariianii, and the rebel will install them in that place. And they will come to a place called Ienna, and they will come to its aid, and they will not capture it." Clearly in the Greek text a copyist misread the first uncial letter *ny* in the place name Enna for *lambda* plus *iota,* so that "Enna" was corrupted into "Elinia."

cality mentioned in the text, Mariana, cannot be identified, but it, too, must be situated in Sicily.[23] In addition, the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel shows that two meaningless words in the First Greek Vision of Daniel are a corruption of the celebrated suburb of Syracuse, Achradina.[24] My point here is not so much that the Old Church Slavonic translation has preserved some Sicilian place names better than the Greek tradition, but rather that in the latter all Sicilian place names without exception have been corrupted beyond recognition. Without the Old Church Slavonic text not even the most ingenious historian could suspect that the Greek Visions of Daniel refer to Sicily. With the help of these identifications of place names in the Old Church Slavonic text, however, the Greek Visions of Daniel, as well as the Old Church Slavonic document itself, emerge as precious new sources for the history of the Muslim conquest of the island.[25]

Even this, however, is merely an instance of the miscopying of place names common in all classical or medieval texts. To such corruptions by scribal error should be added another kind of instability in nomenclature that was specific to apocalyptic texts. They were living texts, and each copyist was tempted to adapt geographical, as well as chronological, data to his own historical experience. A striking example occurs in the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel dealing with the Arab invasion of Sicily. One of its manuscripts, of the thirteenth century, exhibits the disconcerting habit of adding to several Sicilian toponyms, without any kind of syntactical link, the name of a Slavic river or town. So far I have identified Dunaia (the Danube), Sredec (the modern Sofia), Pernik, Velbuzhd, and Strumica (all southwest of Sofia). The other localities mentioned (Glavinica, Mraky,

[23] In spite of much searching in works on the historical geography of Sicily, I have been unable to clear up this point. Place names ending with *-ianum* or *-iana,* so frequent on the Italian mainland and usually reflecting the previous existence of a Roman *fundus,* were much more frequent in Sicily before the Arab conquest than they are now. (See Adolf Holm in a review of Giovanni Flechia's *Nomi Locali del Napolitano derivati da gentilizi Italici,* in *Atti della reale accademia delle scienze di Torino,* X [No. 1, 1874], in *Bursian's Jahresbericht für die Fortschritte der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* IV [No. 2, 1877], 83–84.) One thinks naturally of the modern town of Marianopoli, west of Enna. It was founded in the nineteenth century, but its name may possibly derive from a village named after an (unattested) *fundus Marianus.*

[24] First Greek Vision of Daniel, *Anecdota Graeca-Byzantina,* ed. Vassiliev, 36, 21: καὶ τουτον κρατήσαντες ἀπάξουσιν αὐτὸν μέχρι δίνης κάκει χρίσουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς βασιλέα κτλ. The corresponding passage in the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel runs in translation (*Apokrificheskie Teksty,* ed. Lavrov, 3, 20): "and they will lead him to Askrodun [variant, Akrodun] and forthwith they will anoint him emperor."

[25] Because the references to Sicilian place names in the Old Church Slavonic and Greek Visions of Daniel have not been recognized before, these texts have escaped the attention of historians of the Arab conquest of Sicily. Several years ago I called these texts to the attention of a historian of art, Signora Angela Daneu Lattanzi, who used them in her *Lineamenti di Storia della Miniatura in Sicilia* (Florence, 1965), 12–13. I plan to utilize these texts more fully in a separate study of the Muslim invasion of Sicily. In this paper only a few of the more obvious conclusions will be developed.

and Khlimy) presumably were also located in Bulgaria.[26] It is easy to imagine what happened. As the Slavonic text was copied and recopied, a scribe, either the individual whose copy is preserved or one of his predecessors, imagined that what was in fact a *vaticinium ex eventu* of the Muslim conquest of Sicily was a genuine prophecy and that this prophecy had found its fulfillment in events occurring in his native Bulgaria.[27] He marked this fulfillment in his manuscript by inserting, perhaps in form of marginal glosses, the Slavic names of the places where the fulfillment supposedly occurred. One shudders to think what was bound to happen in the process of further copying of the Slavonic text. Sooner or later the familiar Slavonic toponyms would inevitably displace the less familiar Sicilian place names, and the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel would thus be deprived of much of its relevance to the historian.

It is not enough, of course, to know when and where a particular apocalypse was composed. The historian can evaluate the detailed information that it contains only if he also understands the purposes of the apocalyptic writer and the methods he employed. Only then can the historian discount the specific bias of the text.

Most apocalypses were written to provide comfort in time of tribulation, particularly during grave military crises. Such consolation may be material or otherworldly. Thus the Oracle of Baalbek was composed to announce that the disasters of the Persian War under Anastasius would be followed by the Second Coming of Christ. The First Greek Version of Pseudo-Methodius' Apocalypse in turn prophesied that the Arab domination of the Near East would be ended by a Roman or Byzantine emperor who would drive the Muslims back into the desert and impose upon them a yoke a hundred times heavier than had been that of Muslims over Christians.[28] Similarly the Greek Visions of Daniel knew of a last emperor of Rome who would defeat the Arabs in a great battle. Such references to military victories over a national enemy were meant to be expressions of hope and encouragement, especially if mentioned at the end of a long series of military disasters, and it would be an egregious error to interpret them as *vaticinia post eventum.*

Hopes for the redress of economic and fiscal evils, especially those caused by war, also played a role in some of the apocalypses. The First Greek Version of the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius, for example, predicted that after the end of Arab domination prisoners made by the defeated enemy

[26] The Balkan place names mentioned above in the text are inserted into the Belgrade manuscript of the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel. (See the *apparatus criticus, Apokrificheskie Teksty,* ed. Lavrov, 2–3.)

[27] I have so far been unsuccessful in ascertaining which invasion of Bulgaria by which people the scribe had in mind.

[28] *Otkrovenie,* ed. Istrin, *Teksty,* 41, 1; 42, 1.

would return to their native places and recover their property.[29] Similarly, the Oracle of Baalbek knew of a messianic ruler who "will grant an exemption from paying a public tax and will restore all the people of the entire East and of Palestine."

This consolatory function of apocalyptic literature may on occasion be accompanied by another that may be as close to the heart of the writer. The Syriac and Greek Apocalypses of Pseudo-Methodius, for example, had, in addition, a polemical purpose. The author argued explicitly against anonymous opponents who interpreted Psalm 68:31 ("Ethiopia shall haste to stretch out her hands unto God") as indicating that liberation from the Muslim yoke would come from the ruler of Ethiopia.[30] Against their thesis the author established, with a wealth of Biblical and historical (or pseudo-historical) documentation, his own conviction that the Near East would be saved by a Byzantine ruler. This is all the more remarkable as the author of the Syriac original was a Monophysite.[31] Consequently, if doctrinal considerations had been all-important to him, he, like his opponents, should have relied for aid on the Monophysite ruler of Ethiopia rather than on the Chalcedonian monarch at Byzantium. Sectarian attitudes and polemics did indeed play a role in the sibyl's apocalypse of the early sixth century, but in the later texts doctrinal positions (Monophysitism, Monotheletism, Iconoclasm) were ignored. This may be due to either or both of two reasons. It may have been felt, in the circles to which the apocalyptic writers belonged and for whom they wrote, that sectarian differences separating the Christians should be ignored in face of the common Muslim danger. Alternately, these circles may have had little interest in theological controversy.

With regard to the procedures and methods employed by apocalyptic writers, mention has already been made of the tendency of apocalyptists to tamper with numerals and place names whenever the course of history seemed to prove that a prophecy had not been fulfilled during the period stipulated in the original text or had been fulfilled near the editor's place of residence. But this is only a particular application of a general principle governing the procedures of apocalyptic writers. Whenever later events seemed to fulfill an apocalyptic prophecy, the text of the apocalypse tended to be brought in harmony with its alleged fulfillment. Some of these changes

[29] *Ibid.*, 42, 8.

[30] For the Greek text, see *ibid.*, 22, 16: "some persons (*tines*) supposed that Saint David, in saying this [Psalm 68:31], hinted at the kingdom of the Ethiopians. But those who thought so were in error. . . ." The Syriac original (*codex Vaticanus Syrus* 58, fol. 126 recto) is more explicit: "However, many brethren of the clergy suppose that the blessed David spoke this word [Psalm 68:31] concerning the kingdom of the Cushites. And those who think so err. . . ."

[31] The author's unnamed opponents must have been Monophysites as they pinned their hopes of liberation from Muslim domination on the only Monophysite ruler, the king of Ethiopia. Therefore the author, too, was a Monophysite as he referred to his opponents as "brethren of the clergy." (See note 30, above.)

were drastic. At some time prior to the twelfth century it must have proved embarrassing that in the seventh century the First Greek Version of the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius had prophesied a final Byzantine victory over "Turks and Avars,"[82] for by the eleventh century a number of Turkish peoples (Pechenegs, Seljuks, and so forth) were harassing the Empire most effectively. But this situation was remedied easily enough, for when the book was translated for the first time into Old Church Slavonic, a particular Turkish tribe, the Ugurs, had been substituted for the Turks, and this Turkish people had indeed disappeared in the mid-Byzantine period.[83] Thus did a later editor safeguard the prophetic prestige of Pseudo-Methodius.

Yet even the Greek text of this apocalypse had adjusted certain prophecies of the Syriac original to the course of events. The Syriac text knew of an archetypal invasion of Israel by Midianites at the time of the Hebrew Judges and mentioned their four leaders in accordance with the Old Testament, Oreb and Zeêb, Zebel and Zalmunna (Judg. 8). Several manuscripts of the Greek translation, however, call these four Midianite leaders "sons of Umayya,"[84] obviously because the translator believed that Pseudo-Methodius' prophecy had found its fulfillment at the time of the Umayyad rulers of Damascus. Another instance of an older prophecy being adapted to later events occurs in the Oracle of Baalbek. Here a fragment originally referring to the activities of a Roman general at Hierapolis near the Euphrates under the Emperor Constantius II was in later versions lifted bodily from its fourth-century context and relocated in the reign of Theodosius II in the fifth century, presumably because the later author held that this "prophecy" had found its fulfillment during the Persian Wars under the later Emperor.

These examples may serve as illustrations for a type of *aggiornamento* wherein a later editor brought details of earlier prophecies into harmony with the course of history by tampering with the text. In other cases the text of an earlier apocalypse was brought up to date by the insertion of a larger or smaller body of historical events that occurred in the intervening years. The original Greek text of the Oracle of Baalbek, for example, had reached down to the reign of Theodosius the Great, but, when the text was re-edited in the early sixth century, the later editor inserted a brief chronicle of the period from Theodosius to Anastasius, that is, of roughly one century, couched *more apocalyptico* in the future tense.

The preceding remarks about the dating, geographic provenance, pur-

[82] *Otkrovenie*, ed. Istrin, *Teksty*, 26, 1.
[83] *Ibid.*, 92, 25.
[84] *Ibid.*, 14, 3, and *apparatus criticus*.

poses, and methods of apocalyptic writers naturally lead to the consideration of the historical information contained in apocalyptic texts. Without exception they recorded historical events in the guise of prophecy and thus confirmed data known from other sources. Thus the Oracle of Baalbek, as stated before, included a brief chronicle of the fifth century, especially of the invasion of Asia Minor by Persians and Isaurians and of the Balkan Peninsula by the Huns during the fifth century. The First Greek Version of Pseudo-Methodius' Apocalypse furnished some details on the Arab invasion of the Fertile Crescent, in particular on the Arab victory over the Byzantine armies in the Battle of the River Jarmuk in 636, and spoke in general terms about the Arab conquest of Sassanid Persia.[35] The Greek and Old Church Slavonic Visions of Daniel in turn concerned the Muslim advance in Sicily at the beginning of the ninth century.[36]

At least as interesting as corroborative evidence of this kind were the reactions to historical events expressed by apocalyptic writers, their judgments on the course of history, and their expectations for the future. In the early years of the sixth century the Oracle of Baalbek despaired of the cities destroyed by Isaurian raiders at the beginning of the preceding century ever being restored or of the city of Rome recovering its imperial position after the sack by the Vandals in 455. In the author's opinion the reign of Leo I marked the beginning of the end for the Roman Empire. Where the author attempted to give an explanation for the disasters of the fifth century, such as the depredations by Huns and Vandals, he expressed a simple kind of moralism by stating, for example, that such events were due to Roman treachery or greed or that emperors who espoused heretical positions lost their throne. According to the Greek Versions of Pseudo-Methodius' Apocalypse, the Roman Empire would last to the end of time because it possessed a powerful talisman, the relic of the true Cross on which Jesus was crucified and which bestowed victory upon its owner over all his enemies. The author explained the Muslim victories over the Byzantine armies not, as was apparently done in certain Christian circles in Mesopotamia whose faith was shaken by the military successes of the infidels, as acts of divine partiality for the Arabs, but by Christian iniquity and sinfulness. The Arabs would be God's tool for the punishment of the Christians, but after a period of 49 (or 70 or 119) years of their rule over Christians they would become overconfident, would publicly deny God's ability to deliver his flock, and would, because of this blasphemy, be defeated and subdued by a Christian

[35] On the Battle of the Jarmuk, see *ibid.*, 26, 11 (the author localizes the battle at the nearby town of Gabaon), and Kmosko, "Das Rätsel des Pseudo-Methodius," 286.

[36] See pages 1003–1004, above.

emperor.[37] These naïve views about the irreversibility of the historical process, these moralist explanations of historical events as divine retribution for human sin, and this somewhat mechanistic pattern of military success breeding excessive self-confidence and blasphemy are features familiar from certain books of the Old Testament, for instance from Judges, and are faint echoes from Jewish prophecy and apocalyptic, the ultimate source of Eastern as well as Western Christian apocalyptic thought.

It is to be expected that in addition to confirming historical facts known from other sources and expressing their judgments and evaluations of historical events and situations, apocalyptic writers should on occasion mention historical information not discussed elsewhere. In this connection it is vital to grasp clearly the reason why apocalyptic writers normally prefaced their genuine prophecies of the future with *vaticinia ex eventu* referring to events of the past. The motive for this practice was invariably a desire to establish their prophetic authority and thus win credence for their genuine predictions. It follows that the historical information contained in *vaticinia ex eventu* cannot be of their own invention or knowingly incorrect, for they obviously would defeat their own purpose if they attempted to validate their prophecies by invented or consciously false data about the past.[38]

One example of new information occurred in the Oracle of Baalbek. Here the sibyl spoke of Constantine the Great rebuilding the city of Byzantium and predicted that the name of this city would be altered to Eudocopolis-Constantinopolis. To the best of my knowledge this double name for the new capital is unattested elsewhere, and as it stands this information cannot be correct. Eudocopolis was obviously a dynastic name and must have referred to Theodosius II's Empress Eudocia (who died in 460). It is impossible that Constantine the Great should have named his new city after a fifth-century empress. Yet it is quite plausible that a part of the city enclosed behind the new land and sea walls erected during the reign of Theodosius II should have been named after the Empress. These grandiose walls, which to the present day demonstrate the past might of the new capital on the Bosporus, protected a territory much larger than had the Constantinian walls of the preceding century.[39] The sea walls were built by a

[37] *Otkrovenie*, ed. Istrin, *Teksty*, 23, 7 (Cross as talisman of Empire); see also *ibid.*, 15, 13; 27, 9 (Muslim successes not due to God's favor for Muslims but to Christian lawlessness); *ibid.*, 37–39 (Arab overconfidence and blasphemy).

[38] This does not imply, of course, that historical information contained in *vaticinia ex eventu* is always objectively correct. It merely indicates that such information has the same claim to serious consideration by the historian as do facts reported in the conventional sources such as histories, chronicles, letters, and so forth. Like data contained in other sources, it may turn out to be mistaken, biased, or confused.

[39] Raymond Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine* (2d ed., Paris, 1964), 32.

favorite of the Empress Eudocia, the city prefect (later also praetorian prefect of the East) Cyrus.[40] In fact, the Empress Eudocia played an important role in the history of later Roman urbanism. No less than three cities in Asia Minor were named Eudocias after her, and upon her retirement to Jerusalem in 443 she built a new southern wall for the sacred city.[41] It was a custom in antiquity to give a new quarter of a city a dynastic name. Thus it is indeed probable that the Oracle of Baalbek preserved a faint memory of the Empress Eudocia's concern for the enlargement, protection, and beautification of the imperial capital.

The greatest amount of novel historical information, however, was contained in the Visions of Daniel and especially in the Old Church Slavonic text. As I have already pointed out, this document gave, among other things, an account of a Muslim invasion of Sicily; in fact, it referred to the first years of the Muslim attack on the island, the period from 827 to 829.[42] It is no exaggeration to say that this event can claim its place in world history, for it resulted eventually not only in the Arab conquest of the entire island but also in the Muslim occupation of considerable parts of southern Italy and in the confrontation of Western and Arab civilizations in these areas. It will therefore be worthwhile to recapitulate the present state of knowledge concerning this event and then to discuss the contribution made by the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel.

Our knowledge of the invasion has come from two Arab historians, Ibn-al-Athir (who died in 1233) and Nuwairi (who died in 1332); from one Byzantine historical source of the tenth century, the so-called Continuator of Theophanes; and from two Latin chronicles written in Naples and Salerno during the ninth and tenth centuries, respectively.[43] The principal modern authorities are the great Sicilian historian Michele Amari, the late Alexander A. Vasiliev, and J. B. Bury, none of whom used the Old Church

[40] J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (reprint, 2 vols., New York, 1958), I, 72; Ernest Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* (2 vols., Paris, 1949–59), I, 294.

[41] On cities in Asia Minor named after Eudocia, see A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Roman Provinces* (Oxford, Eng., 1937), 69, 109, 137, 144; on the southern wall at Jerusalem, see Hughes Vincent and Félix Abel, *Jérusalem* (2 vols., Paris, 1914–26), II, 910–11.

[42] The principal reason for this statement is that the text mentioned a "rebel" facilitating the Arab seizure of the town of Mariana (see note 22, above). The "rebel" cannot be anyone but Euphemius who was assassinated during the Arab siege of Enna in 828–829. (Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia* [2d ed., 3 vols., Catania, 1933–39], I, 411–12; J. B. Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire* [London, 1912], 302; Alexander A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes* [2 vols., Brussels, 1935–50], I, 83–84.)

[43] Italian translation of the principal Arabic sources by Michele Amari, *Bibliotheca Arabo-Sicula* (2 vols. and Appendix, Turin, 1880–89), I, 364–68; II, 113–17 (French tr. by Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 356–59, 379–81); Theophanes Continuatus in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (49 vols., Bonn, 1828–78), 81–82; *Chronicon Salernitanum*, ed. Ulla Westerbergh, "Studia Latina Stockholmiensia," No. 3 (Stockholm, 1956), 59; an earlier edition of the same text was that published in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, ed. G. H. Pertz (32 vols., Hanover, 1826–1934), III, 498; Johannes Diaconus Neapolitanus, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum* (Hanover, 1878), 429.

Slavonic Vision of Daniel.[44] They agreed that the Arab invasion of Sicily was the consequence of a Sicilian revolt against the Byzantine Emperor Michael II, but they differed about the chronology of this event. Amari was of the opinion that the Sicilian revolt began as early as 821 when Michael II was threatened by an even more dangerous rebellion in Asia Minor, that of Thomas the Slav. Around five years later, or about 826 according to Amari, the Emperor appointed a new governor of Sicily called either Constantine or Photinus who in turn entrusted a naval command to Euphemius. Amari thus postulated two stages in the Sicilian revolt, interrupted by an interval during which the island recognized the government of Michael II: one period beginning in 821 in which Euphemius played no role, and another starting in 826 in which he was the key figure. Later tradition telescoped these two stages into one.

Vasiliev rejected this view of Amari's as "fantastic," Bury held that Amari's proofs were insufficient, and both accordingly dated the beginning of the Sicilian revolt in 826–827. In that year, Euphemius, one of the Byzantine turmarchs or commanders stationed in Sicilian waters, was in danger of being arrested by the governor of the island on personal orders from the Emperor. He decided to revolt. The reason for the imperial order was not given in the Arabic sources, but the Greek and Latin historians told a romantic tale according to which Euphemius had married a nun, against her will and in violation of canonical and secular legislation. Neither Amari nor Vasiliev was satisfied that this story provided an adequate explanation for Euphemius' revolt and suspected that political considerations were the true reason for it.[45] Neither scholar nor anyone else, however, could specify what these political considerations might have been.

At any rate, Euphemius and some of his colleagues of the imperial navy seized Syracuse by a *coup de main* and defeated the governor in battle. The latter fled to Catania, but was captured and executed, and Euphemius was proclaimed emperor. In this capacity he rewarded some of his followers with administrative appointments. In particular he named a new governor of

[44] Amari, *Storia*, I, esp. 367–417; Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 61–88; Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, 294–308, 478–80; see also Adolf Holm, *Geschichte Siziliens* (3 vols., Leipzig, 1870–98), III, 327–33; Agostino Rossi, "Delle Cause della Sollevazione di Eufemio contro la Dominazione Bizantina in Sicilia," *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze Morali Storiche Filologiche*, Ser. V, XIII (1904), 198–233; L. M. Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter* (4 vols., Gotha, 1897–1915), III, Pt. 1, 161–93; Biagio Pace, *Arte e Civiltà della Sicilia Antica* (4 vols., Rome, 1935–49), IV, 126–34. The work of Amari remains fundamental.

[45] See Amari, *Storia*, I, 378; Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 71: "Il va de soi qu'il ne faut pas chercher la cause du soulèvement d'Euphémios dans son mariage romanesque. La politique, on s'en doute, primait ici . . ."; Bury, *Eastern Roman Empire*, 479, is aware that Amari and Vasiliev "think it likely that in his action in regard to Euphemius Michael was influenced by political reasons and used the matrimonial delinquency as a pretext," but does not press the matter further.

Sicily to whom the Arabic sources refer as Balata. Balata, however, played false and declared against Euphemius as the Arabic sources say, or for the Emperor Michael as the modern authors put it.[46] He assembled a large army, defeated Euphemius in battle, and forced him to leave Syracuse. Euphemius and a part of the navy then crossed the Sicilian Channel, which separates Sicily from North Africa, and asked the Aghlabid ruler of Kairouan to come to his aid. In consequence an Arab fleet landed in Mazara, at the western extremity of Sicily, on June 17, 827, and marched upon Syracuse. At Syracuse the Arabs failed after a long siege, mainly because of a famine and plague that harassed them. Their land army withdrew. One part of it, accompanied by Euphemius and his partisans, marched upon Enna and began the siege of that fortress. In the course of this siege, in 828–829, Euphemius was killed, according to the Arab chronicler, but one Greek source placed his assassination slightly earlier while the siege of Syracuse was still in progress. On this occasion the Arabs did not succeed in capturing Enna; in fact, the city successfully resisted a great number of Arab assaults until it was finally taken in 859. The last stages in the Arab conquest of Sicily were the fall of Syracuse in 878 and that of Taormina in 902.

Such in brief is the story of the Arab conquest of Sicily as it emerges from the narrative sources. The new data supplied by the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel must now be fitted into this framework. It told the Sicilian story, in the form of a prophecy, in six acts, which may be summarized as follows:

Act I: The Byzantine Emperor sent messengers to the western provinces. They arrived at Syracuse, and the Emperor was insulted.

Act II: A rebellion occurred at Syracuse, and the rebels were killed.

Act III: Disorders erupted at Syracuse; two rebels arose and fought at Achradina.

Act IV: From Syracuse came a pregnant woman; her brother died, and she gave birth to a child and grieved.

Act V: The Arabs landed at the extremity of Sicily, ravaged the island, arrived at Mariana, and the rebel established them in that city.

[46] Ibn-al-Athir (Amari, *Biblioteca*, I, 365): "il quale (Balatah) spiccossi da Eufemio e rivoltossi contro di lui"; Nuwairi (*ibid.*, II, 114): "Costui (Balatah) si spiccò [poscia] da Eufemio e [apertamente] gli si ribellò. . . ." Amari's remark (*Storia*, I, 380) to the effect that Balata and his cousin declared for Michael II is nothing but an inference, as are Vasiliev's (*Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 69) and Bury's (*Eastern Roman Empire*, 297) statements that Balata espoused the cause of Michael.

Act VI: From Mariana the Arabs marched upon Enna, but reinforcements were sent, and they did not take the city.[47]

The author was here trying to tell the story of the first Arab invasion of Sicily in 827–828. Not all the elements of his story can be identified,[48] but many of them can be explained without too much difficulty. In Act III the battle between the two rebels at Achradina, the famous suburb of Syracuse known to all readers of Thucydides, must be that between Euphemius and his disloyal governor Balata. In fact, the Slavonic text, in speaking of "two rebels," corrected the modern historians on a detail of some importance: the second of the Sicilian rebels, Balata, did not fight Euphemius because he adhered to the Emperor Michael as the modern historians hold, but because he, like Euphemius, repudiated Michael's authority and wished to gain control of Sicily for himself.[49] The Arab landing on the extremity of Sicily in Act V is that of June 17, 827, when the forces of the Aghlabid ruler of Kairouan disembarked at Mazara at the westernmost tip of the island. The rebel who helped the Arabs to capture the Sicilian city of Mariana can be none other than Euphemius.

Thus most, though not all, of the events narrated by the apocalyptic writer under Acts III–VI can be accounted for, and in this portion of his

[47] In the following translation from the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel I have added numerals to mark the six "acts" mentioned in the text above: "[I] And he (the Emperor) will send envoys [or, to the forces and] to the western lands which in a similar fashion [?] are faithful to themselves [?, to him ?]. And when they [the envoys] will have reached the western lands, the [inhabitants] of the so-called Rebel City (τύραννος πόλις), having rebelled, will sally forth and begin to insult him. [II] And afterward men who are in that place will arise, and they will kill them with the sword. [III] And they will arise against each other and will fight each other. And there will arise two rebels (τύραννοι), the first from the east of that city and the other from the west. And they will encounter each other in a place called Akrodunii [or, Krodunii] and will slay each other, so that the sea will be mixed with their blood. [IV] And a woman who is with child will come from the territory of that city where there stood in those days a sign [?]. And she will see her brother lying dead [or, after having become a mother] and will beat her breast, and she will give birth to her child and grief will overcome [or, her son will embrace] her for a long time. [V] And the Ismaelites will go forth into the extremity of the island and will take many prisoners until they will come to a place called Mariianii, and the rebel will install them in that place. [VI] And they will come to a place called Ienna, and they will come to her aid, and they will not capture her." Throughout this passage I have translated the verb *mąchiti* and the noun *mąchitel* by "to rebel" and "the rebel," respectively. These words, which often mean "to torture" and "torturer," are also used to render the Greek words *tyrannein* and *tyrannos*, which in Byzantine Greek normally mean "to rebel" and "the rebel." The term Rebel City (*tyrannos polis* or *polis tyrannou*) is also used in the Greek Visions of Daniel (Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeca-Byzantina*, 36, 15, 19; 39, 15, 19). Inasmuch as the Old Church Slavonic text later mentions an "island" as well as a number of Sicilian place names (Achradina, Enna), the Rebel City must be Syracuse.

[48] Thus I am at a loss to explain the remarks in Act IV on the pregnant woman from Syracuse, her brother, and her child. Naturally, one thinks of the nun whom Euphemius married, and the accounts about her mention that she and her brother had a child. Yet it is doubtful that the author is here alluding to her, for none of the other sources mention her brother's death. The identification with Euphemius' wife, moreover, does not explain the author's remark about the "sign" in the city of Syracuse.

[49] See note 46, above.

"prophecy" the writer confirmed the data already known from the Arab, Greek, and Latin sources.[50] But what of Acts I and II? Here the apocalyptist wrote of the Emperor sending messengers to the western provinces, of their arrival at Syracuse, of the Emperor being insulted by the Syracusans, of the outbreak of a rebellion at Syracuse, and of the rebels being put to death. The question is unavoidable: why did he record all these Syracusan events before launching into the story of Euphemius and of the Arab invasion of Sicily? He wrote rather clumsily, but there can be no doubt that he was trying to give a continuous account of the Arab invasion of Sicily and to reproduce the causal connection between events. As pointed out above, modern scholars have been dissatisfied with the only reason adduced in the narrative sources for Euphemius' rebellion—his marriage to a nun—and both Amari and Vasiliev suspected a political motivation. The Old Church Slavonic Apocalypse, in its awkward way, seems to point to the events reported in Acts I and II as being the true cause of Euphemius' revolt. According to it, the Emperor Michael II sent emissaries to Syracuse, as well as to the other parts of his western dominions, he was insulted at Syracuse, and an unsuccessful local revolt followed. The Slavonic apocalypse did not specify, unfortunately, the content of the message sent by the Emperor to the people of Syracuse, but since it led to a revolution against the imperial authority, the Emperor must have made certain demands. Perhaps he asked for recruits for his armies, for military supplies, for new taxes, or for any combination of these items.[51] At any rate it is legitimate to infer from the Slavonic document that the principal cause of the abortive Syracusan revolt, of the later rebellion of Euphemius, and of the Arab invasion of the island were not the trite marital troubles of Euphemius but a demand by the Emperor addressed to the citizens of Syracuse that the latter deemed unacceptable.

This is a significant contribution made by the Slavonic text, but its interest does not end here. Two further features are noteworthy. In the first place messengers were dispatched not only to Syracuse but to all of the Emperor's western dominions. These included certainly the rest of Sicily

[50] Three new details were added to the story of the Arab invasion of 827–828. The Slavonic text localizes the battle between Euphemius and Balata at Achradina. The Arabs captured the Sicilian town of Mariana (location unknown, see note 23, above) with the help of Euphemius and besieged Enna unsuccessfully.

[51] One other possibility comes to mind. It is known from a letter of Theodore of Studios (Bk. I, No. 190, in Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeco-Latina* [166 vols., Paris, 1857–66], 99, 1577 D–1581 A) that there was considerable iconoclastic agitation in Sicily, and this letter is probably to be dated in the reign of Michael II. It is, however, highly unlikely that Michael, who in the eastern provinces where iconoclasm was still strong followed a conciliatory policy toward the iconophiles (Bury, *Eastern Roman Empire*, 110–13), should have officially promoted iconoclastic policies in Sicily where iconoclasm had never flourished before. The iconoclastic agitation of which Theodore complains is likely to have been undertaken on the private initiative of Byzantine officials, rather than as a result of an official communication from the Emperor.

and the Byzantine portions of southern Italy. Presumably the messengers transmitted demands similar to those sent to Syracuse. No such demands were, on the other hand, recorded for the core lands of the Empire, notably for Asia Minor. One suspects that the reason for this omission was that these core lands were undergoing a crisis of some sort and that the messengers had been sent to the western provinces to solicit aid for the eastern regions. Secondly, according to both Vasiliev and Bury, as stated above, Euphemius' revolt broke out in 826 and was followed in the next year by the Arab invasion. Amari, on the other hand, had conjectured that the Sicilian revolt began in 821, five years earlier, and his chronology now receives support from the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel. He had based his opinion on several arguments. In the first place, the earlier date seemed more plausible on grounds of general probability, for by 821 the upstart Emperor Michael II, who owed his throne to the murder of his predecessor, was faced with a dangerous revolt in Asia Minor, that of Thomas the Slav, but Thomas' revolt was suppressed by 823.[52] Furthermore, the Latin chronicle of the bishops of Naples by John the Deacon written in the first half of the ninth century mentioned the revolt of "the Syracusans belonging to the party of a certain Euthimius [Euphemius]" immediately following Michael's accession in 820, and the Byzantine chronicle of Symeon Magister of the tenth century stated in so many words that the Arab conquest of Sicily began "when Michael was busy with the rebel Thomas."[53] Now, according to the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel, the two rebels, that is, Euphemius and Balata, "arose" in Act III only. Their rebellion, however, was preceded in Acts I and II by an earlier revolt at Syracuse at the end of which the rebels were executed. According to this new Slavonic source, therefore, the Sicilian rebellion began before Euphemius assumed its leadership. John the Deacon and Symeon Magister were therefore correct in stating that the Sicilian revolt began soon after the accession of Michael II in 820, say in 821, and Amari's brilliant conjecture of two stages in the development of this revolt is thus confirmed by evidence unavailable to him.

Indeed, the demands made, according to the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel, by the government of Michael through the messengers upon the citizens of Syracuse and upon the inhabitants of the other western provinces, rather than upon his subjects in Asia Minor, are more plausible while

[52] On the revolt of Thomas the Slav, see Bury, *Eastern Roman Empire*, 84–110, 462–64; Franjo Barišić, "Deux versions sur Thomas chef de l'insurrection de 821–823," *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloshkog Instituta*, VI (1960), 145–69; Paul Lemerle, "Thomas le Slave," *Travaux et Mémoires*, I (1965), 254–97.

[53] John the Deacon, *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum* (Hanover, 1878), 429–30; Symeon Magister, 621–22, in Theophanes Continuatus, Bonn ed.

Michael was still fighting for his throne against Thomas the Slav. Thomas had rallied around him the partisans of religious images who had been persecuted by Leo V and parts of the population of Asia Minor which was heavily burdened with taxes. Thus the movement headed by Thomas had both a religious and a social character. In addition Thomas had at the beginning of his revolt succeeded in obtaining control of the tax revenue of Asia Minor.[54] It is entirely credible that in this grave crisis the Emperor Michael, who had himself reached the throne by usurpation and by the murder of his predecessor, should have asked the western parts of his realm, among them the city of Syracuse, to make extraordinary contributions of a military or fiscal kind for the suppression of Thomas' revolt.

If one accepts, then, the chronology for the Sicilian revolt first suggested by Amari and now supported by the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel, one recognizes that there existed an essential connection between Thomas' revolt in Asia Minor and the Syracusan rebellion. In order to overcome the usurper Thomas who threatened the core lands of the Empire in Asia Minor and had seized most of their fiscal revenue, the upstart Emperor Michael II was forced to demand special contributions from the hitherto loyal provinces in the west. In a similar way, about a century earlier, the Byzantine Emperor Leo III, shortly after the Arab siege of his capital (717–718) and during the period of Muslim occupation of large parts of Asia Minor, had been driven to increase taxes and to insist on a more rigorous collection, with the ultimate result that Byzantium lost control of most of the Italian mainland.[55] Michael's action, about a hundred years later, led to the emergence of two sets of Sicilian rebels. The names of the earlier rebels are, unfortunately, unknown. The later leaders of the rebellion in its second stage were Euphemius and Balata.

Thus at the beginning of Michael's reign rebellion was ubiquitous. Michael had rebelled against his imperial master Leo V and had become emperor by murdering him. Thomas the Slav, whose friendship and association with the murdered Leo were long standing, had rallied behind him Asiatic circles loyal to the memory of Michael's victim. The first anonymous set of Sicilian rebels must have felt that the duel for power between Michael and Thomas in Asia Minor offered especially favorable circumstances for the

[54] Genesius, Bonn ed., 32; Theophanes Continuatus, Bonn ed., Bk. II, Chap. XI, 53.

[55] Pope Gregory II refused to pay the increased taxes on the properties of the Roman Church. His refusal in turn led later in the eighth century to the famous series of events culminating in the Frankish conquest of Italy and the foundation of the Papal State. (See the stimulating article by François Masai, "La politique des Isauriens et la naissance de l'Europe," *Byzantion*, XXXIII [No. 1, 1963], 191–221, esp. 191–99.) Both in the eighth and ninth centuries, then, the Byzantine government, in order to save the Asiatic core lands of the Empire, made exorbitant demands on the western provinces, with the result that it lost control of the Italian mainland in the eighth and of Sicily in the ninth century.

secession of Sicily. Thus in the years 821–823, if my reconstruction of the events based on the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel is correct, at least two sets of rebels—Thomas the Slav and his associates on the one hand, the unnamed Sicilian rebels on the other—were competing with Michael II for power, and it was anything but a foregone conclusion who would ultimately be victorious. In the end Michael preserved his throne but at the price of losing Sicily to the Muslims whose aid had been invoked by one of the later Sicilian usurpers, Euphemius.

In attempting to summarize what has been learned about the historical value of medieval apocalypses it may be prudent to begin with the shortcomings peculiar to this type of source. In the first place, the dating of an apocalypse is not always an easy task because even specific factual details mentioned in an apocalypse may not be *vaticinia ex eventu* but genuine prophecies. Furthermore, numerals indicating time spans, which might otherwise offer clues for dating the document, are frequently altered by later editors. Secondly, it is often difficult to define the geographic region referred to in a particular apocalypse, not only because, as in all other medieval texts, outlandish place names have a tendency to be miscopied inadvertently but because a copyist of apocalypses is apt to change them deliberately, on the assumption that an earlier prophecy found its fulfillment in events occurring in his own neighborhood long after the original text was composed. A third possible pitfall in the historical interpretation of medieval apocalypses concerns the purpose for which a particular text is written. Detailed prophecies closely tied to this purpose, as, for example, of ultimate victories over the national enemy, may represent wishful thinking rather than historical fact. Finally, apocalypses are living texts and are subject to editorial tampering of all sorts in order to bring ancient prophecies in harmony with later events. To these four types of difficulties should be added the deliberate obscurity of apocalyptic documents, yet because the apocalyptist must strive to have his allusions understood by his contemporaries, it is rare indeed that the modern historian is unable to crack the apocalyptic code.

Once the obstacles to a historical interpretation and exploitation of apocalypses are removed, these texts may yield a rich crop of information of all kinds. Almost without exception they corroborate evidence already known from other, especially narrative, sources. Their authors express in concrete language the reactions of contemporaries to historical events, their usually primitive philosophies of history, their despair over the military situation or over the economic plight of the circles to which they belong or for which they write, and, above all, their expectations for a brighter future.

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Sometimes apocalypses contain valuable new factual details, such as the name Eudocopolis for the part of the imperial capital enclosed within the new city walls during the first half of the fifth century. The accumulation of apocalypses at particular periods, for example around the year 500, permits inferences as to the intensity of eschatological expectations and thus provides a barometer of eschatological pressures at different moments in history. Finally, some apocalypses such as the Old Church Slavonic Vision of Daniel permit new inferences as to the causes and chronology of important developments in world history, in this case on the Muslim invasion of Sicily in the first half of the ninth century. Medieval apocalypses, then, are chronicles written in the future tense and deserve close attention on the part of historians of the Middle Ages.

The Emergence of the Extreme Left in Lower Languedoc, 1848–1851: Social and Economic Factors in Politics

Leo A. Loubère*

IN 1815 lower Languedoc was the scene of the White Terror and was dominated by Legitimists; a century later it had made a full swing to the Left and was dominated by Radicals and Socialists. The dramatic beginning of this transformation came during mid-century when the Revolution of 1848 took the south by surprise. Among the political forces least prepared to take advantage of the situation created in Paris was the extreme Left; yet within a year men calling themselves by the revolutionary name of *démocrates-socialistes* won considerable support. Their activity initiated a new tradition that laid the basis for the broad transformation.

This essay is an attempt to explain the origins of that tradition. It is a case study using three methods: electoral sociology, quantitative analysis, and, particularly, human geography. By placing men within their milieu, it hopes to reveal the possibilities and limitations available to them through the economic, social, and cultural forces surrounding their public activities. It seeks to define leadership in terms of social structure and economic activity and then to discover the role of leadership in the formation of a political movement. Such an approach, requiring an intimate knowledge of society, cannot yet be applied to French national history; information is still lacking or vague. It is, therefore, best applied to local studies or, more appropriately, regional studies sufficiently broad to permit comparison among variant geographic areas and to make possible some generalizations about the factors that influenced democratic movements in France.

Lower Languedoc offers the historian a fruitful area of research. It is composed of the departments of Gard, Hérault, and Aude.[1] In 1848 they

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[1] For a description of lower Languedoc, see Raymond Dugrand, *Villes et campagnes en Bas-Languedoc* (Paris, 1963). Dugrand does not include all of Aude; I have included it, however, because it constitutes a political unit, and, given the prominence of the Aude Valley, an economic unit as well.

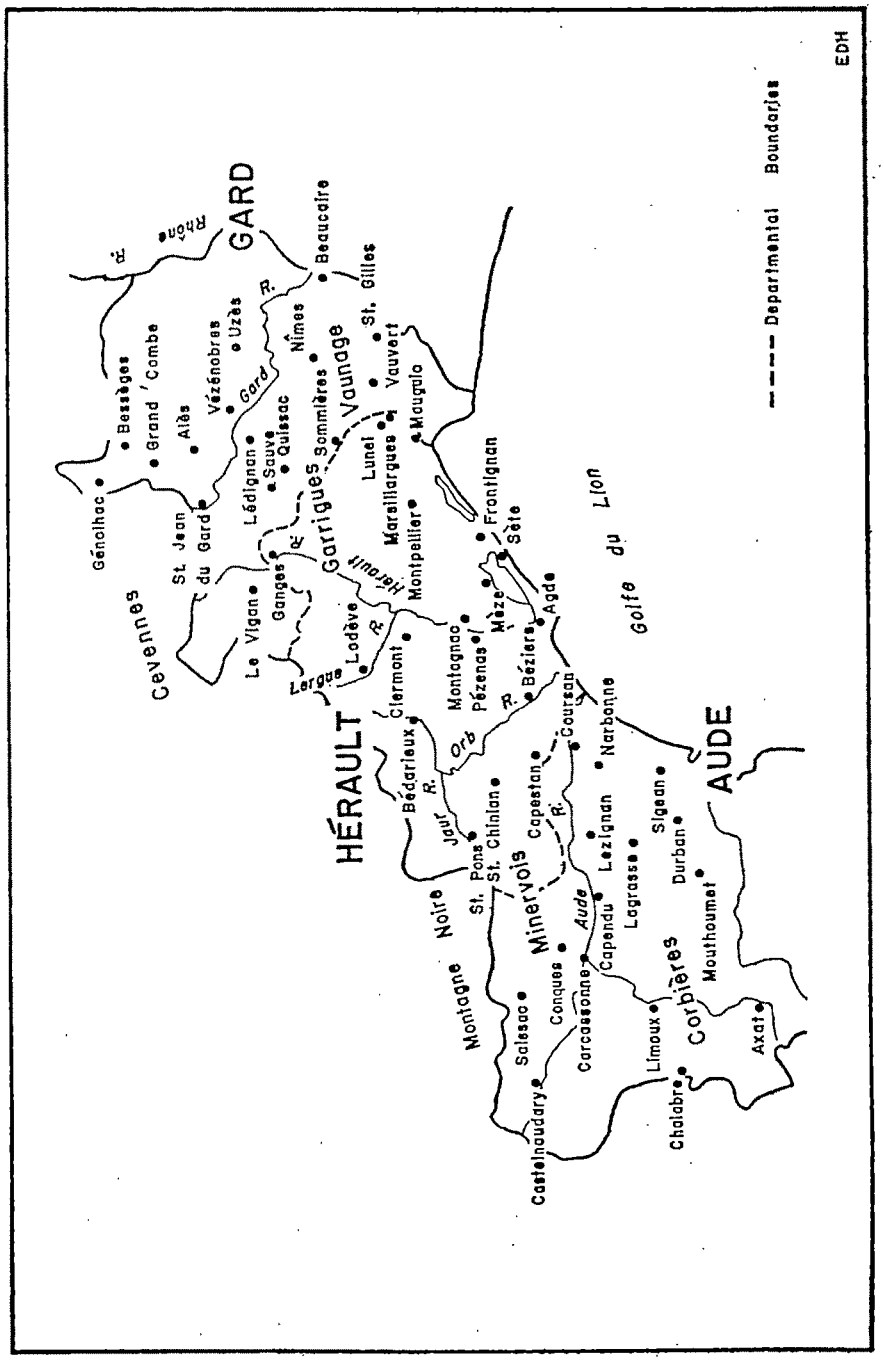
were agricultural; that is, most of the people lived on the land, and the conditions, needs, and produce of the soil strongly influenced political attitudes and social position. Consequently, these attitudes varied rather closely with the topography. Since each department was formed around an important river, whence their names, they were both riparian and thalassic; river valleys and the seacoast conditioned life in them. So also did the geographic and economic zones which, following the coastline, cut across administrative-political boundaries.

The coastal plain formed a belt between the sea and a line stretching from Sigean in Aude, just west of Narbonne, just north of Béziers, Montpellier, and Nîmes to Aramon. The lower portion of the plain, sparsely populated and of little use, was being changed into an area of large vineyards. This process involved considerable investment and introduced capitalist agricultural techniques. The transformation, later hastened by the wine crisis of the 1870's, was really just beginning in the 1830's and 1840's. Yet it had already produced a notable modification of the social structure: the proportion of vineyard day laborers began to grow, outnumbering owners in some communes by four to one and everywhere forming an important if not always numerically dominant segment of the adult male population.[2] Certain river valleys were also areas of labor concentration because of the appearance of capitalist vineyards. It is, of course, important not to exaggerate the size and force of this landless proletariat. Combined with it were many self-employing farmers.

Small and medium farms were more numerous in the zone of hills, which stretched to a line northwest of the Minervois, running along the Jaur Valley, through Lodève, Ganges, Bessèges, and northward. Smaller farms served as a counterforce to the large estates owned by nobles who often lived in nearby towns and cities. Here, cereals usually occupied as much acreage as vines, sometimes more. The vineyards, considerably older, represented a vast amount of labor carried on by generations of landowning peasant families who were as deeply rooted in the soil as the vines and whose whole outlook was dominated by daily and seasonal routines centuries old.[3] In the thin, rocky soil of this zone, especially in the eastern part of it called Garrigues, the production of raw silk was the chief cash crop. In Gard silk was

[2] See the manuscript copies of *recensement de 1851*, unclassified in Archives Départementales [hereafter cited as AD], Hérault; 10M 138 in AD, Gard; missing in Aude. Published census returns do not give statistics for communes, only for the entire department, as regards the professions of the population.

[3] Cereals were certainly important in the hills, as was pasturage in areas near textile centers. Wine, however, was a major cash crop, and even in cantons where vineyards occupied relatively limited acreage, it made the difference between well-being and scarcity. (See the reports in France, Assemblée Constituente, 1848–49, *Enquête sur le travail agricole et industriel . . . 1848*, Archives Nationales [hereafter cited as AN], C946, 953, 954.)


GARD
HÉRAULT
AUDE
Cevennes
Garrigues
Vaunage
Minervois
Corbières
Montagne Noire
Golfe du Lion
Rhône R.
Gard R.
Vidourle R.
Lergue R.
Lez R.
Lodève R.
Hérault R.
Orb R.
Jaur R.
Capestan R.
Aude R.
Génolhac
Bessèges
Grand 'Combe
Alès
Vézénobres
Uzès
Nîmes
Beaucaire
St. Gilles
Vauvert
Sommières
Sauve
Quissac
Lédignan
St. Jean du Gard
Le Vigan
Ganges
Lunel
Marsillargues
Maugulo
Frontignan
Sète
Mèze
Agde
Montpellier
Clermont
Lodève
Montagnac
Pézenas
Béziers
Bédarieux
St. Pons
St. Chinian
Capestan
Coursan
Narbonne
Lézignan
Lagrasse
Capendu
Carcassonne
Conques
Salsac
Castelnaudary
Sigean
Durban
Mouthoumet
Limoux
Chalabre
Axat
Departmental Boundaries
EDH

more profitable than wine.[4] In Hérault, polyculture was also the rule, but silk gave way to raw wool in the high hills that stretched westward into the Minervois of Aude. Since land there was more divided, the peasantry often owned their land, tended to identify with large owners and to be conservative unless other factors, such as religion, influenced their views. Their contact with the outside world was limited by poor communication; much of their food production was, therefore, for self-consumption. Only in the larger river valleys and in areas near industrial centers was there a significant rural proletariat. Elsewhere hired labor consisted of peasants, without enough property to provide a livelihood, who hired themselves out as part-time workers on cereal-producing estates.

That part of the Cévennes lying in the northern extremity of Gard and Hérault and the Montagne Noire made up most of the mountain zone. The mountains, modest in height, divided upper and lower Languedoc and the Mediterranean region from the high plateau of central France. Here the peasants lived in high valleys cut by small rivers and streams, tenaciously terraced the steep slopes to grow cereals and chestnuts, cultivated silkworms in Gard, reared sheep in Hérault, and in off seasons found temporary employment as woodsmen in the spare forests, as stonecutters in quarries, or as miners in local coal and iron mines. Cut off from the outside, uneducated, and traditionalistic, they were passive and submissive in outlook.[5] In the Corbières, the mountain zone of Aude, life resembled that of the Cévennes, and yet peasant attitudes were somewhat different: more individualistic, open, even *frondeur*. The presence of many woodsmen, vineyardworkers, miners, and metalworkers using the *forges catalanes* made the difference, for they suffered severely from the economic crisis of 1847–1849. Their loss of purchasing power adversely affected industry.

Industry was, historically, a normal complement to agriculture since most of it was devoted to wool and silk textiles and distillation of wine into alcohol. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, textiles were already in a state of decline. Entrepreneurship and capital were turning to large-scale wine production, but as yet not extensively.

In the middle of the century various types of industrial centers were widely scattered.[6] Textiles were by far the chief employers of nonagricul-

[4] Benoni Chauzit, "Monographie agricole du département du Gard," *Bulletin du Ministère de l'Agriculture,* XVII (1898), 1529 ff.; Léonce Destremx de St. Christol, *Agriculture méridionale: Le Gard et l'Ardèche* (Paris, [1867]), 37 ff.; Gustave Coste, "L'état de l'agriculture dans le département du Gard vers 1835," *Mémoires de l'Académie de Nîmes,* 7th Ser., XXXXII (1924–25), xlv–li.

[5] H. Martin, "Coup d'état dans l'Hérault, 1851," *Diplôme d'Études Supérieurs,* University of Montpellier, n.d., 6–15; René Bertrand, "L'évolution économique et sociale d'une commune viticole de l'Hérault," law thesis, University of Montpellier, 1950, 8–16.

[6] Precise information about the location of industry is difficult to obtain. Some detailed

tural labor and also were the most lucrative. Woolen and some cotton textiles existed near the larger waterways: Limoux and Chalabre, in Aude; Saint-Pons, Riols, Bédarieux, Lodève, Clermont, and Saint-Chinion in Hérault, and Sommières in Gard. Woolen textiles were located principally in the hills where water power was available. Since there were few steam engines, industry suffered during the summer when rivers became streamlets. Then many workers went to labor in the fields. The reverse occurred in winter when unoccupied farmers and field hands supplemented their incomes with domestic spinning and weaving. In Hérault large-scale textiles customarily produced woolen cloth for the army, hence its relative prosperity in 1848–1849.

The eastern sector of lower Languedoc was a leading center of silk textiles. Spinning and weaving were located in a zone stretching from Ganges and Le Vigan in the high hills, eastward to Alès (formerly Alais), then southward to Nîmes. Gard ranked third, after Paris and Lyons. There were more steam engines and a greater concentration of labor in the communes of Alès and Nîmes than elsewhere. In Nîmes there were 157 mills, each employing more than 20 workers; roughly two-thirds of this labor force was male.[7] Yet there, as nearly everywhere else, the domestic system prevailed. It was, of course, used in the many hamlets isolated in hills and mountains where peasants spent their winter months spinning and weaving for money, the only money they would see until harvest time in the vineyards when they would flock to the low hills and plains to work as grapepickers.

Other industries were, as yet, less important. Shipping was largely confined to alcohol and wine, which were carried in small boats using the small harbors of decadent ports. The influence of the sea was largely confined to weather conditions that produced the climate favorable to wine production. In the only port of any consequence, Sète (formerly Cette), there were some small boatyards, a foundry employing about four hundred workers, and numerous petty crafts, such as cooperage, dependent on the export of wine. Only in the mountain districts of Camplong, in Hérault, in the northern Alès *arrondissement,* and in Gard, where coal and iron mining were developing and where there was some metallurgy, were there sizable accumulations of nontextile labor. Lack of adequate transport hindered their rapid growth until the Second Empire. But already the Alès Basin was third largest in

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statistics, not always reliable, can be found in the manuscript copies of *recensement de 1851* and in France, Bureau de la Statistique Générale, *Statistique de la France: Industrie* (4 vols., Paris, 1847–52), II.

[7] Hector Rivoire, *Statistique du département du Gard* (2 vols., Nîmes, 1842), II, 53; Henri Reboul, *L'industrie nîmoise du tissage au* XIX^e *siècle* (Montpellier, 1914), 110 ff.; Pierre Gorlier, *Le Vigan* (Montpellier, [1955]), 310–21.

France, utilizing over two thousand miners and several hundred ironworkers in numerous communes north of Alès. In the town of Alès itself, several hundred men were employed in metallurgy.[8]

The structure of society reflected this economy. A rural population constituted its base; this rural element consisted, however, of several categories. *Propriétaires-cultivateurs* owned land sufficient in acreage to provide them a livelihood (six or more hectares of vineyards and from twenty to thirty hectares of cereals or pasturage). They were to be found everywhere. Tenants and sharecroppers, more than half of whom owned some land, made up only a small percentage of the social category with patron rights. Land in the lower Midi was farmed either by owners and their families or by hired laborers. *Journaliers* or day laborers either outnumbered their employers or equaled them in numbers in the plains. In the lower hill cantons, and especially in fertile river valleys, they formed a sizable minority. Their numbers diminished sharply in the upper hills and mountains where large estates were confined to a few communes devoted to cereals and pasturage.

In Gard land was more divided, with the result that *journaliers* amounted to only one-half of the owners. The ideal of proprietorship was dominant and further reinforced by the large number of *journaliers-propriétaires,* roughly one-third of all the day laborers. They did not possess enough land for a livelihood and had to supplement their meager incomes by hiring themselves out as field hands, chiefly in the vineyards. Therefore, they were to be found predominantly in the plain and Rhône Valley. Some lived also in the highlands where they cultivated a small plot of mulberry trees in order to produce raw silk which their women spun into thread. In Hérault, with its larger acreage devoted to vineyards, land was less divided, therefore *journaliers* outnumbered *propriétaires* by several thousand. Yet, at least one-third of them were part owners and often shared an outlook similar to that of full owners. This would be particularly the case regarding fiscal policy, credit, irrigation, and transport.

The social structure of Aude is more difficult to define because of the lacunae in its archives. On the basis of information scattered in police reports and the press, it is evident that there was a fairly large rural proletariat in the plain, and a predominance of small- and medium-sized farms along the Aude Valley and in the Corbières. In the latter area an important element of the labor force consisted of woodsmen, a social group of only minor size in the Cévennes, covered chiefly with scrub and other bushes able to live

[8] Bureau de la Statistique Générale, *Statistique de la France: Industrie,* II, *passim; recensement de 1851,* AD, Gard, 10M 138. For Hérault, the labor statistics of the census (1851) are almost without value: employers and workers are lumped together, and the totals are unreliable.

in pockets of thin soil. The Corbières and to a lesser extent the Cévennes included many small farmers who had traditionally used publicly owned pasturage and forests. The July Monarchy had encouraged either the sale or rental of this property to individuals, thereby excluding the marginal peasants from what they considered their historic rights. This situation aroused the anger of the peasants and sometimes drove them to riot before and shortly after the February Revolution.[9]

The owners of estates and the employers of most rural workers were either nobles or well-to-do bourgeois, who were either Legitimists or Orleanists. Active industrialists and merchants also inclined toward parliamentary monarchy and Protestantism. Some well-to-do bourgeois, however, were militant democrats who became leaders of the extreme Left. Generally they were landlords or wholesale wine dealers, and economically independent.

Far more important for this study are the intermediate urban classes: middling and petty bourgeois. It is essential to remember that before modern communication appeared life was centered in the cantonal capitals or larger communes, for the big city was impossibly far away (between Toulouse and Marseille there were no big cities). Even a small locality's social structure, therefore, was complex with its complement of small merchants, medical doctor, pharmacist, notary, justice of the peace, artisans, and, above all, *café* owners, who were numerous in the hills and plains. Many of the daily activities and political interests involving local affairs were centered in the *café*. In nearly every cantonal center there were several, one for each political nuance. They were often the headquarters of political clubs, and, in several instances, the owner was the organizer and head. Each *café* subscribed to newspapers desired by its clientele. Only in larger towns did *cafés* offer a variety of journals.[10] The *café* was, above all, a link between town and country. On market days peasants gathered there and listened to Republican propaganda spread by a freethinking doctor or pharmacist, an ideological lawyer or notary who might or might not have political ambitions. Their activities made the *café* the hostile counterpart of the parish church where the curé spread Legitimist ideals.

The public house was the gathering place of another social group whose role in the growth of the extreme Left was paramount: the artisans. Their role emerged later, during the trials before mixed commissions after the

[9] See Albert Soboul, "La question paysanne en 1848," *La pensée, revue du rationalisme moderne* (Nos. 18–20, 1948), 55–66, 25–37, 48–56, and "Des troubles agraires de 1848," *1848 et les révolutions du XIX^e siècle*, XXXIX (Spring 1949), 1–20, 39–61.

[10] AD, Hérault, 39M 128. Numerous police reports complain that workers spent too much time and money in public houses. For the continuing importance of *cafés*, see Michel Augé-Laribé, *Le problème agraire du socialisme* (Paris, 1907), 266–67.

coup d'état of 1851. Small-town shoemakers, carpenters, masons, plasterers, stonecutters, tailors, locksmiths, coopers, and tanners usually made up the cadres of extreme democratic societies and were active propagandists among peasants. Generally the directing heads were of the middle class. Yet it was chiefly the artisans, allied with the local grocer, butcher, distiller, and other petty bourgeois, who began the political education of the peasants. Many had traveled to learn their craft, and they were literate and open to new ideas. They were far more active than most of the industrial workers who were natives, often illiterate, and, in many cases, followed conservative leadership. Evidently not all artisans, not even a large majority of them in every town, turned to extreme or even to moderate republicanism. Those who lived in towns of one thousand to three thousand in population went to work in the fields part of the year and were frequently under the tutelage of conservative rural authorities upon whom they were partly or wholly dependent.[11] This dependency, which brought with it the reception of charity, probably increased during periods of depression.

In 1847–1849 the economy of lower Languedoc was in serious trouble, as was that of nearly all of France. Naturally public opinion, at least as well as can be discerned, reacted sharply to harsh times.[12] Without fail, local notables and workers complained of the depression. The petty industry, widely dispersed over the area, especially in the zone of hills, was depressed by the collapse of local markets—its main outlet. The decline of wages, balanced by a serious decline of prices, was not a great calamity for the workers; they suffered rather from mass layoffs. Without wages they could not purchase the wares and services of other equally distressed artisans. Worse, they did not even have field labor to fall back on. Agriculture was crushed by bad weather and a shocking fall of prices; cereals could not be sold at a profit and were hurt by foreign competition.[13] Small wonder that the hill and mountain cerealgrowers clamored for tariff protection and condemned the extreme Left, as well as economic liberals who favored free trade. On the other hand, wine interests in the lower hills and plain clamored for free trade as the price of wine in 1849 fell to its lowest level in twenty years. Most Languedocian wine was distilled into alcohol

[11] See Émile Appolis, "Lodève, étude de géographie urbaine," *Cahiers d'histoire et d'archéologie* (Nîmes, 1936), 22–24; Fulcran Teisserenc, *Industrie lainière dans l'Hérault* (Paris, 1908), 31 ff.

[12] The *enquête* of 1848 is not too helpful as a document for narrowly defined economic history. In this essay concerned with the relation between social structure and politics, the *enquête* is most valuable; indeed, it is comparable to the *cahiers des doléances* of 1789. The impact of the crisis on people's thinking can be measured in a general way by studying certain parts of the questionnaires filled out by local notables, and sometimes by workers.

[13] In Aude, wheat prices between 1849 and 1850 suffered their lowest decline since 1825–1829. (See Georges Barbut, *Historique de la culture des céréales dans l'Aude de 1785 à 1900* [Carcassonne, 1900], 36–37.)

and exported to other parts of France and especially to foreign countries. The free access to foreign markets, therefore, seemed essential.[14] Inferior wine not distilled was sold to the lower classes in the region. Local and foreign sales of quality wine and alcohol were difficult, however, because all alcoholic beverages were heavily taxed, both nationally and locally. Hence the fiscal issue was important in local politics. Silk, which rivaled wine in Gard, also suffered from the late freeze of 1848 that dried up mulberry leaves.[15] Finally, numerous small merchants were adversely affected since they sold to the local population. Opinion, extremely pessimistic in 1848, continued so into 1849.

Not pessimism but jubilation filled Languedocian Republicans when they learned of the successful February Revolution. Prior to the elections of April 1848 most men of the Left referred to themselves simply as "republicans," and men of moderate views dominated local political activity and the press. The sobriquet "radical" had appeared earlier, but was never used widely after February.[16]

The crises of May 15 and the June Days separated the proponents of General Eugène Cavaignac from those who came out vigorously in favor of Alexandre Ledru-Rollin and who now called themselves *Montagnards*. In Montpellier an ardent journalist, Louis Auriol, founded *Le Montagnard du Midi* and set up *Montagnard* societies. In Carcassonne the Jacobin *Fraternité,* edited by Théophile Marcou, replaced the moderate *Républicain de l'Aude* during September. Its program was typical of the Mountain: free, public, secular education, economic cooperation which it called "soli-

[14] The report from Béziers in the *enquête* explained, "Les douanes sont au commerce ce que l'esclavage est à la civilisation." Until the improvement of transport, the Midi could more easily and cheaply export its alcohol to other parts of the world than to the north of France.

[15] Destremx de St. Christol, *Agriculture méridionale,* 53.

[16] On December 5, 1847, during a reform banquet in Montpellier, the main speaker, Louis Garnier-Pagès, introduced the "radical" program which called for "guerre à l'exploitation des masses par quelques privilégiés." (See *Banquet réformiste à Montpellier* [Montpellier, 1847], 19–27.) At this time the word "radical" was used because the word "républicain" had been outlawed by the July Monarchy. Borrowed from the English, it was employed by French Republicans to emphasize their determined opposition to the government. When the government was overthrown, the word lost its reason for being and practically disappeared. (See Gil C. Alroy, "Les Radicaux après la Révolution de 1848," *Le Contrat social,* X [No. 5, 1966], 290–94.) On the origins of the word, see Jacques Kayser, *Les grandes batailles du radicalisme, 1820–1901* (Paris, 1962), 7–14. In the present essay "Radical" means the extreme Left which in 1848 was commonly called "Montagnard," and in 1849 "démocrate-socialiste," or, at any time, "républicain démocrate." In lower Languedoc there was no clear line of demarcation between an advanced democrat and a socialist. The extreme Left studied here, however, tended to be more Jacobin than socialist, Rousseauist than Babeuvian, and it became the basis of the southern Radical movement of the Third Republic. Unfortunately a history of Languedoc for the period since 1789 does not exist. There is some useful information in Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Histoire du Languedoc* (Paris, 1962), Chap. VI. There are no histories for any of the departments under study. For politics from 1830 to 1847, see AN, BB[18] 1315, 1319, 1443[a], and AD, Hérault, 39M 107–12, 114, 116, 117; AD, Aude, 5M 27, 28; AD, Gard, 6M 390, 405.

darisme," the right to work, a progressive income tax, property for everyone, and the abolition of usury. It warned that if Louis Napoleon won and then threatened the republic, "Insurrection would become the most sacred of duties."[17]

Jacobins now emerged as a distinct Republican force. With them came a new style of campaign for the December presidential elections: it was fervent, even physically violent when street fighting became necessary, and centered in banquets where Maximilien Robespierre and Louis Saint-Just were toasted amidst shouts of "vive la guillotine."[18] All this occurred in fields or halls decorated with red and tricolor flags and banners, Phrygian caps, and busts of Marianne. When the guests had exhausted their stock of food, wine, and words, they formed a long cortege and marched through the streets with flags waving and drums beating.[19] At times the police intervened; on several occasions mounted police charged with sabers drawn. Then the demonstrators let go a salvo of stones before taking to their heels. This oppositional impulse was uncompromising toward Cavaignac, "the butcher." In consequence, the moderate press distrusted and decided to ignore it.[20] The dynamic character of the extreme Left must, however, be underlined. Most of the active militants were relatively young, in their twenties and thirties, and although a majority of them had families, they sacrificed their jobs for the cause. Often their wives and even their children participated in the more festive programs such as planting liberty trees and crowning them with Phrygian caps, or serenading a local hero, or dancing the farandole in long serpentine columns, or just plain mischief which police reports refer to as "tapage nocturne."[21] This, the "human element," would play a decisive role in subsequent events.

For the moment, however, these activities and sacrifices were in vain; the Mountain suffered a severe defeat. Lower Languedoc, like the rest of France, preferred Louis Napoleon and, after him, Cavaignac. Republicanism was still predominantly moderate. Ledru-Rollin enjoyed his greatest success in Gard and Hérault, where he won 15–16 per cent of the votes—roughly 10 per cent above his national average. Aude, which had elected four Jacobins in April, gave him a mere 10 per cent. And yet Narbonne was unique in preferring him over Cavaignac and in giving him a total equal

[17] *Fraternité,* Nov. 4, 1848.
[18] AN, BB[18] 1469, dr. 6579[a].
[19] AD, Gard, 6M 613, police reports, Oct.–Dec. 1848; *Républicain du Gard,* Oct.–Dec. 1848.
[20] AN, BB[18] 1474[b], reports of the *procureur général,* Oct.–Nov. 1848. The *Républicain du Gard* would have preferred to support Alphonse Lamartine or even Ledru-Rollin, but concluded that only Cavaignac could successfully compete with Louis Napoleon. Republican defense, therefore, demanded support of him. (See *Républicain du Gard,* Nov. 26, 29, 1848.)
[21] See AD, Aude, 5M 32; AD, Hérault, 39M 132.

to that of Louis Napoleon. It was clear by now that the roots of the Mountain had found fertile soil chiefly in urban areas. In Hérault, 70 per cent of its vote came from the twelve largest towns.[22] Here was a situation to exploit in 1849.

Between April 1848 and May 1849, as the prices of wheat and wine dropped further, the Republican press revealed a growing concern about fiscal and social reform. Especially after the June Days it became more critical of the social conservatism of the government. A major complaint was the drink tax, along with concern about unemployment among vineyardworkers. In early 1848, people in the Midi grew increasingly hostile to a fiscal system that, in their volatile opinion, drained the south to benefit the north. Violence occurred in some areas in the form of antifiscal riots. Local tax collectors were threatened with lynching, and their offices set on fire to destroy records.[23] Chiefly after the election of Louis Napoleon the Republican press found it convenient to attack the government's tax system, and there was a marked swing toward radicalism among all these journals which, incidentally, were published in distressed wine centers. In their columns the wine issue became inextricably bound up with the social question because the low-grade alcohol and wine of the Midi were consumed by the lower classes. Unfair levies deprived the poor of their *boisson hygiénique*. The nectar of Bacchus had already become a source of poetic inspiration to the extreme Left: "La vigne est l'emblême cardinal d'amitié. C'est le plus pur produit des amours de la terre et du soleil. Le vin est le lait des vieillards, le consolateur des affligés, le soutien des faibles, le viatique des forts."[24]

Conservatives, of course, also represented wine interests and called for the abolition of the taxes still levied on alcohol: *droits réunis, droits d'entrée,* and especially the *octrois*. If only to compete, Republicans took a more advanced position on taxes, and, therefore, moderate republicanism was destroyed in the Midi during 1849–1850, not only by the rise of political reaction, which provoked extremism, but also by the violent struggle over the tax issue. As the Republican press became Radical, it supported a progressive income tax, the nightmare of conservatives. In addition, it called upon the men in power to recover the *milliard des émigrés* and to use this sum to reimburse all peasants who had paid the forty-five-centime

[22] André J. Tudesq, "L'élection du président de la République en 1848 dans l'Hérault," *Annales du Midi,* LXVII (Oct. 1955), 331–42.

[23] AD, Hérault, 39M 127, police reports of Mar. 1848; on the issue of taxation, see Robert Schnerb, "Les hommes de 1848 et l'impôt," *1848 et les révolutions du* XIX^e^ *siècle,* XXXVIII (No. 176, 1948), 5–51.

[24] *Républicain du Gard,* Mar. 9, 1849.

tax. All *Montagnard* journals then initiated a petition to effect this return, a common tactic in the three departments that reveals the level of unified action and planning achieved since 1848.[25]

The extreme Left also recognized the need for the state to be more active in social and economic life. Since the economic crisis continued into 1849, they called for legislation on hours and insisted that the right to work be officially recognized. Since this right would necessitate additional expenditure in the form of public works, they demanded that the state nationalize certain monopolies such as railroads, insurance, and finance. Above all, they demanded cheap credit for peasants' and workers' cooperatives. The *Fraternité* was the most *socialisant* and revealed the influence of Armand Barbès and Louis Blanc. It was, however, really Jacobin and hoped to encourage land partitioning (*morcellement*) as a solution to the peasants' problem: land purchase, presumably from the Church, would be fostered by cheap long-term credit. It even advocated the emission of paper money based on land, which was reminiscent of assignats. Part of its general program was also the abolition of usury, as has already been shown. None of these latter-day Jacobins, however, called for the abolition of debts, as had some of Louis Napoleon's electoral agents in 1848. Had they done so, the debt-burdened peasants might have reacted differently since Louis Napoleon had not carried out his supposed promises. The journals wanted, ideally, greater emphasis on equality and fraternity. Their inspiration, they claimed, was the social gospel of Christianity and the ideal of the family as a social unit whose members are bound together by love.[26] Finally the Radical Left called for a broad extension of public education. In the questionnaires of the *enquête,* local notables had shown some concern for education, but surprisingly little for professional training, and, indeed, it was seriously lacking in the Midi, as it was in France. Radicals were emphatic on the need for free, secular schooling which would include greater emphasis on professional training, especially in agriculture.

This was the extreme Left's program for the 1849 elections, and to emphasize its extremism it entered the contest referring to itself as "démocrate-socialiste."

The elections of May 1849 marked a serious defeat for the Democratic-

[25] *Fraternité,* Sept. 30, 1848; Feb. 17, Mar. 10, 1849; *Républicain du Gard,* Feb. 15, 28, Mar. 10, 1849; *Indépendant,* Apr. 6, 1849.

[26] *Fraternité,* Sept. 9, Oct. 18, 28, 1848; *Indépendant,* Apr. 2, 6, 1849; *Républicain du Gard,* Mar. 15, 1849. The last-named was far less committed to nationalization; it still favored, however, social reform in a vague way. Many peasants were more attracted by cheap credit than ideology; they had bought land on credit before the fall of agricultural prices in 1848–1849 and now found the interest burden intolerable. More peasants turned to the Left as the years passed and conditions worsened. (AN, BB[30] 382 dr. 9567[a], reports of *procureur général* at Montpellier, July–Aug. 1851.)

Socialists whose immediate future became somber indeed. They made it possible, however, for the Left to win an identity, distinct from that of mere republicanism, to discover its ideology and its leaders, to prepare for its tragic but heroic period in 1851, and to win its eventual victory with the establishment of the Third Republic when the defeated leaders of 1848–1851 reappeared and won power. In the short run, of course, division in Republican ranks contributed to electoral losses. In Aude, the Radical slate, supported by the *Fraternité,* suffered a slight decline after April 1848. The average vote in 1848 for the Radicals Barbès, Théodore Raynal, Edmond Joly, and Marcou was about 31,000. The average vote for the entire 1849 list was 29,838; for the victorious conservatives, 36,000. Considering only averages, the loss was not disastrous, and an important advance in identification was achieved; electors in 1849 voted for the list rather than individual candidates as they had done a year before when the range of the Republican-Radical slate had extended from 53,308 to 11,029; moderate Republicans had enjoyed the highest totals. The defeat, moreover, was not irretrievable; on the basis of its program the Mountain won 43 per cent of the ballots cast and 33 per cent of the registered voters. Moderate republicanism was crushed; there was no moderate slate. The voters had chosen between red and black.

In Hérault, Republicans were given a choice between moderates and Democratic-Socialists whose list was headed by Ledru-Rollin and Jacques Brives. They turned to the extreme Left en masse. In December 1848 Ledru-Rollin had received only 11,580 votes; he now won 31,202. The Radical slate averaged 27,600 votes as compared to 31,700 for Republicans of various colors in 1848. The combined averages for the Radicals and moderates in 1849 revealed that republicanism was able to hold its own since the previous year. More significant was the Leftward shift of Republican sentiment, despite massive pressure by the administration in favor of conservatives. Radicals had campaigned militantly, and both Brives and Ledru-Rollin won seats, despite the fact that their slate received only 30 per cent of the ballots, and 27 per cent of the registered voters. Since they were included on the moderate slate, they pulled ahead of fellow Jacobins to win. Moderates were crushed, and most seats went to conservatives.

In Gard, the extreme Left was weakened by internal feuds between Jules Cazot and the doctrinaire extremists of the Club Martin *cadet* headed by Pierre Encontre. While they all distinguished themselves from moderates, they nonetheless included on their list two of the best-known ones: Alphonse Bousquet and Jacques Favand. Ledru-Rollin was the only Radical with more than a local reputation; hence he was included on the moderate

list as well. His prestige, which weighed heavily in Hérault, was far less valuable in Gard. The Radical slate, excluding Bousquet and Favand, averaged only 16,323 votes; including them, it averaged 19,000. No Republican candidate was elected, and even had all Republicans united, their combined total was roughly 5,000 votes short of that of the conservatives. The eastern part of lower Languedoc had almost returned to its Royalist tradition.

The emergence of the extreme Left, then, was most dramatic in Aude and Hérault, far less so in Gard. Here was a curious situation because in 1851 and after 1870 this pattern reversed itself. Hérault remained pivotal, but initiative passed from Aude to Gard. An explanation of this phenomenon is essential to our understanding of a century-long process by which lower Languedoc (and the Mediterranean coast) passed from royalism to Radical-Socialism.

Several factors must be considered: First, there was the environmental factor, combining geography, economy, and social structure. Then, against this background the human factor comes into play with the will of men to achieve political success. At times it overcame a hostile environment, as in Saissac Canton (Aude); at times it failed to exploit a friendly one, as in Vauvert Canton (Gard). The human factor is a disturbing one in our analysis, not only because it is often unpredictable but because it was influenced by the cultural factor combining religion and tradition. Since human actions were not always merely unconscious or automatic responses to physical environment, generalization is both difficult and hazardous. It is necessary, nonetheless, if we are to understand the process of change.[27]

Let us begin our analysis by scrutinizing several feasible generalizations. First, people of the high hills and mountains, where traditions were hostile to change, were usually averse to the extreme Left. The term "people" here means primarily peasants, and their highland cantons were the most economically backward. Albert Soboul, who studied peasant behavior in depressed areas and their resistance either to technical innovation or to the transfer of public lands to private ownership, concluded that class feeling motivated their actions: these poor peasants, to protect their economic and class interests, resorted to politics.[28] Presumably, they voted against the rich, which would leave them no alternative save the extreme Left. One of the

[27] Electoral statistics for 1848–1849 are deplorably scanty in local archives and nonexistent in the Archives Nationales. I found totals for communes only in AD, Hérault, 15M 9; cantonal totals are available in the local press.

[28] Soboul, "Question paysanne." Soboul states that peasants voted for Louis Napoleon in December 1848 because moderates did not bring forth an economic program favorable to peasant aspirations. In 1849, disenchanted with Louis Napoleon, they voted for Democratic-Socialists. This thesis, I feel, is too general and schematic; peasant reactions were far more complex.

chief areas of peasant unrest in lower Languedoc during 1847–1848 was the high hills and mountains. But active unrest was limited to several communes and was by no means a general phenomenon. In the Cévennes, where peasants had resorted to resistance in 1847–1848, as in the cantons of Saint-Pons and La Salvetat in Hérault, they supported the conservative slate in 1848–1849. They did not differ from the more passive peasants who had not resorted to violence earlier and who also supported either Carlists or, more rarely, moderate Republicans. The former won in Hérault and in most of Gard; the latter won in certain cantons where cultural factors, such as religion, acted upon the norm. Clearly the mountain people, although poorer now than during the previous year, acted in a fashion conformable to the theory that mountain people are more conservative than those of the lowland. As yet the communication between these two areas was quite limited. Lack of roads or roads nearly impassable, illiteracy, and rough terrain were conditions that prevailed. The vineyards of the low hills and plains were not yet extensive enough to influence life by introducing mobility.[29] Highland peasants often spent a few weeks harvesting in the vineyards, but returned home unaffected, speaking only their own dialect. They could, but only rarely, resort to violence against specific grievances; they had not yet, however, reached a stage of awareness that allowed them to translate specific grievances into political action.[30] They sought to preserve rather than to change; they opposed capitalist innovation and accepted traditional social hierarchy and religion. Efforts at recruitment, carried on sporadically by Radicals from Bédarieux and Lodève, hardly touched these isolated people.

The above generalizations are not universally applicable; there were variables. In some cantons religion became a major determinant by 1849. In Gard and Hérault highland cantons with a large Protestant population voted generally for moderate Republicans; only two of them, Saint-Jean-du-Gard and Anduze, gave a substantial minority to the Democratic-Socialists, some of whom were native sons. Fear of Catholic-Carlist domination, not in any sense class or economic interests, determined this vote. Protestant cantons from the plain to the mountains voted massively Republican in 1849. It is interesting to note that Protestants in the mountains were stable, sober, and rather moderate in their general comportment and out-

[29] In the *enquête* there was very little mention of migration from highlands toward lowlands. Apparently military service was an important displacer of young men. As yet, the population was growing everywhere, so that lowland vineyards obtained much of their labor force from nearby communities. Full-time work in vineyards required certain skills and finesse that the crude mountain people did not possess.

[30] Their action still resembled that of eighteenth-century peasants. On the latter, see George Rudé, *The Crowd in History* (New York, 1964), Chap. 1.

look. There are no reports condemning them for poaching, forest devastation, and rioting. The majority were landowners and ignored Democratic-Socialism in 1848–1849.

A situation more in accord with Soboul's thesis occurred in the Corbières and the Montagne Noire in Aude. Some peasants from this area had resisted the alienation of public forests, as in Axat and Quillan Cantons, and large numbers of the lower class voted for the Barbès list, but no greater number than in Mouthoumet, Lagrasse, or Saissac Cantons where there were no reports of violent resistance. In all of these cantons, except Quillan, the Democratic-Socialists won a majority, and usually a sizable majority running over 50 per cent of the ballots. Undoubtedly the peasants there, because they depended heavily upon public forests for wood and grazing land, were hostile to a regime that kept open the door to private ownership of these resources. Also those same woodsmen and miners wanted state help in the form of roads and canals. They were united with the wine producers in the demand for an active public works policy financed by the rich, and radicalism seemed to offer them a means to achieve this goal. Since the lower classes here were as illiterate as those in the Cévennes, the extreme Left must have carried on extensive missionary work. Recruiters must have come from the Aude Valley lying to the west and north because local militants were extremely rare.[81] Here human will overcame geographic obstacles by exploiting a depressed economic situation.

In the hill region Jacobin victories were confined to important river valleys, usually where there was some sort of petty industrial activity, important wine production, or both. Where the extreme Left did not win a majority, it often obtained over 40 per cent of the ballots. The Aude Valley, which combined both petty and medium property and a large number of independent wine and cereal producers, was and remained its chief stronghold. Here nature provided an artery of communication, and militants carried their program of cheap credit and public works to grapegrowers who complained of insufficient capital and inadequate roads. As wine production diminished west of Carcassonne, so did Left-wing influence. The canton of Castelnaudary-Sud was its western outpost in an area dominated by cereal production, with large and medium landowners.[82] The valley of Hérault was less clearly dominated; Democratic-Socialists won victories chiefly in cantons where textiles were concentrated and performed poorly elsewhere. The same was true of the Orb Valley in Hérault and

[81] A few Jacobins were arrested after the *coup d'état* of 1851, but only in one town, appropriately named Villerouge, was there a concentration of them: ten, more than in Narbonne, were seized. (See AD, Aude, 5M 37–42.)

[82] AN, BB[30] 362, fols. 148, 177.

of the Gard Valley in Gard. In the Rhône Valley its strength was confined to the cantons of Aramon and Beaucaire where there was a considerable landless agricultural proletariat, as well as some active organizers such as A. Tavernel in Aramon and J. Dufestel in Beaucaire. Despite these exceptions river valleys became important centers of the extreme Left.

Where rivers met the sea the extreme Left was able to win a strong position; if there was a large town at this juncture, it usually won a dominant position in political affairs. Here was to be found the combination of a petty middle class furnishing leadership, the urban artisan class providing a cadre of organizers, and a vineyard proletariat making up an activist following. Here life was highly urbanized, open to new ideas; tradition was more seriously challenged by a generally more volatile, mobile population. These areas played a major role in the political transformation of the Midi. Pivotal points were the mouths of the Aude, Orb, Hérault, and Vidourle Rivers. Three of these junctures lay in Hérault, where towns were more numerous and where landless workers outnumbered landowners.

In several communes of the plain, lower-class discontent had led to acts of insubordination before and after February 1848. In two instances this discontent clearly led to extremism in politics: in Mèze and in Lunel Cantons. Here, and in the cantons of Béziers, Frontignan, and Mauguio, the Democratic-Socialists established bastions that became impregnable. They also had an extensive following in Florensac and Sète. It is interesting to note that in Florensac and Frontignan landowners outnumbered workers, which produced no appreciable difference in voting patterns. On the other hand, in the cantons of Agde and Montpellier, where workers outnumbered owners in some communes, response to the Radical program was disappointing; conservatives won there. The victories resulted undoubtedly from activities by conservative leaders because the economy and social structure were essentially the same as in cantons favorable to the Left.[88] Here the traditionalistic city dominated the eastern suburbs.

Conservative traditions were also deeper in the plain of Aude. Except for the lowland around the town of Narbonne, and Coursan, where the large working class became a permanent bulwark of the extreme Left, wealthy wine producers were fairly successful in their determined efforts to control their workers. In the canton of Sigean, and even in those of Narbonne and Coursan, Democratic-Socialists formally accused employers of giving specially shaped ballots to workers and of standing near the ballot

[88] Agde was a decadent port living from wine trade and fishing. Monarchism was a strong tradition there, and the first Radical-Socialist victory in municipal elections came only in 1898. (See Joseph Picheire, *Histoire d'Agde* [Lyons, (1960)], 81–91.) On the other hand, the extreme Left won in the neighboring communes of Marseillan and Besson.

boxes to identify those who refused to use them.[34] The extreme Left lost the election because it could not obtain all of the sizable labor vote of the plain. In the plain of Gard, the *vignerons* of all classes favored the moderate list; that of Jules Cazot did not do well; neither did Ledru-Rollin who was on both lists. That there was a sizable class of small landowners here was undoubtedly a factor in this preference; however, the population of Vaunage, regardless of class affiliation, was quite excitable and violently hostile to a central government that increasingly identified itself with Catholic interests. Rather than to Montpellier, these people looked to Nîmes which was their hope as a center of Republican organization and their despair as the center of Catholic power.

The strength of the Mountain ultimately depended upon its success in winning a significant urban following and then in using its urban forces to sway the countryside. In Aude, Radicals gained a high percentage of the ballots because they won all the important towns, of which there were only four, the prefecture of Carcassonne and the subprefectures of Limoux, Castelnaudary, and Narbonne. They were also popular in many small textile towns, often isolated in high hills or mountains, such as Chalabre, whose mayor was an ardent *Montagnard*.[35] In Hérault, the Mountain placed two of its candidates among the winners because it won three *arrondissement* capitals: Lodève and its weavers with a sizable majority; Béziers with a respectable majority; and Montpellier with a minute majority and that thanks to the third or western canton, which was partly rural and Protestant. Saint-Pons, isolated and economically poor, favored either moderate Republicans or conservatives. Unlike Carcassonne, which was predominantly Jacobin and not very rich, Montpellier was a seat of wealthy nobles and bourgeois who enjoyed considerable influence over the lower classes of shopkeepers, artisans, and unskilled workers (of whom there were few). The truly urban element of the population was chiefly Catholic and conservative.[36] Radicals won their following in the western suburbs more so than in the center of the city. More decidedly Left-wing were the textile centers—Bédarieux, Lodève, Clermont, and Saint-Chinian—as well as the coastal wine centers—Sète, Mèze, and Frontignan. In nearly every instance, these towns carried the cantonal vote into the Radical camp. The silk textile center, Ganges, followed the pattern of the urban vote in Gard because of serious religious divisions.[37] In Gard, the only administrative center that

[34] AN, F^{IC} III Aude[4]; see also *Fraternité*, May 14–16, 1849.

[35] See AD, Aude, 5M 32, fols. 100–80.

[36] Louis Thomas, "Montpellier en 1851, le coup d'état du 2 décembre 1851," *Monspeliensia*, I (No. 3, 1933), 11–12.

[37] For Ganges, see AD, Hérault, 39M 142. It is noteworthy that textile laborers in Lodève,

was markedly Left-wing was Alès. Le Vigan was moderate Republican, Uzès was torn between moderates and Carlists, and Nîmes, the biggest textile center of the south, was predominantly Carlist. In the first canton of Nîmes, strongly Protestant, Ledru-Rollin won about two hundred, and Almir Cavalier, a moderate Jacobin, about one hundred more votes than the moderates Bousquet and Jacques Favand. However, the Republican-Radical list could not even carry this constituency. Quite clearly the Catholic majority who had voted Republican in 1848 became Monarchists again in 1849. The only other town of importance that supported the Radical list was Beaucaire, a declining port and market on the Rhône River. Here the commercial working class, the stevedores and wagoners, were Left-wing and led by militant Jacobins.

Most of the supporters of the Democratic-Socialists came from the lower classes—hardly an original statement, but one needing clarification. The term "lower classes" covered different categories of the population. The extreme Left could not have won its sizable vote had it not attracted a fairly large number of landowning peasants. In truth, the extreme Left was always a sort of agrarian movement, and its rise to dominance after 1870 accompanied the change of the rural economy from a polyculture to a monoculture based on wine. In 1849 many small vineyard owners rallied to it in Aude, and in the cantons of the Garrigues of Hérault, and of Gard. Its "bread and butter" program—cheap credit and fiscal reform—certainly had appeal. Nonetheless, its greatest majorities were won in cantons with a large number of agricultural laborers, at least eight hundred landless workers or more, who rallied to its program of widespread landownership. To be sure, as stated already, a large working class was not a guarantee of Jacobin victory or even of a moderate Republican victory. In the plain of Aude a fairly large number of vineyard laborers voted conservative, apparently under the pressure of their employers. In the Hérault mountain communes, La Salvetat, Saint-Maurice-Navacelles, and Claret, laborers outnumbered employers by four to one, yet they, too, followed the example of many lowland workers of Aude. So did the laborers in the Garrigues zone around Roujan and Montagnac, and in the plain around Agde and Montpellier. In Gard the large number of vineyardworkers in the cantons of Vauvert and Roquemaure voted for moderate Republicans; those in St. Gilles for Royalists. The Mountain, nonetheless, won its most impressive victories where an extensive rural labor force was spread over an entire canton or over several cantons, not where the workers, however numerous,

although employed at fairly good wages thanks to government contracts, supported the extreme Left. This was an ideological commitment.

were isolated in a single commune; they were particularly successful where the land laborers were led by urban laborers as in the cantons of Bédarieux, Lodève, Clermont, Béziers, Mèze, Maugio, and Lunel in Hérault, Carcassonne, Castelnaudary-Sud, and Chalabre in Aude, and Lédignan, Beaucaire, and Aramon in Gard. The impulse given by urban classes notwithstanding, the present and future of the extreme Left were ultimately dependent on the rural labor force, particularly on the vineyardworkers. It made notable progress where this force was already active and organized, as in the commune of Marsillargues in Lunel Canton, situated in the turbulent Vaunage.[38] This situation was characteristic of localities where Democratic-Socialists triumphed. Throughout France support for them came with as much gusto from rural as from industrial people, and most of the reddest departments were predominantly agricultural.[39]

There was, however, much industrial activity in commonly designated rural departments, and in lower Languedoc the extreme Left was highly dependent upon industrial workers, if the term "industrial" is not limited to exclusively large-scale enterprise. There was a good deal of petty and medium industry in rural Languedoc, and the ideal of the organization of work attracted to the Mountain an important segment of the domestic and artisanal working class. Domestic industrial labor meant, by and large, textile labor, not spinning, which was performed by females who could not vote, but weaving, washing, combing, dying, and so forth. Where textiles were centered in a town, even though the domestic system was common, workers tended to acquire a sense, if not of clearly defined class interests, at least of corporate interests. Male textile labor in Bédarieux, Lodève, and Clermont displayed early development in organization for strikes and in trade-union formation, even hiding their unions behind the façade of mutual-aid societies. During the July Monarchy they were in advance of workers living in most other industrial areas.[40] Their turn to the Left in politics was, however, too recent to project them conspicuously into the Jacobin leadership which was artisan or bourgeois.[41] Rather they constituted

[38] *Ibid.*, 132, police report of May 15, 1849.

[39] Jacques Bouillon, "Les démocrates-socialistes aux élections de 1849," *Revue française de science politique,* VI (No. 1, 1956), 86–89; see also Gaston Génîque, *L'élection de l'Assemblée Législative en 1849* (Paris, 1921).

[40] Peter Stearns, "Patterns of Industrial Strike Activity in France during the July Monarchy," *American Historical Review,* LXX (Jan. 1965), 371–94. Information on labor relations is scarcest for the Midi. A large-scale strike occurred in Lodève and Clermont during 1845, directed against the introduction of machinery, as well as to improve wages. (See Frank Manuel, "Introduction des machines en France et les ouvriers: La grève des tisserands de Lodève," *Revue d'histoire moderne,* New Ser., IV [No. 1, 1935], 209–25, 352–72.) This was, to our knowledge, the last strike before the February Revolution; disputes in 1847 were conciliated by local *conseils de prud'hommes.* (See AN, F[12] 4476°.)

[41] Apparently they leaned toward the Legitimists until 1848 when they were converted to democracy by the *sous-commissaire,* Marcel Atger. (See Émile Appolis, "Un démocrate sociale

a fairly active part of the rank and file. This role, of course, was not passively narrow; it was broadened by the fact that many of them enjoyed only seasonal employment. Although they generally lived in towns, they also worked in agriculture during two or three months of the year. They therefore carried their Jacobinism to the peasants in the surrounding countryside, reinforcing the missionary work of many artisans. Given the seasonal nature of their work, they had the leisure to frequent *cafés* in nearby hamlets where peasants met *pour tuer le ver*. And, of course, when peasants came to town on market days, they joined the local petty bourgeois and urban artisans who gathered in Left-wing *cafés* to indoctrinate the rustics.

Apart from textiles the only other industries employing large numbers of men were metallurgy and mining. Both were located in the high hills and mountains. In the town of Alès the extreme Left enjoyed considerable success among metalworkers who had traveled, were open-minded, and were in an urban milieu that protected them from patron domination.[42] The rather large contingent of coal miners in the extreme northern cantons of Gard were, on the other hand, usually hostile to the Left. Most had been recruited from nearby mountain villages, were devoutly Catholic, and were easily controlled by the companies.[43] Mines and the metalworks in Aude were chiefly in the higher Corbières around Mouthoumet. They provided a numerically small but active labor force that helped spread Radical views in an area geographically cut off from the main routes of Left-wing propaganda. Mining in Hérault was as yet confined to the commune of Camplong in Bédarieux Canton, and miners were only a few hundred in number. Unlike those in Gard, many of them were Protestant. Since the conservatives defeated the Mountain by only a small majority, it is possible that Jacobins from nearby Bédarieux had converted a sizable portion of the laboring class. If there was conversion, however, it was not deep. Probably in the mining district of Hérault as in those of Gard, radicalism won fewer followers among miners than among artisans and petty bourgeois who usually displayed more defiance of the companies as well as of the government, and who, if they were Protestant or freethinking, lent to their politics a kind of religious militancy.[44]

sous la Seconde République, Marcel Atger," *Actes du 87e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes* [Paris, 1962], 363–75.)

[42] There were between fifteen hundred and two thousand metalworkers centralized in two mills. (Rivoire, *Statistique du département du Gard*, II, 186, and census of 1851.)

[43] AD, Gard, 6M 613. In the decades to follow, Bessèges became a center of revolutionary syndicalism, while Grand'Combe remained a center of royalism and Catholicism until the twentieth century.

[44] It has not been possible to obtain a precise knowledge of petty-middle-class attitudes in the coal basins. Interesting to note, however, was the prolabor position of many local merchants in the mining districts during the 1880's and 1890's. They hated company stores and therefore the companies. They were the creditors of miners during strikes.

Certainly religion was a vital force in lower Languedoc. The halcyon days of brotherly love based on Christian belief and freedom of worship, which had been common immediately after the February Revolution, had largely disappeared between April and December 1848 when politics had acquired religious overtones. In the three departments under study the Catholic hierarchy was Royalist at heart, and in 1849 the three archbishops actively took up that cause. The Roman policy of the government further divided Catholics from non-Catholics, with the result that political conflict was exacerbated by religious passion. Both moderate republicanism and Jacobinism were or claimed to be Christian. Even in 1849, when Jacobins referred to themselves as socialists, they continued to preach a form of social gospel: "Le socialisme, . . . c'est l'œuvre pour laquelle Jésus-Christ est mort, c'est la bonne nouvelle annoncée par Saint-Paul."[45] In Aude, where there was only a handful of Protestants, the Mountain became strongly anticlerical and prosecular. Its conflict with the Church was largely political since it sought to reduce the power of the clergy in government and education. It appealed to the lower class in its campaign against upper-class clerics. Where members of the Reformed Church lived in small enclaves, as in some communes in the lower Hérault Valley and around Le Vigan and Ganges, they do not seem to have allowed their religion to influence unduly their politics. However, where they constituted a sizable (and therefore measurable) portion of the population, their religion and politics intertwined inextricably, and the conflict between Catholics and Calvinists was as much confessional as political and social. Members of the two faiths hardly communicated in communes west and south of Montpellier, in the Vaunage, and in a broad belt stretching from Nîmes along the upper Gard Valley to Saint-Jean-du-Gard.[46] Class feelings were obscured by religious alignments. Sometimes a common religion bound employer and employee in a common political view: the Catholic miners in Gard, many vineyardworkers in Aude, the Protestant silkworkers in Ganges and Le Vigan, many of the Catholic textileworkers in the second and third cantons of Nîmes, and the common laborers in the town of Montpellier. Quite clearly the working class in Nîmes and the miners in Alès *arrondissement* were motivated by religious rather than economic or social considerations; they voted for conservatives who opposed the legislative bills that would have improved their living conditions.

[45] See *Indépendant*, May 20, June 17, 1849.

[46] For statistics on the Protestant population, see AN, F^{19} 10031^{1}. Particularly important is Gérard Cholvy, "Les Protestants de l'Hérault: Essai d'évaluation numérique," *Annales du Midi*, LXXVII (No. 3, 1965), 319–32; Rivoire, *Statistique du département du Gard*, II, 439–43. S. R. Schram, *Protestantism and Politics in France* (Alençon, 1954), is useful, although it concentrates on the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Religious differences, on the other hand, sometimes divided classes. In the textile center of Bédarieux workers tended to be freethinkers while employers were Protestant. In both local and national elections there the watchword of labor was "Do not vote for Protestants!"[47] In the first canton of Nîmes Catholic workers disliked their Protestant employers and voted for the Right. In Nîmes as in Montpellier, violent conflicts broke out between the adherents of the two religions, and each sought to control the National Guard so as to have an armed defense against its enemy.

Not all Protestants, nor all Catholics, were united in two distinct political camps. Wealthy Calvinists, who lived in towns such as Nîmes, Montpellier, Ganges, Lunel, Bédarieux, and Lodève, were generally Orleanists, and they had been highly favored by the July Monarchy. When they accepted the Second Republic in 1848, they were Constitutionalists; during 1849 they became Bonapartists.[48] Protestantism, on the other hand, provided the Mountain with some of its more ardent exponents: the agricultural laborers in Marsillargues and Mauguio in Hérault and the workers and small farmers in Saint-Jean-du-Gard and Anduze in Gard. Most of the Protestant population in 1849, however, favored constitutional republicanism seasoned with a dash of Jacobin fervor—provided the fervor was not too intense and the Jacobins displaying it were native sons. Religious considerations therefore place serious limitations on an economic interpretation of voting behavior. The Catholic who had voted for Republicans in 1848 voted for Royalists in 1849. The Calvinist who voted for moderates in 1848 and 1849 reacted accordingly by turning to the extreme Left. In both cases the government's religious policy rather than its economic or social policies brought about the change.

It is impossible to determine how extensive was the nonreligious or nonchurchgoing part of these voters. The censuses listed the number of Protestants and Jews, then classified the remainder of the population as Catholic. Yet the fact that religious practice declined sharply in lower Midi later in the nineteenth century would indicate that it had begun to decline by the middle of that century. It is highly probable, then, that an indeterminate number of voters, located chiefly in larger towns and along the seacoast, were only nominal or non-Christian. Because of the increasingly pro-Catholic policy of the central government, they would logically join the extreme Left to oppose it.

Between the summer of 1849 and the end of 1850 the extreme Left

[47] Émile Appolis, "La résistance au coup d'état du 2 décembre 1851 dans l'Hérault," *Actes du 77e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes* (Paris, 1952), 497.

[48] See AD, Hérault, 39M 142, police reports of May 15, 1852.

finally emerged as the chief oppositional force in lower Languedoc. Its exponents captured control of the press as well as of the party machinery remaining after the May elections. As the government in Paris moved steadily toward the Right, Republicans moved rapidly toward the Left. Louis Napoleon's Roman policy and his repressive laws against the press, assembly, and speech destroyed the reason for being of moderate policies and reinforced the tendency toward revolutionary tactics. During two by-elections, Radicals took the lead in choosing candidates and preparing programs. In Montpellier during July a *Comité Républicain Démocratique de 93* chose Ferdinand Flocon, editor of *La Réforme* of Paris, to run for the seat vacated by Ledru-Rollin who had fled to England to escape prosecution. In Gard, during January 1850, Favand ran as a Jacobin and, like Flocon, took up the program of the extreme Left, especially its fiscal ideas. It is doubtful, however, that this Leftward shift was influenced in any decisive way by economic or social factors. Although the economic crisis continued to affect most voters, there was massive abstention in both elections. In consequence both candidates drew their support from a hard core of the Republican Left. Flocon received ten thousand fewer votes than Ledru-Rollin who had won in May, but he did not even leave Paris to campaign. His votes came chiefly from the plain and valleys. Favand won because the Catholic Royalist vote was split. He received 30 per cent of the registered voters, roughly the percentage of the Protestant population in the department. His backing came precisely from where it had come in 1849, the Protestant belt stretching from Vauvert in the plain to Saint-Jean-du-Gard in the mountains. Clearly Protestant republicanism was becoming red.[49] The Roman expedition and the Falloux education bill were certainly more important causes of this shift than economic distress.[50] When the Falloux bill was debated, Protestants were talking of insurrection and had already organized a large number of secret societies.[51]

The geographic distribution of these societies coincides, generally, with the areas where Radicals either won elections or a sizable percentage of the vote. In the Cévennes there were few of them: one at Saint-Jean-du-Gard where the Mountain was strong; others at Ganges, Le Vigan, Génolhac, and Barjac where it was not. The Republicans in the high zone did not

[49] The phrase "was becoming" for January 1850 is more suitable than "had become" because Favand's turn to the Left was not, according to the prefect, clearly understood by all his supporters. (See AN F^{1C} III Gard[8], reports of Jan. 1850.)

[50] See *Républicain du Gard*, July 18, 1850, for the Republican and Protestant position on the Falloux bill; see also AN, BB^{30} 382, dr. 9567[a], report of *procureur général* of Nîmes, June 9, 1850.

[51] For lists of known societies and their organization, see the police reports in AD, Gard, 6M 613; AD, Hérault, 39M 132, 139, 144; AN, BB^{18} 1469, dr. 6579, BB^{18} 1474^{B}, dr. 6933^{a}, BB^{30} 391, 392^{a}, 394.

resort to violence or to secrecy. In the hill zone, wherever Protestants were dominant, Republicans became militant, and every cantonal capital, as well as several small towns, had at least one society, sometimes two. In Alès, Anduze, Vézenobres, and Lédignan in the upper Gard Valley, there was open defiance of authority. Even in isolated cantons such as Lassalle, lying across the mountain and hill zones, there was a spirit of rebellion. For example, a young man, when called for military service in 1850, came dressed completely in red; others came with red flags bearing inscriptions such as *Liberté ou la mort.* The existence of these *frondeurs* was an important factor in the rise of the extreme Left. Although a minority, they were the local organizers who indoctrinated their neighbors, who read the press in *cafés,* who got out the vote, and who became martyrs in December 1851. They were Protestant, and their radicalism was a form of anti-Catholicism and therefore of antiroyalism. In the highlands they were active in an area dominated by small and medium farmers, with only a small landless working class, except in Alès. In the hill zone of Hérault, societies were also located chiefly in river valleys where Radicals were numerous. Limited in number, they formed a crescent stretching from Lodève, through Bédarieux, along the Hérault Valley, down to Béziers in the plain. This north-south belt, incidentally, was roughly the western extremity of really militant radicalism, more accurately, of revolutionary radicalism. In Aude, the extreme Left had declined after 1849. Only in Carcassonne, Narbonne, and a few other communes were there societies, and they were hardly active.

Aude is an interesting model that can serve to test the thesis that the rise of the extreme Left was dependent upon several types of leadership functioning within a generally favorable economic and social structure. Aude did not lack an upper echelon of Jacobin chiefs; Marcou in Carcassonne, Joseph Besse in Castelnaudary, and Raynal in Narbonne were as active and skillful as their counterparts elsewhere in lower Languedoc. What Aude lacked in sufficient measure was a petty bourgeois and artisan class to serve as a cadre of lower leadership, that is, as local organizers and militants. It also did not have the extensive textile labor force characteristic of its neighbors to the east. And, excepting several communes in the Narbonnais, it lacked a large rural proletariat. Aude was the most economically backward department in lower Languedoc, and wages were in the lowest category for all of France. Possibly its very backwardness deadened the full blow of agricultural and industrial depression; without much manufacturing or a large active working class, its peasants could at least live off their small holdings and wait. By 1850 they abandoned

the perilous effort of translating their economic malaise into political action. In December 1851 many would vote against the *coup d'état,* but that must have been the last quiver of a dying reflex that would not return everywhere to healthy life even after 1870. Aude did not fully participate in what might be called a political take-off toward the Left that came after 1849. As the economy of the coast and low hills of lower Languedoc gained momentum and concentrated on wine production to the point of becoming a monoculture, it brought into existence a large rural laboring class that constituted the social basis of the extreme Left after 1850. These workers, as well as those in shops and textile mills, were by 1850–1851 confronted with a moderately rising level of costs and a stable level of wages. Indeed, their wages remained at the low point to which they had fallen in 1847–1848.[52] It is doubtful, however, that this economic factor was decisive. There is good reason to believe that most members of the extreme Left, by 1850, were ideologically motivated, and this was especially true of the working class. In Aude, where the working class was limited in size, the Mountain was more dependent on peasants, but peasants were turning to Bonapartism, lured by promises of government-supported public works to improve roads and conditions generally. Both the Radicals and the government promised these improvements, but every peasant knew that the government had money. Here is, perhaps, the real cause of peasant support for the *coup d'état.* A similar phenomenon occurred in Gard in Catholic areas located east of a line between Génolhac, Alès, and Aiguesmortes and in the northwest. Ideological commitment and the Protestant religion reinforced the drive to the Left in the western cantons.

The major areas of Radical organization by 1850, therefore, turned eastward from Béziers toward Beaucaire and then northward along the Rhône Valley to Bagnols. This was the belt where the vineyards were worked by a large proletariat and where local industry was in the hands of an active artisan class with Left-wing proclivities. Here there was a definite and direct relation between the number of secret societies and the size of the proletariat. By 1851 the workers who persistently voted radical were committed in mind and heart, a situation made clear during the *coup d'état.*[53]

[52] See also AN, F[20] 712, 797, 798; tables in François Convert, *Les ouvriers agricoles et les salaires en présence du phylloxera* (Montpellier, 1878), 25.

[53] Useful information about resistance to the *coup d'état* can be found in Eugène Tenot, *La province en décembre 1851* (Paris, 1868); J. F. Jeanjean, *Le coup d'état du 2 décembre dans le département de l'Aude* (Paris, 1924); Adolphe Pieyre, *Histoire de la ville de Nîmes* (3 vols., Nîmes, 1886–87), II; *Documents pour servir à l'histoire du département du Gard contre le coup d'état,* ed. Jean Goirand (Alès, 1883); Martin, "Coup d'état dans l'Hérault"; Thomas, "Montpellier en 1851"; AN, F[7] 12651, report of Dec. 13, 1851. AD, Gard, 6M 461, contains numerous police and prefectural reports.

By December 1851 the extreme Left consisted of a hard core of determined leaders and a wavering number of followers, most of whom resorted to armed resistance against the *coup d'état.* There were between 2,500 and 3,000 men arrested in Hérault, about half this number in Gard, and several hundred in Aude. Over half of those arrested were either freed or placed under surveillance by decision of mixed commissions. These commissions were determined to eradicate the Left without excessively disrupting social and family life. Their indulgence emanated from the belief that, once the leaders of the hard core were removed, the remainder would settle down. They released, therefore, men who had been members and even chiefs of secret societies and who had taken part in open resistance. The most active and conspicuous Radicals were treated severely, and it is this group we shall study in order to observe the social composition of true radicalism at mid-century. The vast majority, about seventeen hundred in Hérault, nearly two hundred in Gard, and just over one hundred in Aude, were condemned to deportation to penal colonies in North Africa or, more rarely, in the tropics. A small number were jailed in France or exiled.[54]

In Aude large numbers of rural folk had voted for the extreme Left, but would not join secret societies or rise up to save the republic. In Gard roughly one-third of the peasants tried were deported, two-thirds released or placed under surveillance. The very large contingent sent to Algeria from Hérault resulted from Jacobinism having penetrated more deeply into the peasant class there than elsewhere. With its much larger contingent of rural vineyard labor, the number of peasants deported or jailed was nearly double the number of those released. The greater majority of this rural population, moreover, lived in the plains and low hills, indicating a larger landed proletariat than in Gard or Aude where peasant support consisted in large measure of part owners and small owners. It is unfortunate that we cannot state precisely how many proletarians there were in relation to landowners. Nearly all farmers were classed as *cultivateurs;* the only other significant classification was *propriétaires.* In Gard the number of *propriétaires* was just under one-half the number of *cultivateurs;* in Hérault, it was only one-sixth. This tends to confirm the proletarian character of rural radicalism in Hérault. Among the farmers deported, a considerable majority belonged to secret societies, and they formed about half of the leadership in them; they were active as decurions. In Gard and Aude men classed as

[54] Most of our information has been found in the local archives which contain extensive records giving for each accused both vital statistics and information about the role played during the revolt. (See AD, Aude, 5M 36–42; AD, Hérault, 39M 143, 161, 194; AD, Gard, 6M 594–600, 3U 5 1–3.) Figures in AN, BB^{30} 424, do not agree with those in local archives because some prisoners were pardoned before they left France or soon after their arrival. We are in this essay concerned with the condemned.

proprietors constituted roughly half the agrarian leadership, whereas in Hérault proprietors acccounted for less than a third of it. The extreme Left in Hérault, then, as it spread to rural areas, acquired more of a working-class character. Probably here is the explanation for the violence it resorted to when resisting the *coup*.

And yet, it would be a serious error to assert that all *cultivateurs* were poor or workers. Information was sometimes furnished about the finances of men arrested. One *cultivateur* in Hérault was listed as having 18,000 francs in land and buildings, another as having 40,000 francs, others with 15,000 to 20,000, and several others with 3,000 to 10,000 francs in money or real estate. These, of course, were exceptional cases, amounting to less than 1 per cent of the total. Proprietors, on the other hand, usually possessed over 10,000 francs in money or land; one in Villeneuve had 70,000 francs and another 80,000 francs. Both were heads of secret societies and enjoyed considerable influence. In Gard the richest Radical was G. Caumel of Lassalle Commune, who had a fortune of 120,000 francs. According to the police he spent it among the poor to buy flattery. The remainder whose financial situation was elucidated had only a few thousand francs. Undoubtedly these reports are incomplete; however, they suggest why the extreme Left in Gard and in backward Aude could not adequately support a press: the lack of really wealthy individuals to finance it. Radicalism in Hérault, then, had attracted, to a greater degree than its neighbors, the two extremes of the economic classes.

The same extremes appeared in nonagricultural professions. The gamut ran from the wageworkers of Bédarieux to the Montpellier lawyer Alphonse Coulandre whose wealth amounted to 700,000 or 800,000 francs. Coulandre, of course, was exceptional, and his fortune undoubtedly came from the land, rather than the practice of law. The major source of wealth in the Midi was agriculture and the wine trade. And most wealthy persons were strongly opposed to the extreme Left. The extreme Left had, nonetheless, a fairly solid economic base centered in some butchers, ovenkeepers, merchants, industrialists, and enterprising artisans who possessed modest fortunes or property valued at from 2,000 to 20,000 francs. There were a wigmaker with 15,000 francs, a draftsman with 35,000, a hotelkeeper with 8,000, a day laborer (*journalier*) with 20,000, a blacksmith with 40,000, a porter or carrier, called *col de fer,* with 6,000, and a few blacksmiths with 4,000 to 40,000 francs. The wealthy men, with several thousands in revenue or capital, were often local and departmental leaders, and the mixed commissions expended upon them the wrath that civil and military officialdom felt toward the extreme Left. They were deported in large numbers. Altogether,

in Hérault, they constituted about one-twentieth of the *Montagnards* involved in uprisings and about one-fifteenth of the deported.

Sharing leadership and constituting, with peasants and landowners, the true body of the Left, were men in the crafts, petty commerce, and the liberal professions. Particularly in Aude and Gard, where peasant response was relatively weak, the middling and petty middle class displayed the strength and weakness of the Left: strength in that they sacrificed wealth and freedom; weakness in that they could not unite in the face of a deadly threat. The industries most actively represented were artisanal. When the cry "To Arms" was spread abroad, shoemakers responded with remarkable vigor. They and tailors made the clothing trade one of the most active. Equally active were men in the building trade: carpenters and cabinetmakers, masons, plasterers, and locksmiths. Then came barrelmakers from the wine areas, tanners, and smiths.

Where there were large concentrations of wage labor, opposition to the *coup* was weak. Chalabre, Saint-Chinion, and Bédarieux were the only textile centers where labor acted vigorously. In Bédarieux the leaders condemned to death for killing police agents were, except for two, nontextileworkers, and, among the rank and file, artisans were as numerous as weavers and spinners, although considerably less numerous in the total active population. The same observation applies to Saint-Chinion. In Lodève textileworkers were organized in a *Club des Cinq* and in the *Centurie Benoît* and the *Centurie Pioch*. But they did not join the opposition, perhaps because of the presence of troops and because of economic prosperity. Neither was there any response from two important silk textile centers: Ganges and Le Vigan in the high hills. Not even the numerous Protestants there took up arms. Miners in the large basin in Gard were organized in a militia to oppose the Left, and the few *Montagnards* dispatched there to stir up the miners encountered mute resistance.[55]

In commerce and services butchers, bakers, petty merchants, and *café* owners predominated; then came some salesmen, clerks, and barbers. The liberal professions supplied lawyers, notaries, medical doctors, and students. The arts provided a few writers, sculptors, and lithographers, but only Montpellier and Nîmes could support intellectuals, and they, like teachers, were closely controlled by the government. By no means was this a revolution of the intellectuals even though there were journalists who were often former teachers, lawyers, or landowners. Notable was the one and only banker, from Montpellier, and the one stockbroker, from Nîmes.

Practically all of these men were honest, law-abiding citizens. With few

[55] AD, Gard, 6M 461, reports of subprefects, Dec. 1851.

exceptions they had been born and lived in the same commune. If not, the commune where they lived, in relation to their place of birth, was in the same or neighboring canton, certainly in the same department. There were, as yet, few foreigners, most of whom were Spaniards or Italians working in the vineyards and disinterested in politics. Of the natives who were deported, about 5 per cent had criminal records; most of them had been prosecuted for insulting the police or local judges, for inciting to resistance, for *tapage nocturne,* all of which were political offenses. About an equal percentage had previously been found guilty of violating hunting laws. Poaching was as common among Languedocians as smuggling was among Basques, and as tolerated by local opinion. To be sure, the insurrectionary movements gathered up all sorts of persons: a few convicted murderers; ome thieves, chiefly men who had filched their neighbors' crops; some who beat their wives and abandoned their children; at least two pimps. But these elements accounted for less than 1 per cent of the deported and even less of the larger number who acted to oppose the *coup.* In several instances in Hérault violence was extreme. In Bédarieux men with and without prison records invaded the police headquarters and shot several officers; they did so, however, only after two officers had killed a seventy-year-old man and wounded his young companion, apparently without serious provocation. Official reports state that the bloodthirsty mob, after invading the headquarters, even cut off the testicles of one dead officer, an accusation that was not adequately proved and that was later denied by Eugène Tenot.[56] The *révoltés* of Bédarieux were severely aggrieved and surly because the government had granted cloth contracts to Lodève, yet they were no more brutal than the commanding general, De Rostolon. Once in power they preserved order, threatened thieves with death, and did not molest conservatives. Their two most influential leaders, the rich proprietor Paul Belugou and the clockmaker Pierre Bonnel, opposed excesses. The same policy was followed in other communes where the lower classes seized power.[57] There were, of course, acts of irrational brutality committed by excited crowds: the butchering by error of two Republicans in Béziers after troops had shot down over seventy demonstrators; the murder of the local priest by the people of Cébazan, an isolated incident. There was usually more threat to commit violence than actual commission, and in some textile centers acts of disorder had little to do with politics. At Saint-Chinion, Saint-Pons, and

[56] Tenot, *Province en décembre 1851,* 114–17; see AD, Hérault, 39M 142, report of Dec. 4, 1851; Roger Allaire, *Histoire de la ville de Bédarieux* (Bédarieux, 1911), 189–204.

[57] Tenot, *Province en décembre 1851,* 102–103; Appolis, "Résistance au coup d'état," 492–97; Martin, "Coup d'état," 75–79. When resisters broke into town halls and country houses they took whatever arms and munitions were available, not valuables or money.

Riols, weaver-peasants sought more to break machines than to save the republic. Worker and peasant aggression sometimes took the form of stone throwing and isolated shooting at police officers and forest guards who sought to prevent poaching. The lower classes had to hunt to supplement their meager diets, especially since agricultural prices were just beginning to rise after four years of depression. But their acts, compared to the brutality of the soldiery and the veritable terror exercised by Legitimists in Montpellier, seem rather restrained. Legitimists more so than Imperialists, of whom there were few, took leading Radicals, attached them to bars of iron, chained them together, and marched them through the streets. It was they who put political prisoners into minute and filthy cells with only humid straw to sleep on and kept them there until their hearings, two or three months later.[58] There were acts of cruelty and bitterness on both sides; it is surprising that there were not worse excesses.

A greater sense of responsibility undoubtedly existed among the resisters because over two-thirds of them were married; nearly eight-ninths of the married were fathers, and, among the fathers, the vast majority had one or two children, with roughly one-fourth having three or more. Quite clearly it was not with a light heart that these family men took up arms. Since they constituted most of the leadership, their ideological commitment was strong, and to their children they left a republican heritage that survived them. Of course about a third of the resisters were celibates, a situation explained by the relative youth of most Jacobins. Slightly under one-half were in their twenties. The *Montagnards* did not marry early, hardly any before the age of twenty-five. Three-fifths of the bachelors were under thirty and over one-fifth in their thirties. Likewise, most of the married men and fathers were in their late twenties and thirties.

Here was the Radical generation of the Second Republic who lived on to educate their children in the ideas of Jacobinism and who, with their aid, helped to found the Third Republic.[59] Quite frequently Radical commitment was a family matter; fathers and sons, uncles and brothers were active in local secret societies and joined together in the bands marching to save the republic. That not even repression could efface the memory of them was revealed in the plebiscite of December 20, 1851; Gard, Hérault, and Aude, through a *non* or abstention, ranked among the five departments with the highest oppositional vote to Louis Napoleon's "crime." The remem-

[58] See the lurid accounts in *La Liberté,* Dec. 10, 1869; André Minet, "La bourgeoisie montpellieraine et le second Empire," *Diplôme d'Études Supérieures,* University of Montpellier, 1963, 29.

[59] By the law of July 30, 1881, the republic provided pensions for victims of the *coup d'état* or their heirs.

brance of it lay dormant for nineteen years among the peasants and artisans of the plains and valleys, and among the Protestants and woodsmen of the high hills and mountains. The ideals and hopes of the extreme Left had become rooted like the southern olive tree.

The extreme Left emerged and grew as the end product of several forces. One of them was economic, and wine production made a multiple contribution. It was a perturbing element in southern life, bringing mobility and movement, and a volatile population, less rooted, less traditionalistic. It was also instrumental in rearranging the social hierarchy by greatly expanding the base. It brought into existence a large rural proletariat that constituted the mass following of Radical leaders. Finally, it greatly enhanced urban life and attitudes, even where there were no large cities, by increasing population density, commerce, and industry serving its needs. The extreme Left had its feet in the low-lying countryside and its head in the town.

The town contained its most active organizational force: craftsmen and petty middle class. They were in fairly close contact with rural workers and indoctrinated them. There was no sharp division between town and countryside; there was, on the contrary, easy exchange between the two in the wine districts. Even the command leadership, made up chiefly of men from the educated middle class, harangued peasants in the fields and visited small communes. Therefore a favorable social structure, in certain areas, was another force.

Geography was still another influence because Democratic-Socialism had its following predominantly in areas where communication and movement were easy: the coastal plain and larger river valleys. As a new movement it did not enjoy a favorable human response conditioned by centuries of propaganda. Its success required a radical change of human response; consequently a topography encouraging the spread of new ideas and a mobile population less bound by tradition were essential factors. Wine attracted people to the lowlands where, eventually, they proved to be more receptive to novelty.

Ideology became a major force. Weak in 1848, it took more definite shape during the next few years as its roots went deeper into the populace. Where this phenomenon did not occur, Radical democracy did not endure the governmental oppression of 1850–1851. In Aude many peasants had voted for the extreme Left out of economic despair; they did not become committed in their minds or their hearts. People became committed ideologically chiefly in the lowlands where, in time, Radical ideas constituted a

new tradition that displaced the old. Here the challenge to innovation was not so difficult that it discouraged human effort. Eventually a new, volatile civilization appeared that moved more to the Left with each new generation—and each new crisis of the wine industry.

This type of response was especially notable among Calvinists. Protestantism did not ineluctably bring about Democratic-Socialism. It was, rather, where Protestants were numerous and distrustful of their Catholic persecutors that their religion became a force driving them to the extreme Left after mid-1849. This "drive to the Left" became a fixed phenomenon in the Vaunage and upper Gard Valley, two regions with different economies and social structures, and yet a common mind.

The Strategy of Southern Railroads

MAURY KLEIN*

TO contemporary observers and historians alike the amazing expansion of southern railroads after the Civil War seemed an economic miracle of the age. The wonder of it all lay not merely in rapid growth itself; northern and western railroads had extended themselves with no less alacrity. But expansion in the North derived from an already sizable and flourishing network that had grown considerably stronger during the war. The South, on the other hand, emerged from combat with its roads in ruins, the victims of systematic destruction and four years of unallayed wear. Where northern roads continued to grow the South had first to rebuild, and it faced the task shorn of most of the necessary resources for doing so. Capital was lacking, labor proved exceedingly scarce, and plant, tools, and equipment could be obtained only in the North or abroad. In addition, its shattered economy offered little hope of supporting the renovated lines for some time to come.[1]

Yet in less than thirty years the South more than tripled its railway mileage, and the worn, disconnected roads of 1865 were transformed into a cohesive network dominated by a handful of giant systems. The following figures trace the ratio of southern growth compared to the nation as a whole:[2]

Years	(A) South	(B) North	(C) Ratio of Growth
1860–70	.267	.915	.292
1870–80	.319	.882	.362
1880–90	.984	.750	1.312
1890–93	.080	.063	1.257

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[1] The standard work on restoration is Carl Russell Fish, *The Restoration of Southern Railroads* (Madison, Wis., 1919). An excellent insight into problems involved and solutions attempted can be garnered by reading the annual reports of the various companies. Sizable collections can be found at Baker Library, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, and at the Bureau of Railroad Economics, Washington, D.C.

[2] These calculations are based on figures taken from Henry V. Poor, *Manual of the Railroads of the United States for 1894* (57 vols., New York, 1868–1924), XIV–XV. They include

As the figures indicate, expansion proceeded at a rapid and highly uneven pace. It seems clear that both the tempo and nature of southern rail development changed significantly around 1880. Contemporary observers noted the shift, too, and ascribed it primarily to a growing trend toward consolidation.[3] Historians, on the other hand, have explained it in terms of a reviving southern economy and growing national prosperity, the emergence of a vigorous and ambitious new group of southern business leaders, an increasing interregional diffusion of capital, the growth of national markets, the heightened interest in railroad securities, and the effect of recurring business cycles during the late nineteenth century.

All of these factors contain important and perceptive elements of truth, but they tend to paint the broad canvas primarily from hindsight. Such a general picture of economic activity tells us little about the decision-making process that led to this end result. The importance of entrepreneurial decisions in shaping the economic environment has been well described by Alfred Marshall and Joseph Schumpeter, to say nothing of Adam Smith.[4] While much had been written about the general pattern of southern economic development, little effort has been made to relate it to decision-making activity.

The purpose of this article will be to trace the evolving strategy of southern railroad managers as they sought to cope with a rapidly changing economic environment. Strategy and entrepreneurial motivation are important because they illuminate the crucial question of resource (capital) allocation. They also offer insight into the equally important question of social versus private gains in an economy operating with fewer social restraints than exist today. The hope is that the analysis will suggest why the allocation of resources for one region proceeded as it did, and how the participants viewed social versus private gains.

For clarity it will be helpful to divide the period into two phases: the era of territorial expansion, 1865–1880; and the era of interterritorial expansion, 1880–1893. The division is somewhat arbitrary, and the dates will certainly not fit all roads with equal precision. It does, however, provide a useful conceptual framework for understanding the nature of expansion policy. This study will concentrate upon the more established roads whose origins

the states embraced within Groups IV and V of the Interstate Commerce Commission divisions with the exception of West Virginia. These ten states comprise the basis for this study. The index given in Column C represents the ratio of growth of southern railroads over that of the rest of the nation. Column A, the growth rate of southern railroads, serves as numerator. Column B, the denominator, is the growth rate for the rest of the nation. The equation thus used was A/B = C.

[3] See *Railroad Gazette*, XIII, 586–87; *Railway World*, XXV, 762–63.

[4] Alfred Marshall, *Principles of Economics* (London, 1920); Joseph Schumpeter, *The Theory of Economic Development* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961).

antedate the war. Ten of these key roads comprise the nuclei of the major systems destined to dominate the South by 1893: the Richmond & Danville; East Tennessee, Virginia, & Georgia; Georgia; Central of Georgia; Louisville & Nashville; Nashville, Chattanooga, & St. Louis; Seaboard & Roanoke; Wilmington & Weldon; Norfolk & Western (Atlantic, Mississippi, & Ohio until 1881); and Savannah, Florida, & Western (Atlantic & Gulf until 1879).[5] As the oldest and ultimately most successful lines, these companies provide the continuity necessary for a study in strategy. They survived the entire period, confronted the major problems that arose, and formulated policies to deal with them.

The men who dominated southern railroads immediately after the war were for the most part the same group that had controlled them before 1860.[6] They belonged to the generation that had built the early railroads and represented powerful financial and commercial interests in the territory drained by the road, especially its key terminal city. Since their economic horizon rarely extended beyond that city or port, they assumed a naturally provincial attitude toward the road's function. They conceived it primarily as their most potent weapon in the growing commercial rivalry between leading southern ports and interior distributing centers. In formulating policy they sought to achieve three basic goals: long-term investment profit, localization of traffic at the principal terminus, and development of the economic resources of the region tributary to the road.[7]

From this localized perspective emerged the territorial concept that guided southern railroad policy making before and after the war. The road existed to service its key terminus and the region tributary to it. The welfare of city, territory, and company alike required that all concerned realize their mutually dependent relationship and the need to perpetuate it. Basic to this realization was the tenet of one road for one territory. The region drained by the road constituted its realm of control, much like a feudal barony, with boundaries determined by the line's terminals and connecting points. The description of western territorial strategy by Julius Grodinsky applies equally well to southern conditions:

[5] For more detail on the role of these roads, see my article on southern railway leaders, to be published in a forthcoming issue of *Business History Review*.

[6] This conclusion is based upon a study of biographical data on eighty-eight prominent southern railroad men, a survey of boards of directors for the period 1855–1875, and the testimony given in *Southern Railroads*, 40 Cong., 2 sess., House Reports, No. 3 (Washington, D. C., 1868), I, 1–130.

[7] The origins and development of several major southern roads are traced in detail in U. B. Phillips, *A History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt to 1860* (New York, 1913); see also George R. Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution 1815–1816* (New York, 1951), Chap. v. The emphasis upon localization of traffic on ante bellum and early postwar southern roads is succinctly illustrated in *id.* and Irene Neu, *The American Railway Network, 1861–1890* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), 3–5, 41–48.

To serve a territory with no railroad competition was the ambition of every railroad operator. . . . An exclusively controlled local territory, was a valuable asset, as long as it lasted. A monopoly of this kind was perhaps the most important strategic advantage of a railroad, provided, of course, the monopolized area either originated valuable traffic or served as a market for goods produced in other areas. Territory thus controlled was looked upon as "natural" territory. It belonged to the road that first reached the area. The construction of a line by a competitor was an "invasion." Such a construction, even by a business friend of the "possessing" road, was considered an unfriendly act. The former business friend became an enemy.[8]

In the ante bellum period prevailing conditions nurtured territorial strategy. Competition within the skeletal southern network scarcely existed for through traffic and was virtually absent at the local level. The predominance of local traffic with its higher noncompetitive rate structure permitted many roads to achieve financial stability, retire part of their debt, and pay regular dividends. The strategy of stressing long-term goals by protecting the territory, constructing short feeder lines into yet untapped corners, maintaining the road by regularly plowing back earnings and paying dividends consistently had become both plausible and remunerative. The spurt of construction during the 1850's posed some threats to the territorial concept, but none serious enough to warrant rethinking of the strategy.[9]

Had the war not intervened, it might be supposed that continued construction would eventually have forced modification of the territorial strategy. The impact of the South's defeat, however, caused an immediate derangement in the economic environment. The cost of rehabilitation disrupted ante bellum policies by burdening the roads with additional debt and thereby enlarging fixed costs. To service this extra financial load the roads would require more traffic at higher rates, but both proved difficult to obtain in the impoverished postwar South. The old reliance upon patient development of local traffic continued, but obviously could not provide immediate relief to pressing financial needs. For most managers the only feasible alternative lay in securing more through traffic to augment local income.

The desire for increased through traffic involved a host of problems. Unlike most local traffic, it brought distant and once neutral roads into fierce competition for an uncertain traffic at considerably lower and wildly fluctuating rates. Since through lines consisted of separate connecting roads,

[8] Julius Grodinsky, *Transcontinental Railway Strategy 1869–1893* (Philadelphia, 1962), 104–105.

[9] A good example of such a threat can be found in the objections of President R. R. Cuyler of the Central of Georgia to the proposed building of a line from Macon to Brunswick. (Annual Report of the Central of Georgia Railroad & Banking Company, 1856, 52–55; 1857, 77–80; 1858, 104–107; 1860, 14–15.)

command of through traffic also demanded a high level of cooperation along the line. Competition for through tonnage could only be cutthroat and treacherous, and the returns extremely unstable. Most managers seemed reluctant to touch the problems involved, but economic circumstances forced a shift in strategy.[10] Traditional dependence upon local traffic would not do in the South's debilitated state. The fluctuation of crops in the overwhelmingly agricultural South further unsettled earning expectations, and later the advent of state railroad commissions helped depress both local and through rates. Under conditions that promoted uncertain traffic and steadily falling rates there seemed no feasible alternative but to adopt a policy stressing a heavy increase in tonnage carried.

The gradual shift in emphasis from local to through traffic constitutes the most significant factor in southern railway strategy. It would have a profound effect upon the development of large integrated systems, which evolved not from coherent planning but through a process of piecemeal expansion based upon momentary needs. It gave rise to the rapid expansion and consolidation movements characteristic of the 1870's and 1880's. The economic factors behind it affected policy decisions in virtually every company and often resulted in bitter fights for control. Perhaps most important, the financial difficulties created by its pursuit lay behind a change in profit motivation. In 1860 most southern railroad managers sought to realize profits through efficient operation of the property. By the late 1880's, however, the operation of most southern roads had ceased to be profitable.[11] The source of individual rewards lay instead in manipulation of the road's financial structure, usually to the detriment of the company.

In concrete terms the change in strategic thinking manifested itself most clearly in expansion policy. The need to assure stable through routes forced managers to reconsider the territorial concept. As an integral part of traditional policy they could not easily disavow it; nor did they wish to. In Schumpeter's terms they were prisoners of their pasts:

> Past economic periods govern the activity of the individual. . . . All preceding periods have, furthermore, entangled him in a net of social and economic connections which he cannot easily shake off. They have bequeathed him definite means and methods. . . . All these hold him in iron fetters fast in his tracks.[12]

Unable to abandon the old strategy entirely, they tended to recast it into the notion of an enlarged territory suitable for controlling a through line but

[10] This reluctance to compete for through traffic is well illustrated in the Annual Report of the Seaboard & Roanoke Railroad, 1867, 14–15.

[11] For a quantitative study substantiating this point, see Maury Klein and Kozo Yamamura, "The Growth Strategies of Southern Railroads, 1865–1893," *Business History Review*, XLI (Winter 1967), 358–77.

[12] Schumpeter, *Theory of Economic Development*, 6.

still capable of being sealed off from encroaching rivals. To achieve this end three alternative tactics seemed possible: cooperation, construction, and consolidation. The applicability of each for a given road depended upon its individual circumstances, but most managers attempted some combination of all three.

Cooperation assumed many forms. On the simplest level it involved agreements with connecting lines to promote through traffic at common rates. Sometimes the alliance sought to provide the road with entry into hitherto untapped territory, but more often it aimed at uniting several companies into a competitive through line.[13] Later in the period, protection of their mutual territories might prompt several roads to ally against invading lines and competing routes.[14] One of the most ambitious proposals, which never materialized, called for the formation of a pool composed of the Cincinnati Southern, Kentucky Central, East Tennessee, Virginia, & Georgia, Chesapeake & Ohio, South Carolina, and the Erlanger roads.[15] On a grander scale the managers attempted cooperation in two vital areas: fast freight service and maintenance of rates. The first occurred with the formation of the Green Line in 1868 and the second with the founding of the Southern Railway and Steamship Association in 1875.[16]

While this association proved to be the most successful major railway pool, it could not completely stifle rate cutting and other abuses; nor could it bring an end to competition. As commercial rivalry, aided to some degree by Reconstruction politics, spurred construction of new lines, managers quickly realized that cooperation alone was too tenuous a foundation for defense of the territory. Alliances once made could be easily unmade if better opportunities arose. The temptation to eschew long-term stability for short-term profits became especially irresistible to the hungrier roads. The opening of a new and "invading" line tended to alter existing relationships dramatically and to cause a shuffling of alliances.[17] And the stakes were

[13] Annual Report of the East Tennessee, Virginia, & Georgia Railroad, 1870, 14; Annual Report of the Central of Georgia, 1880, 7. Such alliances occasionally extended to river and coastal steamers. (See Annual Report of the Southwestern Railroad, 1868, 574.)

[14] *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* XXX, 384, 542; XXXIII, 357; *Railway World,* XXV, 980; XXVII, 1072.

[15] *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* XXXII, 121.

[16] For background on the Green Line and the association, see William H. Joubert, *Southern Freight Rates in Transition* (Gainesville, Fla., 1949), Chap. II; *Report of the Industrial Commission* (19 vols., Washington, D. C., 1900–1902), IX, 626–27; Taylor and Neu, *American Railway Network,* 71–74; Henry Hudson, "The Southern Railway and Steamship Association," *Quarterly Journal of Economics,* V (No. 4, 1891), 70–94. Good insight into the conditions that produced the association can be found in the Annual Report of the Central of Georgia, 1872, 15.

[17] For typical reactions to such "invasions," see Annual Report of the East Tennessee, Virginia, & Georgia, 1873, 7–11; Annual Report of the Nashville & Chattanooga Railroad, 1870, 9; Annual Report of the Richmond & Danville Railroad, 1875, 324; Annual Report of the Central of Georgia, 1866, 308–309; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* XXIV, 466.

high. Loss of a vital connector meant serious diversion of business and sometimes even a fatal blow to the company. The president of the Macon & Brunswick attributed the receivership of his road to just such an isolation:

> The entire failure of our road is due to our having been blocked at Macon. The road never could have been built had it been supposed possible that lines north of that point could have been closed so effectually as has been done by the leases and amalgamations of these outlets northward.[18]

Fearful of isolation, managers naturally resorted to securing their vital connections on a more permanent basis. Hence began the growing reliance upon construction and consolidation as methods of achieving stability. Heretofore expansion had been perceived mainly as the construction of small feeder lines to develop local resources; now it came to be seen as the building or acquisition of larger roads to ensure through connections. The timetable of growth naturally varied, but no major road remained unaffected by the need. The potential dangers raised by the activities of rival lines spurred even the most reluctant manager to enlarge his domain. The Louisville & Nashville, having suffered no serious war damage and having been blessed with farsighted management, commenced expansion immediately after the war. It extended southward into the rich Alabama mineral lands, acquired connecting roads to Memphis, and built eastward toward a Tennessee connection.[19] By 1873 President H. D. Newcomb could report:

> With the completion of the South & North Alabama Railroad the Company has now practically carried out the policy which was inaugurated some seven years ago under . . . the late Hon. James Guthrie, then President. . . . The importance of this enterprise cannot be overestimated; without it the Louisville & Nashville would be entirely dependent for its connections to the Southeast and Southwest upon other railroads, whose interests are not identified with ours, but are directly opposed to them. It would have been in the power of these companies to exclude us at any time from the business of the South, and make the property of this Company comparatively worthless.[20]

But the management of the Louisville & Nashville, though the road was a pacesetter in expansion, soon decided it had not gone far enough. Defense of the territory proved a difficult task, especially after the panic of 1873, and additional mileage meant additional realm to be protected. Growth of rival roads posed threats on every flank and prompted further expansion to meet them. Under the guidance of Dr. E. D. Standiford and Newcomb's brilliant

[18] *Ibid.*, XX, 501. Laments over the loss of key connections are plentiful. (See *ibid.*, XXII, 180; XXXII, 576–77; Annual Report of the Raleigh & Gaston Railroad, 1873, 18; Annual Report of the Richmond & Danville, 1879, 204.)

[19] The Annual Reports of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, 1866–1873, nicely explain the early phase of its growth. (See also Ethel Armes, *The Story of Coal and Iron in Alabama* [Birmingham, 1910], 245–47.)

[20] Annual Report of the Louisville & Nashville, 1873, 10.

son, H. Victor Newcomb, the company doubled its size from 921 miles controlled in 1873 to 1,840 miles in 1880. In the latter year young Newcomb summarized his goals and policies:

> The year under review has probably been the most eventful and stirring in the history of your company. . . . your Board deemed it vital to the protection of your traffic, and the extension of your legitimate business, to secure, without delay, certain connecting lines, which it was feared might otherwise pass under control of interests inimical to yours . . . your system, as now perfected, is invulnerable to the attacks and assaults of any of its competitors. . . . it is the absolute conviction of your management that the vast command of territory now embraced by your lines of road, with the commanding and strategic position enjoyed by your company, renders the construction of new and competitive lines incapable of inflicting serious damage or loss of business upon your company.[21]

Most of the other roads followed a similar pattern on a smaller scale. The Danville, aided by the Pennsylvania Railroad, constructed a line into Atlanta and joined it to other, smaller acquisitions to form the "Piedmont Air Line."[22] The East Tennessee, itself the product of an 1869 consolidation, secured control of the Memphis & Charleston and gained outlets to the south via the Selma, Rome, & Dalton. To guarantee a through line it also formed an alliance with the Atlantic, Mississippi, & Ohio, which connected with the East Tennessee at Bristol and reached Norfolk.[23] The Central of Georgia, under the guidance of William M. Wadley, deplored the expansion trend, but lost no time joining it. By 1873 Wadley had leased the Southwestern Railroad, absorbed his connector to Atlanta, acquired a fleet of Savannah-based steamers, and bought into several smaller lines. No one could doubt that he had girded for battle:

> New York is, and will continue to be, the great commercial centre of the country. This being recognized, and the fact that there are numerous land routes from the South and Southwest, terminating at New York, the question to be settled is whether an all rail or rail and ocean transportation is the cheapest. This contest is upon us, and, without the absolute control of ships, would be quite out of our power to make the issue, which, it is believed, must ultimately be decided in our favor.[24]

The strategy of territorial expansion, either by construction or consolidation, proved expensive. It often meant passed or reduced dividends and therefore required considerable justification to the stockholders. The most striking aspect of the expansion rationale was its essentially defensive nature. Most managers conceded freely that new acquisitions would not be a

[21] *Ibid.*, 1880, 17–23. Virtually all this expansion came during Victor Newcomb's brief tenure as president, March 24–December 1, 1880.

[22] Annual Report of the Richmond & Danville, 1873, 121–37.

[23] Annual Report of the East Tennessee, Virginia, & Georgia, 1877, 7–13.

[24] Annual Report of the Central of Georgia, 1873, 11–12. The Central's expansion is clearly outlined in the annual reports for the period 1866–1873.

source of *direct* profit for some time.[25] They had acted from necessity rather than choice, and they sought mainly to protect instead of expand. Additions to the system drained valuable capital and usually brought more problems than benefits to the company, but they were needed to survive. Victor Newcomb insisted that

> Your management has never contemplated . . . an aggressive policy in dealing with its connections or competitors, and what has been accomplished in the way of extension to your system, has been done solely with a view to the protection and extension of your natural and legitimate business, and in no single instance from a spirit of aggrandizement.[26]

Three years earlier the elder Newcomb justified the purchase of a small road by noting that "Forming part of a through line, it was, in conjunction with its connections, a constant disturber of rates to nearly every portion of the South and Southwest, and the injury it was capable of inflicting has been several times very apparent."[27] In defending his purchase of the Montgomery & Eufaula Railroad, Wadley argued that "That road is so situated that if in the hands of parties whose interests were in antagonism with this Company our interest could not fail to suffer seriously."[28] A later apologist for Wadley's policy recalled that "Indeed, it was at the time on the part of the Central a fight for existence, for it is a well-known fact that some of its best friends . . . very much feared bankruptcy."[29]

The strategy of territorial expansion had already drawn southern roads into fierce conflict by 1873, but panic and depression brought matters to a crisis. Only a steady growth of business could alleviate the financial burdens of restoration and expansion, the cost of which left even the strongest roads little margin for withstanding adversity. Policy makers had presumed that their efforts would create some stability among the roads, but the economic contraction hit them like a thunderclap. Unable to survive the blow, weaker roads succumbed rapidly to default and receivership.[30]

The failure of so many roads aggravated an already bad situation. Rates declined steadily as the bankrupt roads, freed from payment on their debt, undercut their solvent competitors ruthlessly to get whatever business offered. More important, foreclosure made the purchase of many key roads cheap and easy for rival companies. And since many of the defaulted lines

[25] For examples of such admissions, see Annual Report of the East Tennessee, Virginia, & Georgia, 1877, 12; Annual Report of the Richmond & Danville, 1874, 229; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* XIX, 118.

[26] Annual Report of the Louisville & Nashville, 1880, 21.

[27] *Ibid.,* 1877, 10–11.

[28] Annual Report of the Central of Georgia, 1879, 7.

[29] Unidentified clipping, Dec. 22, 1882, in William Raoul Scrapbooks, Emory University, III, 22–23; see also Annual Report of the Nashville & Chattanooga, 1870, 9.

[30] Figures on the number and mileage of roads in default can be found in John F. Stover, *The Railroads of the South 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1955), 123–25.

had themselves pursued expansion by acquiring stock and bonds in connecting roads, purchase of the parent company often meant control over subsidiary lines as well.[31] The old defensive fears reasserted themselves in earnest after 1873. Managers of solvent roads, though struggling to keep their own companies afloat, could not resist the temptation to snatch up foreclosed roads in order to prevent rivals from doing so. By the late 1870's a new race toward consolidation had begun.[32]

In renewing their dependence upon expansion the managers sealed their own doom. Clinging faithfully to the territorial concept and reluctant to expand their economic horizons, they tried once more to isolate their domains. But their very efforts to preserve the territorial concept created the seeds of its destruction. Their attempts at defensive expansion under depression conditions deeply antagonized many stockholders. Conservative investors resented the sacrifice of dividends to the acquisition of insolvent roads and prophesied inevitable bankruptcy; impatient younger holders generally approved expansion, but opposed the grudging, piecemeal approach of the older managers.

Severe clashes over policy erupted on many boards. One by one the old managers fell victim to age, organized opposition, and obsolete policies as their roads passed into the control of a new generation. John P. King, who had helped build the Georgia Railroad and served as its president from 1841, was defeated for re-election after a bitter campaign in 1878.[33] Victor Newcomb mysteriously resigned the L & N presidency after less than a year in office. Wadley died in office in 1882 amidst powerful opposition to his policies. For a time his son-in-law, William G. Raoul, managed to pursue a modified version of the old strategy, but he too lost a heated election in 1887.[34] A. S. Buford of the Danville survived a transition in ownership in 1880, but fell out with his new employers over policy and resigned in 1886.[35] Others, like John Screven of the Atlantic & Gulf and William J. McGrath of the South Carolina, lost their roads through receivership.

The territorial strategy failed because it became increasingly inapplicable to the economic environment. A major cause of its demise, however, rested with the managers themselves and their inability to perceive the logical consequences of their policies. Expansion had proved ineffective as a de-

[31] *Railroad Gazette,* XIII, 586–87.

[32] A good example of rivals seeking a bankrupt road can be found in *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* XXIX, 381, and Annual Report of the Central of Georgia, 1879, 7.

[33] *Railroad Gazette,* X, 247–48; Augusta *Chronicle and Constitutionalist,* May 7, 1880.

[34] See the Edward Porter Alexander papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, and the Savannah *Morning News* and *Evening Press,* July 1882–Jan. 1883; July 1886–Jan. 1887.

[35] *Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography,* ed. L. G. Tyler (5 vols., New York, 1915), V, 701–702.

fensive strategy. It could not succeed because it fed upon its own impetus. In trying to seal off the territories the managers only further exposed them by enlargement. The process of building new lines or of acquiring old ones brought previously neutral companies into direct confrontation, with each branding the other an "invader." Territories that once seemed distinct now developed overlapping zones of conflict, especially as rival companies pushed into hitherto untapped regions or sought entrance into some more distant commercial center. The result was not protection but increased warfare, not stability but competition at more places and on a grander scale.

One astute observer, Joseph Nimmo, sensed what was taking place, not only in the South but in the nation as a whole:

> There is reason to believe that the managers of certain of the great railroad organizations of the country, in attempting to carry out their ambitious policy of railroad extension, failed to foresee the fact that they were creating competitive agencies more rapidly than they were gaining control over commerce.[36]

To be sure, the fast-departing managers were not unaware of their dilemma. Many recognized their problems only too well, but were helpless to find effective solutions. Buford of the Danville summarized their plight well in 1880:

> This work amidst the extension, completion and reorganization of railroad lines now regarded as essentially necessary for their successful operation, has, by common consent, been found . . . one of the most difficult features of railway management. . . . Experience is daily demonstrating some of the requisites to the only safe policy in this regard, based upon an intelligent recognition of the just rights of each line of road, as well as those of the public, wherever conflicts of interest and competition naturally or circumstantially exist. The best methods of securing these important objects are yet, to a certain extent, experimental.[37]

The men who emerged as southern railroad leaders after 1880 differed markedly from their predecessors. They were of course younger, had virtually no previous personal identification with the company, and gained their business experience during the postwar period. Most of them were financiers with no practical railroad experience. Unhampered by local or regional loyalties, they possessed broader visions and more ambitious schemes. The old territorial concept held neither meaning nor relevance for them. They thought rather in terms of vast systems reaching into every corner of the South and vying for traffic at every important market. Coming to power just at the return of national prosperity, they had no fear of expansion. Indeed their major concern was that growth proceed rapidly

[36] Joseph Nimmo, Jr., *First Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1877), 59.

[37] Annual Report of the Richmond & Danville, 1880, 413.

enough for them to capture waiting markets. In their hands expansion became both an offensive and defensive weapon.[38]

The most significant aspect of this change in strategic thinking was the rapid growth of interterritorial competition. It constituted the logical alternative to the territorial concept: if a monopolistic territory could not be protected from invaders, then the best hope for increasing business lay in expanding the field of battle. The key to survival appeared to be a diversification of outlets for both through and local traffic. At the local level the old policy of developing local resources along the enlarged lines would provide the company with a reliable base for growth of traffic. Participation in the struggle for through traffic on a larger scale, meanwhile, seemed to offer better opportunities for stabilizing over-all earnings. The new strategy appeared to promise greater flexibility. It would take time for new local traffic to develop sufficiently to turn a profit, and only a system large enough to cover losses in one territory with gains in another seemed able to buy that time.

The renewed expansion spawned by the receiverships of the 1870's furnished the impetus for the development of the major interterritorial systems. With startling speed the parent roads, most of them under new management, increased the mileage under their control. The L & N jumped from 966 miles in 1878 to 3,231 in 1883, the Danville from 448 to 2,503, the East Tennessee from 272 to 1,389, and the Central of Georgia from 861 to 1,754.[39] By 1881 contemporary observers, impressed by the swiftness of southern consolidation, could list seven companies as dominating southern traffic: the Danville; the Savannah, Florida, & Western, nucleus of a system being formed by Henry B. Plant; the East Tennessee; the Norfolk & Western; the Louisville & Nashville; the Central of Georgia; and the Chicago, St. Louis, & New Orleans, the southern subsidiary of the Illinois Central.[40]

The confrontation of major roads wrought by interterritorial expansion also fostered consolidation at a higher level. The clash of rivals over disputed ground often led to a fitting Darwinian climax, with one company absorbing the other. Thus Victor Newcomb, thwarted by the equally ambitious schemes of Edwin "King" Cole of the Nashville, Chattanooga, & St. Louis, proceeded to buy his adversary's company out from under him in

[38] More detail on the new group of managers can be found in my forthcoming article on southern railway leaders.

[39] These figures include lines directly and indirectly controlled and are based upon mileage figures in Poor, *Manual of Railroads* for 1878 and 1883.

[40] *Railroad Gazette*, XIII, 586–87. A similar list in *Railway World*, XXV, 762–63, included the Georgia Pacific, a Danville subsidiary, the Erlanger roads, most of which were acquired by the East Tennessee in 1890, and the Baltimore & Ohio system, which abandoned its southern efforts by selling the Virginia Midland to the Danville in 1881.

1880.[41] The following year the L & N joined the Central in removing a powerful competitor by leasing the Georgia Railroad.[42] In 1881, too, the Danville shut the Baltimore & Ohio out of the South by purchasing the Virginia Midland.[43] The culmination of this movement came in 1888 when the Richmond Terminal, a holding company, gained control of three major systems: the Danville, East Tennessee, and Central of Georgia.[44]

The desire to penetrate new territories provided the main impetus for the consolidation activities of the 1880's. So too did it spur new construction during the same period.[45] Growing systems generally built new lines for one or more of three reasons: to open new territories or reach new markets; to form new through connections with other systems; and to parallel an existing rival enjoying monopoly status. The Norfolk & Western, though richly endowed with heavy local traffic in coal and other ores, nevertheless embarked upon the construction of additional through routes. It built a new line to the Ohio River, pushed for new western connections with the East Tennessee, and completed the Shenandoah Valley Railroad as a rival route to the Danville's Virginia Midland.[46] The East Tennessee in 1882 finished a line from Rome, Georgia, to Macon that paralleled the Western & Atlantic Railroad and the Central's road between Macon and Atlanta.[47] In one of the most daring projects, the Danville completed the 566-mile Georgia Pacific from Atlanta to Greenville, Mississippi, by 1889.[48] Though the amount and type of construction naturally varied, no system remained aloof lest it lose ground to competitors. The necessity to expand revealed itself clearly in L & N President Eckstein Norton's somewhat contradictory remarks in 1887:

> The policy adopted by your management has been not to make any unnecessary extensions, but to encourage and build up local traffic. At the same time it has been found necessary to extend certain branches and to build new ones in the territory adjacent to your lines. . . .[49]

The strategy of interterritorial competition naturally produced friction and resentment. The Richmond Terminal report for 1887 noted tersely that

[41] Stover, *Southern Railroads*, 225–26.

[42] Annual Report of the Central of Georgia, 1881, 9–10; Annual Report of the Louisville & Nashville, 1881, 11.

[43] Annual Report of the Richmond & Danville, 1881, 501–502.

[44] Annual Report of the Richmond & West Point Terminal Railway and Warehouse Company, Mar. 23, 1887, *passim; Railroad Gazette*, XX, 705.

[45] Specific examples of the consolidation process and figures for the rate of new construction can be found in Stover, *Southern Railroads*, Chap. IX.

[46] Annual Reports of the Norfolk & Western Railroad, 1883–92, *passim; Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XXXIX, 87.

[47] *Ibid.*, XXXV, 430.

[48] Annual Report of the Richmond Terminal, 1890, 12; for other examples, see *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XXXIX, 86–87.

[49] Annual Report of the Louisville & Nashville, 1887, 20.

"The Louisville and Nashville Railroad has invaded the territory of the East Tenn., Va. and Ga. during the past year at several important points. They claim the right, without notice, to build into any of its territory," and called for board action to meet the threat.[50] The Western & Atlantic, bitter over being paralleled by the East Tennessee, refused for a time to handle the latter company's freight.[51] The scope of interterritorial rivalries led to renewed efforts at cooperation. As in the previous period, alliances rose and flourished at least for a time. The East Tennessee formed a new pact with the Norfolk & Western, opened a cooperative fast freight line with the Danville, and closed a mutual nonaggression treaty with the L & N.[52] Perhaps the most ambitious effort involved the formation of the Associated Railways of Virginia and the Carolinas in 1885. Composed of the roads controlled by the Danville, the Atlantic Coast Line, and the Seaboard Air Line, the association reached agreement on joint management of all traffic, harmonizing of competition, no independent soliciting for traffic, common auditors to examine all accounts, mutual aid and protection when attacked by other lines, interchange of traffic wherever possible, establishment of an arbitration board to settle disputes, and specific arrangements for apportioning traffic.[53]

The basic tactics of cooperation, construction, and consolidation, utilized by the earlier managers, continued to serve their successors. The difference lay in the scale of operations and in the desired goals. The first resulted from the shift in strategic thinking from territorial monopoly to interterritorial supremacy. The second concerned, among other things, a change in attitude toward sources of profit. The financier-managers who created the large systems derived little personal return from operations. Their profits came instead from such varied sources as construction of the new lines, speculation in the securities associated with the company, transactions involved in the acquisition of other lines (in which they often held personal interests), and such external investments influenced by the railroad as real estate, mineral lands, express business, manufacturing, and industrial development.[54]

Because the financiers tended to think in short-term rather than long-term profits, they evinced little concern for the swollen capitalization pro-

[50] Annual Report of the Richmond Terminal, 1887, 7.

[51] *Railroad Gazette,* XVII, 96.

[52] Annual Report of the East Tennessee, Virginia, & Georgia, 1888, 22–26; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* XXXIII, 357; *Railway World,* XXV, 980; *Railroad Gazette,* XIII, 577.

[53] A copy of the agreement dated August 1, 1885, can be found at the Bureau of Railroad Economics; for other alliances, see *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* XLV, 853; XLVI, 828; *Railroad Gazette,* XV, 677; *Railway World,* XXVII, 1072.

[54] For one example, by no means unique, see the account of the Richmond Terminal in Stuart Daggett, *Railroad Reorganization* (Cambridge, Mass., 1908), Chap. v.

duced by their policies. The financial effect of interterritorial strategy was to burden every system with considerably enlarged fixed costs that required additional earnings to service. During the 1880's, when general prosperity seemed to bless every enterprise, a constant expansion of business seemed almost inevitable. The centralization born of consolidation, moreover, promised reduced administrative costs and increased operational efficiency. Many companies had, in fact, rationalized the creation of large systems in terms of maximizing efficiency. Alfred Sully of the Richmond Terminal expressed feelings common to most of his peers when he declared:

> The underlying principle which actuated the Board . . . in bringing into your ownership this extensive system has been the belief that the consolidation of the control of these roads must result in great economies, in less competition, and also enable the roads . . . to devote their attention to furnishing better facilities for the public. . . .[55]

By the end of the decade, however, serious flaws in the interterritorial strategy began to appear. The assumption of expanding business proved correct, but steadily declining rates prevented earnings from increasing in like proportion. Nor did the tactic of absorbing rival roads entirely reduce competition. The large systems expected to contend with each other, especially for through traffic, but they faced additional rivalry for local business. Besides its positive effect upon interterritorial expansion, the prosperity of the 1880's stimulated construction of smaller local lines as well. As a result the giants confronted an invasion of gnats, each capable of making severe inroads into local traffic. In 1889 the Central of Georgia bemoaned the opening of six new competing roads, and other companies echoed the complaint of the Mobile & Ohio that "Within the last few years competing lines have been built into the territory formerly solely tributary to the Mobile & Ohio."[56] The attempt to stifle or at least centralize competition had failed, and the policy of penetrating every available territory had created new weaknesses as well as new markets. The Central's president, E. P. Alexander, summarized the difficulties common to virtually all southern roads:

> These four years have witnessed an unprecedented activity in railroad building in the territory served by this Company, its own prosperity being often the stimulus of other roads built to attract its business over shorter routes, or to other ports and lines. Under these circumstances this Company has been forced to occupy and develop the territory tributary to it, for itself and to control its own feeders. . . . As the . . . new roads built and acquired . . . are all of them branches

[55] Annual Report of the Richmond Terminal, 1890, 4.

[56] Annual Report of the Central of Georgia, 1888, 20; 1889, 8; 1892, 3; Annual Report of the Mobile & Ohio Railroad, 1888, 14.

and extensions into new territory, and necessarily enjoy much less business than our trunk lines and other established branches, it is naturally to be expected that the consolidated earnings of the system per mile would be diminished. . . .[57]

The pursuit of interterritorial strategy led nearly all southern roads into grave financial difficulties. Many of them toppled into receivership after 1893, but the old strategy did not die easily. The problems that had called it into existence still remained unsolved, and the decade of the 1890's witnessed further consolidation and construction.[58] An 1893 journal report predicting control of the South by only two systems proved exaggerated in degree but not in kind.[59] The change in strategic thinking that evolved around 1880 ensured that, for better or worse, southern railroads would proceed steadily down a course of further concentration and amalgamation.

A consideration of southern railway strategy, as outlined above, suggests some possible answers to a question of long standing. It was a notorious fact that southern railroads were poor investments during the postwar period. The dividend rate ranked well below the national average, and the number of paying roads remained small even during the prosperous years of the 1880's.[60] Why then did expansion continue to accelerate, and why did new capital continue to flow into southern roads?

Expansion continued because railway managers perceived it as a necessity for survival. Even in the 1880's it remained a largely defensive policy. Official optimism naturally predicted that it would ultimately prove profitable, but of course the end result could not be foreseen. The crucial point in the decision-making process was that it had to be done to protect the road's future, and that without it the company would die of atrophy. The change in strategic thinking after 1880 involved not so much a shift from defensive to offensive thinking as a greater willingness to incur the risks of expansion on a greater scale.

Capital continued to move into southern rail ventures because the financiers mobilizing it, as this article suggests, found sources of profit outside rail operations.[61] Lucrative returns from the manipulation of securities, consolidation transactions, and related investments all helped stim-

[57] Annual Report of the Central of Georgia, 1889, 9; 1891, 13.

[58] Developments during the period 1890–1900 are treated in Stover, *Southern Railroads*, Chap. XII.

[59] *New York Indicator*, June 7, 1893.

[60] Stover, *Southern Railroads*, 188–89, analyzes dividend data. He notes that expansion proceeded at a record pace despite an "indifferent dividend record," but offers no explanation for it.

[61] Another explanation might be found in comparative bond yields between southern and other roads, but considerable research needs to be done to establish any clear-cut relationship on this point.

ulate expansion even though earnings performances did not seem to justify the price being paid. The fruit of this activity was the rapid development of a rail network unwelcome to some of its creators, unplanned in any over-all sense, but ultimately enduring.

To be sure, this constitutes only a partial answer to the question of continued investment in southern railroads. But understanding of entrepreneurial strategy and its consequent behavior patterns opens a crucial avenue of further research. The course of American industrial development in the late nineteenth century has become a familiar story; the process by which it occurred remains imperfectly understood and controversial. The work of Albert Fishlow has provided a comprehensive approach to the question of allocation of resources in terms of social return.[62] In taking the "outside" view, however, he made no attempt to deal with the "inside" perspective: the effect of entrepreneurial motivations. A full grasp of the historical process requires a synthesis of the two perspectives. Only when both receive consideration and are balanced properly will the process of economic development become clear.

[62] Albert Fishlow, *American Railroads and the Transformation of the American Economy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965). Though dealing with a different time period, Fishlow's study suggests a valuable approach to the problem of social return in the postwar era.

The Unification of Germany in East German Perspective

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EXCEPT for some of its factual contributions East German historiography has received little attention in the West. Yet during the twenty years since it came into being it has produced a considerable body of studies dealing with the major aspects of German history. This may be an appropriate time, then, to examine one of these analyses, which explores German historical developments from a Marxist-Leninist perspective. Bismarck's unification of Germany, as viewed in this ideological framework, offers an interesting test case.

A brief summary of the historical background may be helpful. The events leading to unification were sparked by the successes of the Italian national movement in the wake of the Austro-Italian War of 1859. Inspired by Italian developments, the demand for the unification of Germany again became more pressing. It was hoped that popular pressures could help bring about a unified Germany, and organizations such as the *Deutsche Nationalverein* were founded to further the national movement. The question of whether such a unified Germany would include German Austria was still open, but Prussian liberals felt that a liberalized Prussia had the best chance of unifying Germany (without Austria) under its leadership. Prince Regent William of Prussia, later King William I, had introduced a few minor reforms when he succeeded his brother, King Frederick William IV, in 1858; these changes seemed to justify the hope that Prussia was on its way to a more liberal regime and might be able to unify Germany under liberal auspices.

This turned out to be a mistaken assumption. William was deeply conservative and firmly believed in authoritarian government. In 1860 a bitter dispute broke out between him and the Prussian House of Delegates over the reorganization of the Prussian Army. The liberal majority of the House disapproved of several of the proposed reforms; after some temporary com-

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promises they refused to appropriate any further funds for the army. In the end William appointed Bismarck head of the government; the latter collected the needed taxes and authorized the required expenditures in defiance of the *Abgeordnetenhaus*. The Prussian liberals (and democrats) continued their opposition, not only because of this open curtailment of their rights, but also because they feared that Bismarck's highhanded ways were destroying all hope of unifying Germany under the guidance of Prussia. Their opposition was limited to nonviolent, parliamentary action. They would not consider any other step partly from an ingrained respect for state and government, which made a revolution unthinkable, and partly from fear of the masses, who would have had to be mobilized if any extraparliamentary opposition were to be effective. At that it seemed a hopeless undertaking, even with the help of the workers, to rise against a government backed by army and police. After the Danish War of 1864, resignation became acquiescence in some business circles; whatever objections these groups had to the policies of the Prussian Minister-President were outweighed by the prevailing economic prosperity, the liberal trade policies of the government, and the possibility that Bismarck might unify Germany in his own way.

Unification did take place in the years 1866–1871, beginning with the Prusso-Austrian War of 1866. After that war, most of the liberal opposition made its peace with Bismarck; the victory over Austria paved the way for the creation of the North German Confederation, and, with the establishment of this new federal state, Bismarck was moving toward the fulfillment of at least the national hopes of the liberals. The peace between the Minister-President and the liberals was sealed by a law retroactively granting Bismarck indemnity for all expenditures incurred since the beginning of the constitutional conflict.

However great the difference between East German and non-Marxist Western historians in their analysis of these developments, both sides agree that the year 1866 was decisive in German history.[1] At this point, however, agreement ends. To the non-Marxist historian the major issue settled by the Prussian victory at Königgrätz was the unification of Germany, excluding Austria, under Prussian auspices; to the Marxist-Leninist the importance of Königgrätz lies in the fact that Prussia's victory led to unification by means of a "revolution from above" rather than a "revolution from below,"

[1] The overriding importance of 1866 has only recently been recognized by German historians. For a long time the events of 1870–1871 culminating in the foundation of the German Empire were considered of much greater significance. The anniversary of the victory at Sedan, not that of Königgrätz, was celebrated as a national holiday (*Sedanstag*) until 1918.

inspired and carried out by a popular democratic movement.[2] Marxist historians do not question the desirability of Germany's unification; indeed, they feel certain that had unification been achieved by a popular movement it would also have included the German parts of the Austrian Empire. As it was, dynastic and bourgeois-capitalist interests prevented the inclusion of German Austria in a unified Germany.[3] What really mattered therefore was not that unification would be attained, but how it would be accomplished.

East German historians maintain that unification was desirable and in fact imperative because the existing *Kleinstaaterei* was impeding the full development of capitalist production. The German bourgeoisie thus had a vital interest in promoting unification in order to obtain a larger market, rid itself of antiquated bureaucratic and particularist restrictions, and secure the help and protection of a strong German state in the competitive struggle in the world market. This goal could be achieved in two ways: by a popular revolutionary movement directed against the dynasties and their allies in the aristocracy and elsewhere and aiming at an all-German (*gesamtdeutsch*) republic; or by force of arms, resulting in a national state covering approximately the territory of the *Zollverein*, dominated by Prussia, and retaining most of the dynasties. Everything depended on the choice of the bourgeoisie. Would it ally itself with the proletarian masses and prepare the way for a truly democratic unification, or would it come to terms with the ruling dynasties and the landowning aristocracy and help bring about a unification resting on a reactionary, semifeudalistic, and militarist foundation?[4] The latter alternative was chosen.

It is of course entirely possible, and perhaps even likely, that German developments would have run a happier course than they did if the Prussian liberals had not gone over to Bismarck. A non-Marxist historian might indeed criticize them for their rejection of any political collaboration with the workers. As it was, the liberal position remained weak, and liberal indifference toward working-class needs and aspirations virtually forced labor to go its separate political way.[5] On the other hand, an alliance of

[2] Ernst Engelberg, *Deutschland von 1849 bis 1871* ([East] Berlin, 1965), xi–xii; Hans Schleier, *Sybel und Treitschke: Antidemokratismus und Militarismus im historisch-politischen Denken grossbourgeoiser Geschichtsideologen* ([East] Berlin, 1965), 15–16.

[3] Engelberg, *Deutschland*, 71. Engelberg does not explore the question whether a Greater German unification would have been tolerated by Russia and France. This question is raised, but not pursued by Herbert Schwab, "Von Düppel bis Königgrätz," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, XIV (No. 4, 1966), 597. It is discussed, and dismissed, by Rolf Weber, *Kleinbürgerliche Demokraten in der deutschen Einheitsbewegung: 1863–1866* ([East] Berlin, 1962), 210–11.

[4] Engelberg, *Deutschland*, 69–70, 73–74; Weber, *Kleinbürgerliche Demokraten*, 14–17; see also Karl-Heinz Leidigkeit, *Wilhelm Liebknecht und August Bebel in der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung: 1862–1869* ([East] Berlin, 1958), 9–10.

[5] See, e.g., Ernst Schraepler, "Linksliberalismus und Arbeiterschaft in der preussischen Konfliktszeit," in *Forschungen zu Staat und Verfassung: Festgabe für Fritz Hartung*, ed. Rich-

middle class and labor might, if not in 1866 or 1871, at a more opportune later time have launched Germany on a course more in accordance with the country's social and political needs. At the same time it might also have prevented that growing hostility between labor and upper and middle class that was to rend German society in future years and that became one of the main causes of Germany's subsequent troubles.

It comes as a surprise, however, to see Marxist historians consider an alliance between bourgeoisie and labor a genuine possibility. It is the essence of Marxist theory that classes are the outgrowth of existing modes of production, "independent of man's will," in the words of a celebrated passage in the *Critique of Political Economy*. As such a class, the bourgeoisie was bound to protect and promote the institutions of private property and capitalist enterprise and gravitate toward other social groups that shared this concern, especially if it believed itself threatened, however unjustifiably, by an emerging industrial proletariat. From the Marxist perspective there seemed to be more reason for the bourgeoisie to side with the monarchy and nobility because the dividing line between landowning aristocracy and commercial and industrial bourgeoisie was becoming fluid: after 1848 most agrarians adopted capitalist production methods and began to share some of the economic concerns of the bourgeoisie, while at the same time the number of bourgeois estate owners was also increasing rapidly. By 1859, of the twelve thousand noble estates (*Rittergüter*) in Prussia, 57 per cent were in bourgeois hands.[6] To quote the East German historian Ernst Engelberg, "In the [18]50's and 60's, as a result of the introduction of capitalism into agriculture, there developed in the rural areas that class structure that is characteristic of the capitalist order." He concludes: "The conflict of interests between aristocracy and bourgeoisie was no longer antagonistic, no longer irreconcilable."[7] Under the circumstances it would seem that the bourgeoisie acted in 1866 as it could be expected to act according to Marxist tenets.

East German historians disagree and point out that what was at stake was not the issue of private property, but whether the bourgeoisie was to

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ard Dietrich and Gerhard Oestreich ([West] Berlin, 1958), 385–401; Otto Pflanze, *Bismarck and the Development of Germany: The Period of Unification, 1815–1871* (Princeton, N. J., 1963), 223–24.

[6] Eugene N. Anderson, *The Social and Political Conflict in Prussia: 1858–1864* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1954), 13–14; see also Hans Rosenberg, "Die Demokratisierung der Rittergutsbesitzerklasse," in *Zur Geschichte und Problematik der Demokratie: Festgabe für Hans Herzfeld*, ed. Wilhelm Berges and Carl Hinrichs ([West] Berlin, 1958), 468–69.

[7] Engelberg, *Deutschland*, 57, 70; see also his essay, "Zur Entstehung und historischen Stellung des preussisch-deutschen Bonapartismus," in *Beiträge zum neuen Geschichtsbild: Zum 60. Geburtstag von Alfred Meusel*, ed. Fritz Klein and Joachim Streisand ([East] Berlin, 1956), 236–37.

assume sole control of the government and thus free capitalist developments of all particularist and feudalistic-bureaucratic fetters or whether it was to submit to the preponderant political powers of monarchy and aristocracy, accepting the inevitable impediments to the expansion of capitalism. The argument seems hardly conclusive since the East Germans themselves show that government and aristocracy shared and catered to the economic concerns of the bourgeoisie, and subsequent experience has of course established that the "revolution from above" did not impede capitalist expansion but, instead, did what it could to further it.[8]

Some East German historians seem aware of the basic inconsistency of this position, and Engelberg himself grants on repeated occasions that the "objective" interests of the bourgeoisie did not call for a democratic mass movement as did the interests of the proletariat, peasantry, intelligentsia, and petty bourgeoisie. In a similar fashion, Siegfried Schmidt, research assistant at the University of Jena, argues, rather tortuously:

> To be sure, the replacement of the old feudalistic-bourgeois conflict by the conflict between capital and labor, evident since the 1850's, had its effect [on liberalism turning reactionary]. But as long as not all restrictions on bourgeois society had been removed, liberal organizations had a chance and to a certain extent were ready to impart new impulses to the bourgeois-national struggle in certain areas.[9]

Rolf Weber, of the University of Leipzig, on the other hand, rejects all possibilities of a voluntary bourgeois participation in a popular mass movement:

> As the economic basis of the *Junkers* became fully capitalist, [their] resistance against the national consequences of the emergence of the bourgeoisie was bound to weaken. As a result, the objective conditions for a firm alliance of the two classes became favorable. For the German bourgeoisie, the revolutionary-democratic, uncompromising road to national unification thus was out of the question.

The only question that remained, Weber adds, was whether the bourgeoisie might have been propelled into a revolutionary direction by a popular movement—a strategy for which Engels called at the time. Weber shows in a series of comprehensive analyses that conditions were not ripe for the emergence of a mass movement of sufficient strength, and, in so doing, he

[8] Engelberg, *Deutschland*, 69–71; Schwab, "Von Düppel," 600; Weber, *Kleinbürgerliche Demokraten*, 23. Concerning the growing economic liberalism of the German monarchies after 1848, see also Theodore S. Hamerow, *Restoration, Revolution, Reaction: Economics and Politics in Germany, 1815–1871* (Princeton, N. J., 1958), 246–55. For the period after 1871, see Schleier, *Sybel und Treitschke*, 66; see also *Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, published under the auspices of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism at the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity party (8 vols., [East] Berlin, 1966) I, 240, 320.

[9] Engelberg, *Deutschland*, 73–74, 151–52; Siegfried Schmidt, "Zur Frühgeschichte der bürgerlichen Parteien in Deutschland," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, XIII (No. 6, 1965), 990.

can also invoke the authority of Lenin who had characterized the 1850's and 1860's as a period "in which the revolutionary aspirations of bourgeois democracy [in Europe] were nearly dead [and] the revolutionary aspirations of the socialist proletariat had not yet matured."[10]

Aside from these objections, there arises the question of whether the bourgeoisie could have attained sole power (*Alleinherrschaft*) in any real sense, as the East German historians maintain, had it joined forces with the proletariat. This alliance, too, could only have been secured at a price: the initiation of social reforms and the granting of universal suffrage, freedom of press, assembly, and party organization. This, as the bourgeoisie saw it, might have led to more serious limitations on its class interests than any restrictions imposed by monarchy and aristocracy.[11] Its fears accorded with Marxist expectations that the proletariat had a much better chance to assert itself politically under a liberal bourgeois regime than under a semifeudal monarchical absolutism. Engels had indeed argued that a "timid" bourgeoisie could get along without universal suffrage and freedom of press, assembly, and organization, but that the workers could not hope to secure their emancipation without these rights and therefore ought to support the bourgeoisie in its struggle against all reactionary elements. "Every victory of the bourgeoisie over [the forces of] reaction is in a way also a victory of the workers, contributes to the ultimate collapse of capitalist domination, brings closer the moment when the workers are going to win out over the bourgeoisie." Should the bourgeoisie not take up the fight against the old order, Engels concluded, the workers would have to compel it against its own will to fight for its principles or, if necessary, leave it to its fate.[12] Again, it would seem that a Marxist historian cannot consider a voluntary alliance of bourgeoisie and working class a genuine possibility within the social and economic context of the Prussia and Germany of the 1860's—the less so since, according to the East German *Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung,* "in the fifties . . . the conflict of interests between working class and bourgeoisie became ever more apparent."[13] Indeed, he

[10] Weber, *Kleinbürgerliche Demokraten,* 21, 23, 110, 277–83, *et passim;* see also Schwab, "Von Düppel," 592–93. The *Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung* seems to agree with Engelberg who was one of the collaborators on this work. (See *ibid.,* I, 200–204, 300–301.)

[11] Schraepler, "Linksliberalismus," 398; Ludwig Dehio, "Die Taktik der Opposition während der Konfliktszeit," *Historische Zeitschrift,* CXL (1929), 295–96; Heinrich von Sybel to Hermann Baumgarten, May 9, 1863, in *Deutscher Liberalismus im Zeitalter Bismarcks,* ed. Julius Heyderhoff and Paul Wentzke (2 vols., Bonn, 1925), I, 150; Weber, *Kleinbürgerliche Demokraten,* 23.

[12] *Ibid.,* 19, 275; Engelberg, *Deutschland,* 73–74. Engels' argument is developed in *Die preussische Militärfrage und die deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (Hamburg, 1865), and summed up in Hans Rosenberg, *Die nationalpolitische Publizistik Deutschlands* (2 vols., Munich, 1935), II, 877–78.

[13] *Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung,* I, 200.

ought again to conclude that in refusing to join forces with the masses the bourgeoisie simply acted out the role forecast for it by the theory of the class struggle. Engelberg maintains, nonetheless, that Engels rightly took the bourgeoisie to task in 1865 for rejecting "without any reason whatsoever" an alliance with the proletariat.[14]

In this connection another question arises. Assuming that an alliance between bourgeoisie and working class had been concluded, could it have brought about a change in the political situation? Or again, pursuing the other alternative, was the working class strong enough to force the bourgeoisie to take up the fight against the existing regime? The urban working class was still very weak numerically: in Prussia, of a population of 17,000,000, only 770,000 were factoryworkers in 1863, to whom might perhaps be added 1,000,000 workers employed in small craft shops.[15] And while labor began to manifest greater political interest in 1862, after the organization of the Progressive party in Prussia, this interest remained limited to a comparatively small circle.

The East German historians are aware of this fact, just as Marx and Engels had been in their day. In fact, with the French Revolution of 1789–1794 as his model, Engels had warned at the time that "as long as the rural proletariat is not drawn into the movement, the urban proletariat will not be able to achieve anything in Germany."[16] Following their mentors, the East Germans agree that the urban working class could have become a political factor of decisive importance only in an alliance with peasants, craftsmen, storekeepers, and other petty bourgeois elements.[17] (If Marxist historians are highly critical of Ferdinand Lassalle, who founded a separate political working-class organization in 1863, one of the reasons is that Lassalle sought to align his *Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein* with the semifeudal Prussian monarchy against the bourgeoisie rather than to gather all democratic forces into a united oppositional movement. Had he done so, the argument runs, he might have created a national popular movement strong enough to compel the bourgeoisie to continue its struggle for power. As it was, Lassalle and his successors were simply traitors or agents of Bismarck; rather than launch a powerful working-class movement, they founded an ineffective "sect.")[18]

[14] Engelberg, *Deutschland,* 118. Schleier, *Sybel und Treitschke,* 80, on the other hand, is more consistent when he argues that the historians Sybel and Heinrich von Treitschke acted in conformity with their class interests in supporting the "revolution from above."

[15] Engelberg, *Deutschland,* 57–58, 73; statistics in *Neue Frankfurter Zeitung,* June 8, 1863, quoted in Schraepler, "Linksliberalismus," 388, n. 6.

[16] Engels, quoted in Rosenberg, *Nationalpolitische Publizistik,* II, 878.

[17] Engelberg, *Deutschland,* 73, 145; Leidigkeit, *Wilhelm Liebknecht und August Bebel,* 30.

[18] *Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung,* I, 209–14; Engelberg, *Deutschland,* 142–47; *id.,* "Bonapartismus," 245; Leidigkeit, *Wilhelm Liebknecht und August Bebel,* 23–32, 39–40,

Yet, was it possible for the urban workers to unite with their rural counterparts in any joint action? Of the authors cited here, Engelberg dispenses with all factual substantiation and merely refers in general terms to Marx, while Karl-Heinz Leidigkeit contents himself with a quotation from Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* in support of his argument. In the *Eighteenth Brumaire* Marx had indeed written that restive French peasants in 1850–1851 were finding their natural allies and leaders in the urban proletariat, but this does not tell us anything about the German situation in the 1860's.[19] It can be negatively stated that, of the labor leaders who opposed Bismarck's policies, none made an attempt to approach the peasantry; they presumably considered this a hopeless undertaking. As Franz Mehring put it, "no dawn of political understanding" was as yet enlightening Prussia's rural population.[20] This is also borne out by the investigations of Eugene Anderson and, what is more important in this context, by the analyses of the East German historian Rolf Weber. Weber considers it a basic weakness of the democratic movement that it seemed to offer little to the peasants. By the 1860's the peasants had been relieved of all prior manorial claims of the nobility. Many still had to pay annual redemption dues to their onetime landlords, but they considered this a less onerous burden. Nor did the problems that remained in all rural areas—lack of land, political oppression, social misery—create any activist discontent. (Weber feels, however, that the democratic leaders neglected the problems of the peasantry and the rural proletariat, and he criticizes them for not having attempted to arouse these groups by appealing to their material interests.) The democrats faced an equally difficult task in regard to the petty bourgeoisie; while the latter had a stake in democratic self-government, it was economically dependent on the bourgeoisie, its general political

86–87, 93, 109–10; see also Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels: Eine Biographie* (2 vols., The Hague, 1934), II, 122, 140–41. In attacking Johann Baptist von Schweitzer, Lassalle's successor as head of the *Arbeiterverein*, as corrupt, Leidigkeit refers to archival findings of Mayer, but disregards the fact that Mayer expressly rejects the conclusion that Schweitzer was a bribed agent of Bismarck. (See *id.*, "Der Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverein und die Krisis 1866," *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, LVII [No. 1, 1927], 167–75, esp. 170, 175.) The article was known to Leidigkeit since he lists it in his bibliography. (*Wilhelm Liebknecht und August Bebel*, 216.)

[19] Engelberg, *Deutschland*, 145, 73. In referring to Marx, Engelberg may have had in mind Marx's letter to Engels of April 16, 1856, in which Marx predicates the success of the socialist movement on "covering the rear of the proletarian revolution by a second edition of the Peasants War," without, however, examining the likelihood of such a development. (Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Correspondence: 1846–1895* [New York, 1934], 87.) The passage from the *Eighteenth Brumaire*, referred to by Leidigkeit in *Wilhelm Liebknecht und August Bebel*, 30, can be found in Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (New York, 1926), 137.

[20] See the description of Liebknecht's agitational activities in Leidigkeit, *Wilhelm Liebknecht und August Bebel*, 104; for Bebel's activities, see August Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben* ([East] Berlin, 1961), *passim;* and Mehring's statement in Franz Mehring, *Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie* (5th ed., 4 vols., Stuttgart, 1913), III, 234.

outlook was parochial, and it had no material interest in national unification.[21]

Weighing the chances of a successful democratic mass movement, Weber, as was mentioned before, is more restrained than the majority of the East German historians. Most of them maintain that in 1865–1866 Germany was approaching a revolutionary crisis, and they like to quote August Bebel, who later became the long-time leader of the Social Democratic party. He recalls in his memoirs that "almost everyone in Germany, except for East Elbia, believed that a victorious revolution was possible."[22] There was indeed considerable unrest in Germany in 1865; organizational activities of both workers and petty bourgeoisie increased; economic discontent touched off a growing number of strikes; political protests led to clashes with the police; and some Prussian reservists called up for military service refused to obey their induction orders.[23]

Bebel and his associates were, however, unrealistic when they believed a nationwide popular rising could be organized to force democratic unification on Germany, if war broke out over the unification issue between Prussia and the other German states. Popular strength, organization, and weapons were lacking to carry out any such plan. "As a matter of fact," writes Weber on the basis of his analyses, "as conditions were at the time, any attempt at a popular rising would have been a hopeless *Putsch* which would have been crushed within a few hours."[24] Nor was there any prospect of an immediate revolution in Prussia. Whatever unrest there was lacked the over-all coordination and mass support to constitute a serious threat to the Prussian state—at least as long as Prussia did not suffer a serious defeat. Indeed, most contemporary observers who predicted a violent upheaval in

[21] Anderson, *Social and Political Conflict,* 291–92, 297, 435–37; Weber, *Kleinbürgerliche Demokraten,* 21, 281–82, 110, 279. Weber makes the point (pp. 282–83) that in countries in which the agrarian question is no longer of fundamental importance, "it is objectively more difficult for the masses to recognize that class interests are at stake in the way [in which a country achieves] its national unification whereas in countries in which the bourgeois revolution centers around the agrarian question class fronts are clearly visible for everyone." The unification of Germany thus was considered largely a political question that did not directly affect the material interests of the individual citizen. "In fact, to many circles, especially in Prussia, unification from above seemed to be an enormous advance in the solution of the national question, which it was actually only to a very limited extent." Concerning the attitude of the petty bourgeoisie, see also the comments of Schwab, "Von Düppel," 606–607.

[22] Engelberg, *Deutschland,* 151, 153; Leidigkeit, *Wilhelm Liebknecht und August Bebel,* 93; Bebel's statement, *ibid.,* 81. Schleier, *Sybel und Treitschke,* 73, contends that "if Sybel declared that the opposition had no material power, this was *Realpolitik* only if one closed his eyes to the 'elementary force of the masses.'"

[23] Leidigkeit, *Liebknecht und Bebel,* 67–70, 74–82, 95–105; Engelberg, *Deutschland,* 166–70, 177–179; Schwab, "Von Düppel," 601. A highly informative survey of Prussian unrest can be found in a recent West German essay on the crisis of 1866, Karl Heinrich Höfele, "Königgrätz und die Deutschen von 1866," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht,* XVI (No. 7, 1966), 400–402.

[24] Weber, *Kleinbürgerliche Demokraten,* 269. For a recent liberal analysis, see Hedwig Wachenheim, *Die deutsche Arbeiterbewegung 1844–1914* (Cologne, 1967), 100.

Prussia expected revolution only in case of a major military defeat.[25] Protest demonstrations were easily broken up, and insubordinate reservists were quickly subdued. Nor were the discipline and striking power of the Prussian Army impaired, as the victory at Königgrätz demonstrated. Weber, assessing conditions in Prussia, speaks of a "potentially explosive situation," which, however, "could become a serious political factor only after a defeat of the army." Thus it is incorrect to conclude, as Engelberg does, that, "Despite great revolutionary potentialities which became manifest among the German people in the 1860's, the leading elements of the revolution from below, that is, petty bourgeois democracy and the various workers organizations, proved unequal to the situation."[26]

Prussia's victory touched off what is uniformly called a "revolution from above" in East German historiography. To be sure, non-Marxist historians have also applied this term to the events of 1866, but they have seen its revolutionary aspects in the destruction of the loose German Confederation, the creation of the more tightly organized North German Confederation, and the overthrow of some of the sovereign rulers—in Hanover, Hesse, and Nassau. To the Marxist historian the revolutionary results of Prussia's victory extended far beyond this blow at monarchist legitimacy and state sovereignty: they effected the transformation of the Prusso-German "feudalist-bureaucratic" monarchy into a "bourgeois-capitalist" monarchy. This new monarchy rested on a dictatorship described as "Bonapartist" since, like its French counterpart, it was based on the support of the army and playing off against each other hostile social claims and forces while it was essentially bourgeois in its perspective. (In describing a "Bonapartist" regime as basically bourgeois in outlook, as does Engelberg in accord with Engels, he again demonstrates that the bourgeoisie was not acting against its "class" interests in supporting Bismarck.)[27]

The new regime, the East Germans concede, contained some progressive features. By unifying northern and central Germany in the North German Confederation it took an important step toward national union. It also laid the foundation for the expansion of capitalist production by giving the new parliament considerable authority in the area of economic legislation. And although, in the Marxist view, Bismarck's "Bonapartist" regime was the most unfavorable form that a bourgeois revolution could assume for the working class, democracy scored one significant victory. The liberals did

[25] Sybel to Baumgarten, June 4, 1866, in *Deutscher Liberalismus,* ed. Heyderhoff and Wentzke, I, 303; Franz Ziegler to Karl Rodbertus, June 9, 16, 1866, in Ludwig Dehio, "Die preussische Demokratie und der Krieg von 1866," *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte,* XXXIX (1927), 253, 255; Dehio, "Taktik," 320–21.

[26] Weber, *Kleinbürgerliche Demokraten,* 256; Engelberg, "Bonapartismus," 246.

[27] *Ibid.,* 238–39; see also *Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung,* I, 319–20.

not content themselves with being granted universal manhood suffrage; they also succeeded in securing secrecy of the ballot. With the help of universal, equal, and secret suffrage the laboring classes could be rallied in the struggle against Bismarck's dictatorship, and the *Reichstag* elections offered opportunities to perfect their organization and publicize their demands.[28]

The process, inaugurated in 1866, of transforming the Prussian "feudalist" monarchy into a "bourgeois" one continued during the following years. East German historians are especially interested in the measures taken to free business activities of many of the remaining restrictions and allow the full development of capitalist production. They acknowledge the streamlining of the *Zollverein,* the steps taken to further the economic unification of Germany, the inauguration of legal reforms. Yet the completion of Germany's unification in 1871, they note, was again effected by governmental rather than popular action. Whatever economic progress the German Empire achieved, Bismarck's Bonapartist dictatorship on behalf of *Junkers* and bourgeoisie was entrenched more firmly than ever; there remained a princely particularism that impeded the growth of centralized institutions and full unity, and, above all, Prusso-German militarism that came to pervade all aspects of German life also remained. The realization of democracy, on the other hand, had now to wait for a distant future.[29]

If East German historiography is as much a discussion of what might or ought to have happened as of what actually did occur, it merely performs the task that Marxism sets the historian. Marxist historiography, it should be kept in mind, is not satisfied with the detached examination of the past. Marx warned that this contemplative approach encouraged acquiescence in the world as it was, and to this conservatism he was wholly opposed. To him history was the story of man's unfolding potentialities, or, put differently, it was the record of man's efforts to meet his needs more effectively: "History is nothing but the activity of man in pursuit of his ends." In these efforts, Marxist historiography teaches, man is following the laws of historical and dialectical materialism, and, guided by them, he will achieve ever higher modes of production. With the attainment of socialism man will gain full, conscious control of the means of production and put them purposefully and systematically at his service. Thus the

[28] Engelberg, *Deutschland,* 185, 186–89, 194–95; Schleier, *Sybel und Treitschke,* 66–67; Leidigkeit, *Wilhelm Liebknecht und August Bebel,* 111–12. It was not, ironically, democratic pressure but the antidemocratic National Liberals who demanded the secret ballot in order to forestall any governmental abuses of open voting. (See Otto Becker, *Bismarcks Ringen um Deutschlands Gestaltung* [Heidelberg, 1958], 437.)

[29] Engelberg, *Deutschland,* 198, 240, 242–44; Weber, *Kleinbürgerliche Demokraten,* 273.

working class, striving toward the attainment of socialism which would eliminate economic scarcity, class struggles, and war, is waging its fight not just for its own sake but on behalf of all mankind; its victory will usher in true freedom, justice, and peace. Once this process of history is understood, history, in the Marxist view, can serve as a guide both to the past and the future.[30]

In accordance with this view, East German historians consider it their task to demonstrate that this historical process is operative in Germany too. In the context of the specific German situation they especially seek to show that their country can be diverted from aggression and militarism and can be reunited peacefully and democratically under the Marxist-Leninist banner. As Alfred Meusel, the late social historian, has written:

> The *thema probadum* of German historical research and teaching must be the struggle for German unification. We have to show that at all turning points of German history—at the time of the Reformation and the great Peasants' War, at the time of the Wars of Liberation, in the Revolution of '48, in the November Revolution of 1918 and during the following years and again now, after [our] liberation from fascism by the Soviet Army, there existed serious democratic forces which fought for a united Germany in the form of a peace-loving, democratic and sovereign national state.[31]

The prevalent East German interpretation of the events of 1866 is meant to bear out this claim and to demonstrate that Bismarck's unification of Germany was not the only possible one and that the "objective" conditions for a democratic unification by a popular movement existed. If it did not materialize, this was because of such "subjective," human and hence avoidable, factors as the selfishness of the bourgeoisie, the inadequacy of the labor leaders, the treachery of Lassalle, the parochial ways of the petty bourgeoisie, and the apathy of the peasants. As it was, in the East German view, Marx and Engels, who had pointed out the correct way to peace and democracy, had been ignored, and militarism and chauvinism had triumphed.[32]

This tragedy, the East German interpretation maintains, continued to be re-enacted during the following decades. The bourgeoisie, dominated by

[30] See Ernst Engelberg, "Politik und Geschichtswissenschaft in der DDR," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft,* VI (No. 3, 1958), 468–81; see also *Einführung in das Studium der Geschichte,* ed. Walther Eckermann and Hubert Mohr ([East] Berlin, 1966), 30–31, 42–43.

[31] Alfred Meusel, "Die wissenschaftliche Auffassung der deutschen Geschichte," *Wissenschaftliche Annalen,* I (No. 7, 1952), 405; see also Ernst Diehl, "Die Aufgaben der Parteihistoriker bei der Erfüllung des Siebenjahrplanes," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung,* II (No. 1, 1960), 3–22; and Marion Einhorn and Heinz Habedank, "Das Programm des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Historiker in der DDR," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft,* XI (No. 2, 1963), 237–60.

[32] Engelberg, *Deutschland,* xii, 73–74, 248; Leidigkeit, *Wilhelm Liebknecht und August Bebel,* 88–94; Schleier, *Sybel und Treitschke,* 106 ff.

"monopoly capitalism," drove the country into the First World War, later became the sponsor and ally of Hitler, and is now the mainstay of Bonn's militarism and "revanchism." And just as Lassalle "went over" to Bismarck, the Social Democrats of the Weimar era supported Field Marshal-President Paul von Hindenburg, thus helping to bring Hitler to power, and their "Right-wing" successors are now the supporters of West German "revanchism." Those who accepted the guidance of Marx and Engels, on the other hand, kept up the fight for peace and democracy. They were gathered in the antirevisionist wing of the Social Democrats before World War I, the Spartacus League of 1918, and the Communist party of Weimar days; they are now carrying on their struggle for the democratic, nonmilitarist reunification of Germany in the Socialist Unity party in East Germany and in the West German Communist party, which is fighting illegally in the Bonn Republic.[33]

It is in this contemporary political context that the East German interpretations of 1866—the probing for revolutionary potentialities and the responsibility for their failure—must be understood. The East German historian is expected to help the political leadership fulfill its task of determining the "objective laws of historical movements" (*den objektiven Bewegungssinn der Geschichte*) and thus guide society scientifically. "To develop or convey this sense of history," Gerhard Schilfert writes, ". . . is a national task of all historians toward the people of the German Democratic Republic as well as of West Germany."[34]

This attitude has its reverse, of course. In accordance with their view of the social function of the historian, the East Germans consider the work of Western historians, as much as their own, as purposeful political manifestations. They are thus perturbed by the fact that West German historians are no longer as critical of the undemocratic unification of Germany as they had been during the immediate postwar period.[35] In the East German view the argument of the West Germans that the bourgeoisie acted realistically in bowing to Bismarck is inspired by "practical-political" tasks that

[33] Hans Jürgen Friederici, "Zur Einschätzung Lassalles und des Lassalleanismus in der bürgerlichen und rechtssozialdemokratischen Geschichtsschreibung," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, II (No. 2, 1960), 303–304, 309–10. Friederici adds that it does not matter for what purpose Lassalle approached Bismarck; what does matter are the "objective" content and the effects of his program and tactics. (*Ibid.*, 312.) The argument presumably applies also to the Social Democrats of the Weimar and Bonn Republics.

[34] Gerhard Schilfert, "Die Geschichtswissenschaft im System der Gesellschaftswissenschaften," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, XII (No. 4, 1965), 581–82; see also the address of the *Rektor* of the University of Jena, in *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe*, XIV (No. 2, 1965), 173–74.

[35] Schwab, "Von Düppel," 589–90, with a number of quotations. Schwab is, however, rather careless in the use of sources. Of the "democratic" historians he misunderstands Wilhelm Schüssler and classifies Friedrich C. Sell and Hans Kohn as West Germans; of the "undemocratic" historians he misquotes Walter Bussmann.

West German historiography has set itself in serving as the ideological tool for the revival of German imperialism and militarism.[36] One need not agree with these charges to realize that the non-Marxist approach to history does contain its own pitfalls. If the demands on history as a guide to action cause the East German historian to overweight the historical evidence, the Western historian in his attempt to find out *wie es eigentlich gewesen* is faced with the danger, as Marx had warned, of accepting the world as it is.[37] The warning that the detached factual approach to historical evidence may turn the historian into an uncritical defender, if only an unwitting one, of what has occurred ought not to be taken lightly.[38] In a similar way, if East German historiography has contributed few new insights to our understanding of the events leading to Germany's unification, it has, on the other hand, helped direct the attention of the historian to the world of the German worker and petty bourgeois—a world so long neglected in German historiography except for the work of Gustav Mayer and an occasional excursion by a few others. Indeed, the new Western interest in German labor history as attested by the significant number of works published in recent years in this field may well have derived some of its stimulation from these East German endeavors.

The present analysis has been limited to those attitudes and developments pertaining to the unification of Germany that East German historians consider significant from their Marxist perspective. Within this frame of reference many other aspects of the unification movement had to be ignored. Thus, while socioeconomic considerations helped to mold the attitude of the middle class, it ought to be added that a traditional respect for state and authority and a deep-seated aversion to any disturbance of law and order also played an important role in determining bourgeois

[36] See Schleier, *Sybel und Treitschke*, 281, and Ernst Hoffmann, "Zur Entwicklung und Rolle der westdeutschen Geschichtsschreibung," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, VII (No. 8, 1960), 1811–31.

[37] Engelberg, "Politik und Geschichtsschreibung," 478–79.

[38] It is noteworthy, for example, that leading West German historians like Theodor Schieder and Werner Conze accept without reservation Hermann Baumgarten's famous critique of German liberalism, *Der deutsche Liberalismus: Eine Selbstkritik* (first published in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, XVIII [Nov.–Dec. 1866], 455 ff., 575 ff., and reprinted in Baumgarten's *Historische und politische Aufsätze*, ed. Erich Marcks [Strasbourg, 1894], 76 ff.); see Theodor Schieder, in Bruno Gebhardt, *Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte* (4 vols., Stuttgart, 1954–60), III, 176; Werner Conze, "Die Ermöglichung des Nationalstaates," in *Entscheidung 1866: Der Krieg zwischen Österreich und Preussen*, ed. Wolfgang von Groote and Ursula von Gersdorff (Stuttgart, 1966), 205–208. One may accept as realistic the change of attitude of the bourgeoisie and yet doubt the wisdom of the abject self-abasement with which this change was carried out. For a more detailed discussion of this question, see Andreas Dorpalen, *Heinrich von Treitschke* (New Haven, Conn., 1957), 114–16; see also the contemporary criticism in a letter of Wilhelm Beseler to Baumgarten, Dec. 20, 1866, in *Deutscher Liberalismus*, ed. Heyderhoff and Wentzke, I, 360.

attitudes. Feelings of social and political inadequacy and a widespread indifference to the issues of the Prussian constitutional conflict also did so. (At no time did more than one-half of the bourgeois electorate participate in the Prussian elections during that conflict.) Again, if the question of national unity had social and economic implications, it was just as much and perhaps more a political and psychological issue independent of all material considerations. To countless Germans the unification of Germany was, above all, a matter of pride and national dignity, even of moral justice.[39] These emotional reactions perhaps more than any other factors help to account for the large-scale surrender of the liberals to Bismarck in 1866 when the defeat of Austria opened the road to Germany's unification. Of this, hardly anything is mentioned in the East German discussions since such attitudes are not considered intrinsically significant, but rather are viewed as a failure to perceive the sociopolitical implications of the manner of unification. These limitations prevent Marxist investigations from recapturing historic reality as it was, *wie es eigentlich gewesen*. One cannot fit life, and history, into so selective a pattern.[40]

[39] For a more detailed discussion of this attitude and its implications, see Dorpalen, *Treitschke*, 57–60, 111–12, 114–15.

[40] On recent objections of Soviet historians to these limitations, see Arthur P. Mendel, "Current Soviet Theory of History: New Trends or Old?" *American Historical Review*, LXXII (Oct. 1966), 50–73.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

The Jefferson-Adams Rupture and the First French Translation of John Adams' *Defence*

JOYCE APPLEBY*

WHEN Thomas Jefferson received his presentation copy of *A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America* from John Adams, his first impulse was to arrange for a French translation. With characteristic thoroughness he lined up a translator, lent him his copy, found a Paris publisher, and wrote his friend and fellow diplomat in London describing what he had done. This was in February 1787, just weeks after the English publication of Adams' first volume. But, despite the dispatch with which Jefferson handled these details, no French edition appeared that year. Nor was a French translation of the *Defence* published until five years later, long after Jefferson and Adams had returned from their European missions, and the attrition of domestic politics had begun working its way through the bonds of their once warm friendship.

Quite understandably historians have neglected so minor an item as whether or not the French *Défense des constitutions américaines* of 1792 bears any relation to the translation originally planned by Jefferson. Supplying an answer may be reckless, in the face of Allan Nevins' caveat about researching questions no one is ever likely to ask. But, if there is a possibility that the translation Jefferson initiated was suppressed and that Jefferson connived at its suppression, then the evidence is worth attention.

The story of the first proposed French translation of the *Defence* begins with Jefferson's letter to Adams of February 23, 1787. "On the first news of this work," Jefferson wrote, "there were proposals to translate it. Fearing it might be murdered in that operation, I endeavored to secure a good translator. This is done, and I lend him my copy to translate from." Adams replied that Jefferson had laid him "under great obligation by taking the trouble to Secure a Good Translator."[1] The publisher with whom Jefferson

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[1] Adams to Jefferson, Mar. 1, 1787, in *The Adams-Jefferson Letters*, ed. Lester J. Cappon (2 vols., Chapel Hill, N. C., 1959), I, 174–77.

had made arrangements was Jacques François Froullé. Froullé, a licensed bookseller, was also a printer, having been apprenticed at one time to the distinguished Augustin Martin Lottin who had taught Louis XVI the art of printing.[2] It seems Froullé printed books privately, which is to say clandestinely, and sold them publicly in his store. Since there was a general ban in France on foreign political writings, a publisher like Froullé was a necessary resort, and this practice was more or less accepted by the government, for Froullé's books carried with their false publication places a line that said "et se trouve à Paris, Chez Froullé, libraire."

At this time, Froullé was bringing out the four-volume *Recherches historiques et politiques sur les États-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale* by Philip Mazzei, and Mazzei, too, wrote Adams about the French translation of his *Defence*. In June 1787 Adams answered Mazzei's letter, asking if the publisher had as yet published his "avertissement."[3] The following month Jefferson wrote Adams to send "hither the sheets of the sequel as they shall be printed" for the benefit of Froullé. Adams, who was still writing the second and third volumes of the *Defence* while waiting for the permission of Congress to quit London, promised to send them, and he mentioned in subsequent letters having actually dispatched copies to Jefferson in Paris, but Jefferson never again alluded to the projected French translation of the *Defence* in his letters to Adams.[4] In fact, the last word on this French edition of the *Defence* appeared in Mazzei's *Recherches,* which was printed during November and December 1787. Reviewing the latest literature on America, Mazzei cited Adams' *Defence* and reported that the French translation of Adams' "Apologie des constitutions des États-Unis d'Amérique" was already on the press.[5] No "Apologie" was forthcoming, however, and unless Adams and Jefferson discussed the translation when they met briefly in March 1788, it died a quiet death.

There is no reason to connect this projected translation of the *Defence* with one that finally appeared in 1792. The case against such an assumption is very strong. To note the most obvious difficulties: a delay of five of the most eventful years in French history, a different publisher, a different title, and a translator's introduction, which specifically explains the publica-

[2] *Catalogue chronologique des libraires et des libraires-imprimeurs de Paris* (2 vols., Paris, 1789), I, 248; II, 67, 116.

[3] Adams to Mazzei, June 12, 1787, in *The Works of John Adams,* ed. Charles Francis Adams (10 vols., Boston, 1850–56), IX, 553. Adams refers here to a letter from Mazzei of May 24, 1787, which is lost.

[4] Adams to Jefferson, Aug. 25, Sept. 16, Oct. 28, 1787, in *Adams-Jefferson Letters,* ed. Cappon, I, 191, 198, 203–204.

[5] [Philip Mazzei,] *Recherches historiques et politiques sur les États-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (4 vols., Colle, 1788), IV, 213–14. The same volume included a French translation of the proposed federal Constitution that did not reach Paris until November 1787.

tion of Adams' *Defence* in terms of its relevance to the political events of 1792.[6] But why, on the other hand, advance the idea that the first translation was actively suppressed? Why could it not have suffered one of those accidents so common in the hazardous trip from manuscript to market? The reason to doubt, or at least question, such a benign exit for the first French *Defence* is because the group of Frenchmen closest to Jefferson had a strong motive for wanting to suppress Adams' book, and did, in fact, prepare for Froullé's presses a quite different American translation, an elaborately annotated edition of an attack on the *Defence:* John Stevens' *Observations on Government, Including some animadversions on Mr. Adams's Defence . . . and Mr. De Lolmes Constitution of England.* Pierre Samuel Du Pont, Antoine Caritat—better known as Condorcet—and Mazzei were the editors of the French edition of Stevens' pamphlet which appeared in January 1789 as *Examen de gouvernement d'Angleterre comparé aux constitutions des États-Unis* and was incorrectly attributed to William Livingston. These men were good friends of Jefferson, important customers for Froullé, and zealous defenders of a whole constellation of political ideas threatened by Adams' *Defence.* Mazzei apparently received the Stevens pamphlet from James Madison, but the copy used for preparation of *Examen* ended up in Jefferson's library preserving in its marginal notes a record of the French editing.[7]

Adams' *Defence* had taken on strong polemical overtones during the course of 1787. Events in France had changed the innocuous project of publishing a French edition of Adams' work into a heated political issue. Louis XVI, having promised to convoke the Estates-General, had lifted the floodgate on a century of dammed up political energy. No one, Arthur Young wrote in his travel journal for October 1787, believed that the Estates-General could meet "without a revolution in the government en-

[6] John Adams, *Défense des constitutions américaines: Ou de la nécessité d'une balance dans les pouvoirs d'un gouvernement libre* (2 vols., Paris, 1792), I, i. Zoltan Haraszti (*John Adams and the Prophets of Progress* [New York, 1964], 332, n. 23) and Cappon (*Adams-Jefferson Letters,* I, 175) err in referring to Jacques Vincent Delacroix as the translator of this edition. He added notes, but the translator who signed himself "L.M." is clearly both a different person and the instigator of the publication. The late Charles A. Rochedieu claimed in his *Bibliography of French Translations of English Works* (Chicago, 1948), 2, that an M. Leriguet translated the *Defence.* A more likely possibility is that "L.M." was L'Abbé Morellet who signed himself that way, translated English writings, and had already defended Adams' ideas in print. There is a special irony in this possibility, for Jefferson had been unhappy with Morellet's translation of his *Notes on the State of Virginia* and probably had this experience in mind when he moved quickly to find a competent translator for Adams' *Defence.* (See Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia,* ed. William Peden [Chapel Hill, N. C., 1955], xviii.)

[7] Jefferson's copy in the Library of Congress has marginal notes in Mazzei's hand and Jefferson's correction of the false attribution to Livingston. Mazzei's letter to Madison, Feb. 7, 1788, in *Philip Mazzei, Friend of Jefferson: His Life and Letters,* ed. Richard Cecil Garlick, Jr. (Baltimore, 1933), 120–21, indicates that Madison sent the pamphlet to Mazzei along with the false attribution.

suing."[8] This expectation of drastic change in turn promoted an animated, searching, and increasingly partisan investigation of political principles. France was to receive a modern constitution at last, but what kind of a constitution? What new institutions should be created to replace the old? What part of France's many-layered past could be carried successfully into the future, what part effectively excluded? The debates on these questions focused attention on two possible models for French reconstruction: England and America. Soon two opposing groups of French reformers rallied around these models, and it was in relation to this dispute over goals within France that Adams' *Defence* became an issue.

The Frenchmen who looked to the American model, *américanistes* as they were sometimes called, were the same Frenchmen who earlier had promoted the cause of the American Revolution: Marquis de La Fayette, Comte de Mirabeau, Marquis de Condorcet, Duc de La Rochefoucauld, and Du Pont. Benjamin Franklin had not failed to cultivate such an enlightened and sympathetic circle of Frenchmen, and they in turn became the good friends of Jefferson, Mazzei, and Jefferson's young secretary, William Short. Mazzei, in fact, formed something of a link between these distinguished Frenchmen and his American friends. Being limited by neither a diplomatic capacity nor a sense of discretion, this ebullient Florentine threw himself into French revolutionary politics with as much abandon as he had earlier entered the American cause.[9]

The *américanistes*'s program for France was composed of a not always congruent blend of French disenchantment and American hope. They called for, specifically, the eradication of the special privileges of the aristocracy and the Church, the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, and the formation of a single, popular national assembly to unify and direct the will of modern France. Their program was twofold: to identify their reform goals with the magic of the American name and at the same time to undermine the prestige of the English constitution. Arrayed against them were the *anglomanes,* a group of French leaders equally zealous for reform but considerably more conservative. The *anglomanes* looked north instead of west and found in England's government the better pattern for France. In their effort to popularize English political institutions, the *anglomanes* received immeasurable aid from Jean Louis De Lolme's book *La constitution de l'Angleterre.*[10] In this study, which was enormously popular in

[8] Arthur Young, *Travels in France during the years 1787, 1788 and 1789,* ed. Constantia Maxwell (Cambridge, Eng., 1929), 81.

[9] Philip Mazzei, *Memoirs of the Life and Peregrinations of the Florentine Philip Mazzei,* ed. and tr. Howard R. Marraro (New York, 1942), 278–80.

[10] Jean Louis De Lolme, *La constitution de l'Angleterre* (Amsterdam, 1771). De Lolme was a Genevan expatriate living in London. His first edition in his native French was fol-

France, De Lolme made a very persuasive case for his conclusion that liberty and justice were best secured through a balanced government of commons, lords, and king, as in England. Adams had made no secret of his debt to De Lolme, as indeed he should not have, and those Frenchmen who had read the *Defence* saw it as an American echo of De Lolme's general thesis that only the careful institutionalizing of existing orders in society could resolve the tension between man and government.[11]

Although a distinguished American historian has reviewed Adams' *Defence* and found it to have been as antiaristocratic in essence as the ideas of the *américanistes*'s idol, A. R. J. Turgot, this was certainly not the opinion of contemporaries on either side of the Atlantic.[12] Adams' underlying theme was that democracy would not work, that elites were inevitable, and that stability demanded that a constitutional place be given them. Far from being a defense of the American state constitutions—"a mock defense," Madison dubbed it—Adams' treatise held up the English constitution as the one defensible form of government.[13] When an abridged French edition finally appeared in 1792, the translator felt it necessary to apologize for Adams' bias toward aristocracy, and Jacques Vincent de la Croix, who furnished notes for this edition, took issue on several occasions with Adams' justification for aristocratic institutions.[14] A French edition of the *Defence* in 1787 would, therefore, have been an exquisite embarrassment to the *américanistes*. Adams was well known to the French public. To have had readily available to French readers Adams' endorsement of De Lolme's ideas at the very time when the *américanistes* were using the American experience as proof of De Lolme's errors would have been a strategic blow.

De Lolme, however, not Adams, remained the principal target of the *américanistes*. When *La constitution de l'Angleterre* became popular in France, Du Pont brushed off a fifteen-year-old critique and persuaded Mirabeau to run it in successive issues of his *Analyse des papiers anglais,*

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lowed by four English editions and another French edition (London, 1785), which was the first to circulate widely in France and was followed by five successive editions (Geneva, 1787–91).

[11] John Adams, *A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America, Against the Attack of M. Turgot in His Letter to Dr. Price, Dated the twenty-second day of March, 1778* (3 vols., London, 1787), I, 70; see also Adams' notes taken from De Lolme's study on reel 188, *Miscellany, The Microfilms of the Adams Papers* (Boston, 1959).

[12] Robert R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760–1800* (2 vols., Princeton, N. J., 1959–64), I, 267–82.

[13] Madison to Jefferson, May 12, 1791, in *The Writings of James Madison,* ed. Gaillard Hunt (9 vols., New York, 1900–10), VI, 50–51.

[14] Adams, *Défense des constitutions américaines,* I, i, xxii, 532–33, 537–38; II, 466, 468, 470, 472, 476.

following this up with a separate pamphlet edition.[15] Condorcet, punning on his honorary citizenship in New Haven, wrote his *Quatre lettres d'un bourgeois de New-Heaven* which appeared first in Mazzei's *Recherches* also as a refutation of De Lolme.[16] When Madison sent Mazzei a copy of Stevens' pamphlet inveighing against the political pessimism of both Adams and De Lolme, the *américanistes* had their perfect antidote to the damaging Anglophilia of the *Defence*. Here was a chance to deflate De Lolme's apotheosis of the English constitution and at the same time disassociate Adams from the true, egalitarian spirit of America, and to do it all through the words of a simple, republican philosopher who signed himself "A Farmer of New-Jersey."

Thus, Stevens' *Observations on Government,* ignored at home, became a smashing hit in France. Du Pont, Condorcet, and Mazzei turned the 56-page pamphlet into a 291-page book complete with 174 pages of notes, a translation of the new US Constitution, and notes from the Virginia ratifying convention.[17] They put the name of Livingston on the lips of a score of speakers in the National Assembly, and, if one leading French *anglomane* and two contemporary German observers are to be believed, *Examen du gouvernement d'Angleterre* turned the tide against French sentiment in favor of reform *à la mode anglaise*.[18]

The case for the suppression of the first French translation of Adams' *Defence* (and its connection with the publication of Stevens' pamphlet) rests on an inference from silence, the presence of a very strong motive, the intimate relationships of the principal figures, and the unexplained failure of the much-discussed 1787 translation to materialize. As for Jefferson's conniving at the suppression, it seems highly unlikely that the project

[15] *Analyse des papiers anglais,* Mar. 22, Apr. 1, 1788, and [Pierre Samuel Du Pont,] *Lettre à M. le Comte Charles de Scheffer, 20 août, 1773* (Paris, 1788).

[16] Mazzei, *Recherches,* I. Adams claimed that this had been written as a reply to his *Defence* (Haraszti, *Prophets of Progress,* 236), but Condorcet never mentioned Adams or his ideas and did refer repeatedly to De Lolme and the English constitution.

[17] Much of the story of this edition can be reconstructed from Mazzei's *Memoirs* which are corroborated by a contemporary letter, Mazzei to Stanislas Augustus, Apr. 27, 1789, in *Lettere di Filippo Mazzei alla corte di Polonia,* ed. Raffaele Ciampini (2 vols., Bologna, 1937), I, 121.

[18] Jean Joseph Mounier, *Considérations sur les gouvernements, et principalement sur celui quie convient à la France* (Paris, 1789), 37; Ernest Brandes, *Considérations politiques sur la Révolution française* (Paris, 1791), 80–88; and August W. Rehberg, *Untersuchungen über die französische Revolution* (2 vols., Hanover, 1793), II, 55–65. See also Abbé André Morellet's review in *Mercure de France,* July 24, Aug. 1, 1789; see also the debate in the National Assembly, Aug. 31–Sept. 1789, as selectively published in "Opinion de M. Grégoire, curé d'Embermenil, député de Nanci, sur la Sanction Royale, à la Séance du 4 septembre" (Paris, 1789); "Rapports du Comité de Constitution présentés à l'Assemblée Nationale, le lundi 21 août 1789" (Paris, 1789); and "Opinion de M. Le Duc de La Rochefoucauld, député de Paris, 7 septembre 1789 sur les trois questions suivantes. La Législation sera-t-elle permanente?, Y aura-t-il un ou plusieurs Corps législatifs?, La Sanction Royale sera-t-elle nécessaire?, le Veto sera-t-il absolu ou suspensif?" (Paris, 1789).

could have been killed without his knowledge since he was responsible for initiating the translation. It is also doubtful that he would have sustained a lifelong friendship with Mazzei and Du Pont had they tried to bypass him in this matter. But the act in itself was not a crime, and the stakes may have seemed epic-sized in the supercharged atmosphere of prerevolutionary France. Jefferson's commitment to the French reform movement was strongly personal; it seems hardly likely that he would have allowed a French translation of Adams' *Defence* to threaten it.

Also relevant to Jefferson's willingness to connive at such a suppression is the fact that in November 1787, when Mazzei said Adams' "Apologie" was on the press, Jefferson may have taken a second (first?) serious look at the *Defence* and the political theories it contained. In early November Du Pont had written Jefferson criticizing Adams' *Defence*. Jefferson had offered in his answering letter a rather curious "defense" of Adams' ideas. Adams, Jefferson explained, feared that the American people were "disposed to confide too much in a single member of government."[19] This was not Adams' fear at all, but Jefferson apparently had not read the *Defence* closely and had assumed that he and Adams shared the same political convictions. This assumption was soon abruptly shattered when the two men exchanged opinions on the Constitution. As activists during the Revolution and practical diplomats afterward, they had worked closely together, but it was this consummating document of American political construction that prompted them to explain themselves to one another. These letters brought to the surface differences so striking that Jefferson must have been severely jarred by them.

"You are afraid of the one—I, of the few," Adams wrote to Jefferson in a much-quoted passage, but Adams was also afraid of the people and the fundamental mechanism of democracy, and he added a not so often quoted warning:

> You are apprehensive the President when once chosen, will be chosen again and again as long as he lives. So much the better as it appears to me.—You are apprehensive of foreign Interference, Intrigue, Influence. So am I.—But, as often as Elections happen, the danger of foreign Influence recurs. . . . Elections, my dear sir, Elections to offices which are great objects of Ambition, I look at with terror.[20]

"Passion, Prejudice, Imagination, Enthusiasm or Caprice" are rulers of nations, Adams had written Jefferson earlier, and in 1787 Adams apparently pinned his hopes on an executive power inaccessible to these tyrants.[21]

[19] Jefferson to Du Pont, Nov. 6, 1787, Winterthur MSS, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library. The fact that Du Pont read the *Defence* at this time seems significant.

[20] Adams to Jefferson, Nov. 10, 1787, Jefferson to Adams, Nov. 13, 1787, Adams to Jefferson, Dec. 6, 1787, in *Adams-Jefferson Letters*, ed. Cappon, I, 210, 211–12, 213–14.

[21] John Brown Cutting to William Short, Nov. 3, 1787, Short Papers, III, Manuscript Division,

Just the opposite, Jefferson's first response to the Constitution was an anguished cry of disbelief that his countrymen could have created "a bad edition of a Polish king." The fear of the re-eligibility of the President affected all Jefferson's Paris associates and was echoed repeatedly in the letters of La Rochefoucauld, La Fayette, Condorcet, Du Pont, Mazzei, and Short. What must have been Jefferson's astonishment at Adams' enthusiasm for a President for life! Jefferson never replied to Adams' remarks, and four years later, when domestic politics pulled them apart, Adams wrote Jefferson about his puzzlement:

> You observe "That you and I differ in our Ideas of the best form of Government is well known to us both." But, my dear Sir, you will give me leave to say I do not know this. I know not what your Idea is of the best form of Government. You and I have never had a serious conversation together that I can recollect concerning the nature of Government.[22]

Jefferson had concluded this difference from these letters and perhaps a closer reading of Adams' *Defence*. If this gulf between them had been exaggerated, as well it might have been in the agitated atmosphere of Paris in 1787, then Jefferson perhaps could have been induced to permit the *américanistes* to squelch the first French *Defence* and, in so doing, erect another barrier between him and Adams.

About the abortive Adams translation and the subsequent French publication of Stevens' attack on the *Defence* Jefferson maintained a discreet silence. No word about *Examen du gouvernement d'Angleterre* entered his many letters home even though its contents and the name of its attributed author, Livingston, were being bruited about in the French press, on the floor of the National Assembly, and surely also in the salons Jefferson frequented. He did bring home with him a copy of *Examen* bound together with the original American pamphlet. Stamped in gold letters on the spine is "Livingston Against De Lolme and Adams." It was a distinctly French version of the pamphlet that was written on a farm in Hoboken. And it is just possible that, for a few months in Paris, Jefferson looked at his fellow countrymen's writings from the viewpoint of those Frenchmen who gloried in the name of America.

Library of Congress. Cutting who was staying with Adams in London reported in this letter to Short, Jefferson's young secretary in Paris, that "Mr. Adams is decided for an unqualified absolute negative being vested in the Governor General of the United States for actual use *pro re nata* in all legislative cases of [illegible] disorder whatsoever. And wou'd likewise prefer having the same sort of negation-authority mingled among the attributes of every chief-magistrate of the republics in our union." Short undoubtedly shared this letter with Jefferson.

[22] Adams to Jefferson, July 29, 1791, in *Adams-Jefferson Letters*, ed. Cappon, I, 248–49.

★ ★ ★ *Review Note* ★ ★ ★

FOUNDATIONS OF HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE. By *Morton White.* (New York: Harper and Row. 1965. Pp. 299. $6.95.)

HISTORIANS in our country and our century have been notably indifferent to the philosophy of history, and even the recent flurry of interest has increased only the consumption of it. For its production the consumers remain, now as ever, dependent on those philosophers who happen also to be historians, and the supply, never plentiful, has been running mighty thin. As long as philosophers descried a temporal pattern in reality—cyclical, providential, dialectical, or evolutionary—such patterns were *ipso facto* applicable to the historical process, and even when, toward the end of the last century, the locus of the philosophy of history shifted from the process of history to the ways of knowing it, the persistence, among the idealist philosophers who ushered in the transition, of a belief in the psychic connection between the historian who knows and the agent who makes history kept epistemology historically relevant.

But since the dual achievements of a Croce and a Collingwood we have fallen on evil days. The philosophical trend toward logical and linguistic analysis runs counter to the evocative, imaginative, and pluralistic habits ingrained by the experience of doing history, and, when such distinguished representatives of this trend as William Dray, Carl Hempel, Ernest Nagel, and Karl Popper have seriously addressed themselves to our maverick discipline, they have often seemed, to the practicing historian, either opaque or irrelevant. Morton White too is a philosopher, an analyst, a logician, an empiricist. He is, in short, one of them—but with a difference. He is also a historian, an American intellectual historian, to be precise, and it shows. His *Foundations of Historical Knowledge* is in the mold of linguistic and logical analysis, but it is also the most authentically and sympathetically historical of the works I know in this genre. It is lucid and can be read by historians. It is faithful to historical practice and can, by and large, be endorsed by them.

But White's very success in bringing logical analysis to bear upon the actual operation of historians without violating the integrity of either has exposed him to antithetical pulls that give his book an uneven quality. For his thankless office of mediator involves him in two different services that are only sporadically congruent. First, he tries to show philosophers that the ordinary language of historians can be translated into a valid logic "without forcing it into a logical bed originally construed for others." Second, he tries to show historians, through the logical implications of their sundry approaches, what is valid and what is invalid in their assumptions. Where these two services dovetail, the result is striking. Where they do not, the reason is usually White's fidelity to historical practice, which makes his translation of it into logical terms so literal that what historians

usually do is rather reflected than illuminated. On these occasions there is a curious discrepancy between the independence and the vigor of the argument on the one hand and the familiarity or inconclusiveness of the result on the other. Thus, White's attack on Marx as exemplar of the "speculative" philosophy of history which posits general substantive laws of human nature or development; the repeated demonstration that "historical explanations are . . . more tenuously constructed, more debatable, more subject to doubt than the explanations of natural scientists"; the distinction between the invalid use of value judgments as ingredients of a historical cause and the valid use of value judgments as points of view for the ranking of empirical historical causes; and the necessity for the historian to transcend the reasons given by his historical subjects in his search for causes: these are positions familiar to historians and evidently designed to identify the standard historical approach susceptible to logical formulation. White's acknowledgment that logic affords no way of prescribing or judging the superiority of any one over any other set of true facts in a historical narrative and his frank admission that value judgments, even when validly used by historians to assign priorities in causation or pass ethical verdicts upon historical characters, have no ground in logic but are relative to the individual historian and his culture, illustrate the modest result to which White is led when the historical enterprise proves unsusceptible to logical formulation. Historians will certainly approve this line of argument, but they will not be much improved by it.

But two definite contributions and one provocative problem accrue to the self-awareness of historians from the happier moments of White's marriage of logic and history. All three stem from his consideration of causal explanation in history, which constitutes the real core of the book (White's prolegomenous announcement of his theme as the role of "fact, law, and value" in historical inquiry is literally correct, but in both the quantity and quality of treatment the focus is on these three factors as functions in the logic of explanatory causes):

Most fruitful is White's development of the "singular explanatory statement" as a valid principle of historical causation. Precisely, albeit awkwardly, labeled "existential regularism," White's version of this principle affirms in logic the historian's conviction that he can assign particular causes to particular events without recourse to a universal covering law and enlightens this conviction, through the logic, by specifying that the historian must also be convinced of the existence of a rigorous, deductive argument establishing a necessary connection between the particular cause and the particular effect, whether or not he does or can make this argument explicit. This principle of White's confirms the historian's experience that he can establish specific causes by reference to an unstated context, and it directs him to know enough of the context for the establishment of such causes.

White's second contribution is one of perspective: he reveals to historians that their ultimate logical problems are not handicaps or weaknesses peculiar to history but inadequacies of conception common to other kinds of knowledge as well. Although he concedes that explanation in history is looser and more tenuous than explanation in the natural sciences, he also insists that it is of the same kind, and the historian's vagueness in explicating the lawful or causal connection between his particular conditions or events is paralleled, in White's admirably hon-

* * * * Reviews of Books * * * *

General

NATIONALISM. By *K. R. Minogue.* [Ideas in Action.] (New York: Basic Books. 1967. Pp. 168. $4.95.)

DOZENS of books have the word nationalism in their titles, but touch little upon it. This book is about nationalism or rather an aspect of it—political ideology. Out of the complex of political ideas behind nationalism, it stresses those expressing "collective grievance against foreigners."

Minogue sees a "three-stage process" in the development of nationalism. The first he labels "stirrings": the work of the brothers Grimm in Germany in philology and folklore or the revival of Hinduism in nineteenth-century India. This stage evolves into "struggle," which is symbolized by the European wars from 1859 through 1870 or the riots and guerrilla wars of a century later in many parts of the world. The third stage he calls "consolidation," or the period after independence and unification. This model (paradigm in current terminology) is useful. Minogue cautiously uses it to interpret the history of nationalism from the eighteenth century to the present in Europe and the world, from the France of Rousseau to the Ghana of Nkrumah.

The book is both a sophisticated discussion of nationalism and a description, of the popular lecture variety, of some of its aspects. Nationalism, as Minogue himself says, is "not a single thing." It arises out of and is more than Minogue's "grievance against foreigners": out of, for example, cultural similarities and longings (Kohn for Central Europe) and the ability to communicate (Deutsch). And it becomes a vehicle for hope and for modernization, as is seen in the numerous recent books on modernization. Of course, the word nationalism has at times been stretched so far that it can mean almost anything and, therefore, little. But, though nationalism does change with time and circumstance, students of nationalism as well as nationalists have given it common meanings, and Minogue's book takes too limited a view. In his discussion, however, he does go beyond his own definition, and other specialists can obtain provocative insights: one may regard modern nationalism as a function of exile, a recourse of the "outsiders, the alienated, the excluded."

Nationalism, Minogue says, may be either "Sleeping Beauty" or a "Frankenstein's monster" as it "brings millions of people out of traditional corners" or "induces bitter, irrational struggles." But, on balance, he concludes, "it has contributed little more than a new vocabulary to the history of political evil." While this conclusion may provide the framework for a good argument, I would have liked to have seen a fuller discussion of why the author believes the concept of nation empty until content is supplied from local circumstances and why he believes politics comes first and a national culture later. The quick retort

that nationalism is a nineteenth-century "European invention" will hardly do, for there are concrete realities as well as ideological myths.

Macalester College BOYD C. SHAFER

GESCHICHTE DER KIRCHLICHEN HISTORIOGRAPHIE. In two volumes. By *Peter Meinhold*. [Orbis Academicus: Problemgeschichten der Wissenschaft in Dokumenten und Darstellungen, Volume III, Part 5.] (Freiburg: Verlag Karl Alber. 1967. Pp. 533; 628.)

THIS extensive work, despite its size, is limited in scope to Protestant theology, but, even so, the subject cannot be treated without including the early Christian and medieval beginnings. It will be followed by a Roman Catholic volume. Much is, therefore, omitted from the treatment of the Middle Ages to the seventeenth century, which will be treated by Professor H. Jedin in his volume. Nothing is said about the historiography of the Eastern Orthodox churches.

The author defines his method as being grounded in the understanding of the sources that prevailed in the time of their origin. He hopes that nothing of basic importance in the views of the representative historians dealt with will be omitted, but he excludes those authors whose works have not expressed any "basic point of view." He regards himself as succeeding such previous historiographers as Christian Bauer, Erich Seeberg, and Walter Nigg.

In his view, ecclesiastical historiography differs from that of general history in so far as it takes into consideration not only what has already taken place in the times past, but also what history aims at in the future (*Heilsgeschichte*). Thus it not only takes account of the institution of the Church, its cult, and dogmas, as influenced by the political and social conditions of the time, but also of the goal toward which it tends, namely, the fulfillment of God's purpose in history—the rule of Christ in the world.

This sense of the history of the Church, begun by Christ as a new aeon, is interpreted in this eschatological implication by the apostle Paul. It is traced then through the Church fathers to the Middle Ages. That period begins with Augustine and ends with Thomas Aquinas. It is followed by the consideration of the reformers—Luther, Melanchthon, Flacius Illyricus, Erasmus, the various Anabaptist and Mennonite groups, and the Spiritualists. It then passes on to the second generation of reformers, such as Calvin and others. This is followed by the history of Pietism and of the mystics.

The second volume begins with the historians of the Enlightenment and of the idealistic awakening, chiefly represented by Herder, Kant, Hegel, and Schleiermacher. These are followed by Ritschl, Hagenbach, and Von Hase. The twentieth century is represented chiefly by Von Harnack, Sohm, Troeltsch, Hauck, Loofs, Krüger, Von Schubert, Wernle, Lietzmann, and Heussi. The historians of dogma comprise Barth, Rheinhold, and Seeberg. Contemporary historians include Ebeling, Bornkamm, Martin Schmidt, Peter Meinhold himself, Aulén, Werner, Aland, and Kantzenbach. The sole American listed is Latourette, although Philip Schaff, originally Swiss, may be included along with him. It is strange that the volume concludes with the Mormons. Among the English

writers, only William Beveridge (who is rarely mentioned in general textbooks of church history) is listed.

It appears abundantly clear, even from this exceedingly brief and general survey, that the modern German historians dominate the scene to the exclusion of all others. The English, with the one exception noted, are altogether excluded, as are the French. The Americans, as already indicated, fare hardly any better; even A. C. McGiffert is omitted. This unbalance is so fantastically overwhelming as to be altogether inexcusable.

Claremont, California MATTHEW SPINKA

SUR QUELQUES PROBLÈMES D'HISTOIRE. By *Miron Constantinescu* and *V. Liveanu.* [Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae, Number 14.] (Bucharest: Éditions de l'Académie de la République Socialiste de Roumanie. 1966. Pp. 157. Lei 5.50.)

PARTY officials and scholars in Rumania are gradually freeing themselves of their former Stalinist alignments and ideological commitments. Miron Constantinescu, an important member of the party, and the younger scholar V. Liveanu illustrate the direction of this disengagement in the five essays of this interesting small volume. Their studies are characterized by a strong accent on the continuity of Rumania's historical experience and by close attention to the historiographical issues common to Western scholarship. Constantinescu's major essay proposes a revisionist evaluation of the Transylvanian philosopher and social thinker Simion Bărnuţiu (1808–1864). Bărnuţiu is judged to have been in advance of his time by virtue of his economic and social critique of the reactionary world he inhabited and by reason of his contribution to the development of Rumania's national and cultural identity. Constantinescu's second article reviews the significance of the famous message Lenin, I. Sverdlov, and L. Kaménev sent to the workers and peoples of Austria-Hungary in November 1918. He reports that Lenin "probably" edited this communication supporting the claims to the autodetermination of their own destiny by the states to be built over the ashes of the Danubian monarchy. A final brief note by Constantinescu suggests that a search be made for the lost articles of Karl Marx on the Danubian Principalities and Rumanian nationalism—essays that Marx sent to Charles A. Dana of the *Tribune,* who rejected them and returned them to Marx.

Continuing the search for a fuller understanding of Rumania's intellectual history, Liveanu examines the achievement of his country's truly great historian, A. D. Xenopol (1847–1920). Liveanu skillfully analyzes Xenopol's theoretical and practical use of the concepts of trend, direction, law, and historical structure. In his second essay Liveanu discusses some of the most pressing controversies on the nature of historical knowledge. He considers the philosophical difficulties involved in understanding the relationship between the subject and the object of historical inquiry, the concept of process, and the possibility of historical objectivity. In the course of his article Liveanu discounts Dilthey's guidance to reliving the past, all "intuitionalism," and the "Neo-Positivism" of Karl R. Popper and Carl G. Hempel. His firm adherence to the philosophical premises of dialectical materialism is softened, however, by his sympathy for the historical approach of

Nicolae Iorga. History, Iorga insisted, was 20 per cent documents and 80 per cent interpretation where the best results followed the use of common sense, logic, and a talent for "la poésie pure." Liveanu's urbane intelligence is a welcome addition to the congress of those for whom the problems of historiography are central to the historian's craft.

University of Wisconsin EDWARD T. GARGAN

ÉTUDES D'HISTOIRE DU DROIT CANONIQUE DÉDIÉES À GABRIEL LE BRAS, DOYEN HONORAIRE DE LA FACULTÉ DE DROIT ET DE SCIENCES ÉCONOMIQUES DE PARIS, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT. In two volumes. (Paris: Sirey. 1965. Pp. xxxix, 796; 804–1491.)

THE 102 contributors to this *Festschrift* and the range of topics treated bear witness to the great influence of Gabriel Le Bras on generations of historians and canonists. Between the *Histoire des collections canoniques en Occident,* the two-volume classic he published in 1931–1932 with his teacher Paul Fournier, and the still unfinished *Institutions de la Chrétienté médiévale* (2 vols. to date, 1959, 1964); between his early essays and the monumental series, "Histoire du droit et des institutions de l'Eglise," which he directs and to which he has contributed Volume I and parts of Volume VII (1955, 1965), lies a life of intense productivity. The twenty-four-page bibliography prefixed to the *Études* indicates Le Bras's many interests beyond the fields of canon law and legal history; he has, in particular, been a stimulating force in contemporary studies of the sociology of religion. The editors of the *Études* advisedly limited the scope to the area indicated in the title, but, since Le Bras has never grown tired of stressing the central importance of the law and institutions of the Church for the general history of Western society, the limitation of scope left comfortable room for a lively variety of topics.

The contributions are divided into four groups: "Sources du droit canonique" (31 papers); "L'Église et les pouvoirs séculiers" (25 papers); "Droit canonique et droit romain au moyen âge" (14 papers); "Personne, famille et société" (32 papers). These classifications are, of course, to some extent arbitrary, and the boundaries overlap. In the section on the history of sources many papers yield welcome new material on the history of doctrines and institutions; in the sections on the Church and secular powers, or on Roman and canon law, new canonical sources are discussed occasionally, as well as parallels and contrasts between law and theology. In the broad conception of *histoire du droit canonique* that characterizes the work of Le Bras and is reflected in the offerings made by his friends or disciples, the labeling of compartments becomes indeed unimportant.

The mere enumeration of topics treated in these papers by far exceeds the limits of a review, and it would be unfair to single out individual papers for praise or criticism. As in any accumulation of over one hundred articles covering nearly fifteen hundred pages, one must expect to find the brilliant side by side with the less impressive; new materials and new interpretations alternating with restatements of familiar subjects or opinions. But the overriding impression is one of encyclopedic riches. From the Dead Sea Scrolls and their significance for early Christian institutions to the library of Richelieu; from the history of Christian

churches in Morocco to church-state relations under the Constitution of Belgium; from twelfth-century discussions of clerical celibacy to the status of Christian marriage in contemporary Senegal—to cite only a few unconventional subjects—there is an almost unlimited variety of topics and problems that bear upon the history of the Church and society. Within these wide boundaries scores of articles discuss individual sources, doctrines, and institutions in the ancient, the early medieval, and the classical canon law; regional and national developments over the centuries in France and elsewhere; recent trends in canonical interpretations.

At times one would have wished for greater care in proofreading, and there is one galling confusion in the making-up of pages, so that pages 721–725 must be read in the sequence 721, 724, 723, 722, 725, in order to make sense. Also, some indexes would have been helpful in exploring the riches of this *Festschrift*, which will keep historians busy for a long time to come.

Yale University STEPHAN KUTTNER

CONSTITUTIONALISM AND THE SEPARATION OF POWERS. By *M. J. C. Vile.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. vii, 359. $8.00.)

THIS book is a fine achievement. I found it a stimulating, at times even exciting, elaboration of a position I have expounded and defended since the first publication of *Constitutional Government* thirty years ago. It is distinguished by a clear and forceful style, great learning, and a readiness to consider and assess the newer viewpoints, especially those "behavorist" challenges which are now so fashionable but whose great claims for being the only "scientific" approach to politics are, upon closer inspection, found wanting.

After a general discussion of the doctrine in relation to institutional theory (Chapter I), the author traces the development of the doctrine and its application from the foundation (Chapter II), to seventeenth-century England (Chapter III), to Montesquieu (Chapter IV), to eighteenth-century England (Chapter V), to the doctrine's evolution in America and France (Chapters VI and VII). Then comes a discussion of twentieth-century problems as presented by the rise and fall of parliamentary government (Chapter VIII), French developments from the Third to the Fifth Republic (Chapter IX), and American progressivism (Chapter X). The author finally takes up the behavioral approach (Chapter XI), which he finds wanting, and offers a model of a theory of constitutionalism (Chapter XII) that closely resembles though it is by no means identical with the model I developed in *Man and His Government* (1963). The author, frankly acknowledging the value involvement of political science and theory, concludes that "it is the task of the twentieth century political theorist to place these values [namely, those of social justice and the older ones] in perspective, and to suggest the institutional means by which they can be reconciled."

My main criticism of the author's sage and balanced discussion is that it does not adequately recognize the extent to which a control and limitation of government—an equivalent to what a separation of powers was to accomplish—could be provided by a constitutionally safeguarded alternation of political parties. Similarly, the role of federalism, in fact a territorial division of powers, is hardly mentioned, although it springs from the same concerns, and Vile himself

has given a thoughtful analysis of American federalism in an earlier work. Even so, and despite certain minor disagreements on such historical points as the characterization of Kant's version as a "logical extreme" rather than a proof of the universal validity of the analytical core of the doctrine he himself so skillfully defends, this study is an outstanding contribution to the history and clarification of one of the most complex and important features of constitutionalism.

Harvard University CARL J. FRIEDRICH

BANKING IN THE EARLY STAGES OF INDUSTRIALIZATION: A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE ECONOMIC HISTORY. By *Rondo Cameron.* With the collaboration of *Olga Crisp et al.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 349. $6.50.)

COMPARATIVE history is one of the chief means by which institutions and their evolution can be understood. Cameron's book demonstrates this proposition well. It is an important contribution to learning and understanding and, in parts, to factual knowledge as well. Above all, it is a highly laudable attempt in the very difficult area of comparative history, which is far from being the everyday concern of historians that many claim for it. This fact also leaves it open to criticism.

Is it really comparative history when a number of essays are presented dealing with the same subject in different places but with little attempt at direct association? Would it not answer the problem more adequately if in each essay direct reference were made to the others? It seems insufficient merely to draw all essays together in an introductory and concluding chapter since the reader often is not as expert as the author of a piece and therefore is not as able to make the necessary connections between thoughts as they are presented.

In their introduction Cameron and Hugh T. Patrick, who also contributed the essay on Japan, give rise to hopes that this will be a book of analytical studies. Early in their essay they address themselves to the economists' assumption that "financial institutions will grow more or less spontaneously as the need for their services arises. . . ." Unfortunately, the expectation of analysis is largely disappointed; description dominates. This in itself is a service, and enough analytical hints are contained in the essays so that both historian and economist should in the future be more wary of making easy generalizations in this particular area.

The choice of countries whose financial systems were examined is interesting. Not unexpectedly, England is first scrutinized, followed by Scotland, which, despite the union of 1707, is still regarded as a country here. France and Belgium complete the group of countries that the editor himself deals with. One of Professor Cameron's former students, Richard Tilly, probably provides the best and most original essay in his study of German banking. Olga Crisp's recital of Russian finance and industrialization, replete in detail, leaves questions unresolved that have possibly been better considered in some of her earlier articles. Lastly, Patrick's essay on Japan is interesting, although not necessarily original. Some of his conclusions have already been questioned in a recent article by Kozo Yamamura, "The Role of the Samurai in the Development of Modern Banking

in Japan" (*Journal of Economic History,* XXVII [June 1967]). Such a quick response emphasizes the fact that the question of banking and industrial revolution is important and enjoys widespread interest.

Possibly the by-product of this book is more significant than its direct intent. It points up the danger of easy generalization as to cause and effect, but it also demonstrates the great value of examining a subject according to a definite set of criteria. Moreover, there is the refreshing attitude of letting the chips fall where they may, which in turn results in raising more questions than it solves. How curious it is, for example, that the English Industrial Revolution ran its course under the aegis of a rather poor banking system, whereas Japan's derivative industrialization benefited from one of the most efficient systems here discussed.

Implicit in the questions raised, it seems, is the proposition that we must look well beyond the banking and financial institutions if we wish to discover the dynamics of rapid industrializations. It is a weird complex network of credit and entrepreneurial skills, puritanical dedication to work and forebearance of consumption for future welfare, projectors' roguery and honest miscalculation, government intervention and governmental self-inhibition that provide some of the catalytic agents in the indeterminable workings of a given society that eventually produces an industrial revolution.

Tulane University HERMAN FREUDENBERGER

THE ILI CRISIS: A STUDY OF SINO-RUSSIAN DIPLOMACY, 1871–1881. By *Immanuel C. Y. Hsü.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 230. $7.20.)

IN the years covered by this volume Russia and China came close to open hostilities over the occupation and disposition of Ili in Sinkiang. Prolonged disorders in Sinkiang and the resultant harm to Russian trade interests and to border security had led the Russian generals in Central Asia in 1871 to cross the border and seize the Ili Valley. After some diplomatic maneuvering the Russians agreed to return the territory whenever the Chinese government had put down the Muslim rebellions wracking the area and was in a position to maintain order. When, somewhat to the surprise of St. Petersburg, this day arrived in 1878, it was faced with the embarrassing request to live up to the earlier promise. The ensuing diplomatic skirmish led first to the negotiation of a treaty during which the Russians clearly outwitted the Chinese emissary, a period of near war, doubt, and confusion on both sides, and finally a satisfactory treaty for both states in 1881. Other powers were also concerned with the dispute, principally Britain, which had some rather obvious stakes.

The intricacies of this encounter cannot be recounted here, but the research involved in reconstructing it was obviously exhaustive. Taiwan, Japan, the National Archives, the Library of Congress, Harvard's Yenching Institute, the French and German Foreign Ministries' Archives the British Museum and Public Record Office, the libraries at Oxford and Cambridge, all were visited for pertinent materials. In addition, Professor Hsü had access to the Jomini-Giers correspondence, then being prepared for publication, by courtesy of the editors, Professors

Charles and Barbara Jelavich. The result is a work of exemplary scholarship. The author should be especially commended for that relative rarity in diplomatic history, truly multiarchival research. We may hope that he will employ his linguistic and other talents in further contributions to the diplomatic history of Eurasia.

Kansas State University ROBERT PAUL BROWDER

PORTUGAL AND THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA, 1875–1891. By *Eric Axelson.* [Publication of the Ernest Oppenheimer Institute of Portuguese Studies of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.] (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 318. $8.70.)

THE treaty of June 11, 1891, fixing the boundaries of British and Portuguese interests in Southeast Africa, marked, as Eric Axelson writes, "The end of an epoch for Portugal." For fifteen years Portugal had acted like a grand colonial power in Africa and on occasions had been treated like one by its more powerful European neighbors in Africa. Now, after five years of hope and delusion following the Berlin Conference, Portugal saw itself not only humiliated but deprived of great expanses of territory it had comfortably, if perhaps vaguely, come to regard as its own during three centuries of intermittent associations in Southern Africa. Financial crises, the lack of any competent administrative personnel and of settlers, and the absence in Lisbon of any consistent policy for the African territories had rendered Portugal incapable of withstanding the assaults of stronger and more ruthless European powers. The consequences of 1891 were to extend, in Portugal as well as in Africa, into the 1960's.

In the past decade a number of studies, particularly those by Oliver, Anstey, and Warhurst, have dealt with Portugal's role in the scramble for Africa and the final colonial division of the continent, but these studies have been largely centered in British diplomacy and were based on British sources. In Axelson's thoroughly excellent work the center of interest is Portuguese, and much of the material comes from Portuguese archives. The result is a balanced and thoughtful work, illuminated by Axelson's sure knowledge of Portuguese African history from its beginnings. This piece of scholarship, important for both Portuguese and African history, is not likely to be replaced.

Axelson traces the complicated course of Portuguese diplomacy in Europe and Portuguese action in Africa from 1875, perhaps the year of the beginning of a new African policy in Lisbon, down to 1890–1891, the years of the British ultimatum and its devastating consequences. While the body of the work deals with affairs in and concerning Mozambique, Axelson has dedicated two cogent chapters to "The Congo, 1875–1884," and the Berlin Conference, which go beyond anything yet written on Portugal's role in the international politics of the Congo. The work is written with wit and candor. Its most serious flaw is the out-of-date bibliography of selected secondary sources.

Brandeis University JAMES DUFFY

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERSONALITY: LENIN, TROTSKY, GANDHI. By *E. Victor Wolfenstein*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press for the Center of International Studies, Princeton University. 1967. Pp. x, 330. $7.50.)

WHY do people become rebels? Why are some of them successful? Why do those who succeed often lack the capacity to wield the power won? Why do those who can rule so frequently fail to solve the problem of succession? Professor Wolfenstein believes that the answers lie in the rebels' childhood and adolescence and that way to the answers lies in the writings of Freud and Erikson. In each of the three people considered here, the essential trauma involves an unsatisfactory relationship with the father, or rather an inability to handle the ambivalence toward the father that everyone experiences. It is not simply that in struggling against political authority these three were living out their rebellion against their fathers. This is only a small part of Wolfenstein's subtly detailed and imaginatively integrated analyses. We are shown why Lenin so deeply distrusted his environment, felt himself in a kill-or-be-killed world, devoted himself so compulsively to the minutiae of organization, and found it impossible to tolerate dissent or superior authority. We are shown, in contrast, why it was all so much less intense for Trotsky, something of a game in which he could display his intellectual prowess rather than a life or death struggle. In Gandhi's case we see how his identification with his mother, with feminine passivity and self-punishment as a means of opposition, allowed him to achieve indirectly the male power and identity that he had so miserably failed to achieve directly.

At times eyebrows will rise and hairs stand on end. For example, "Just as his father was the possessor of his mother, so Plekhanov would be, if Lenin were unable to stop him, the master of *Iskra*." And many will doubt that Lenin's revolutionary self-confidence derives from his childhood mastery of his "excretory functions," that Gandhi's choice of salt in his Salt March was connected with his sexual problems, that a passing remark by Lenin about Chekhov's *Ward No. 6* meant all that Wolfenstein says it meant, or that Lenin faced the kind of choice between Stalin and Trotsky that Wolfenstein believes he faced.

One might also wonder why there is so much at the beginning and throughout the book on Freud and why Wolfenstein discusses the oral, anal, and genital (Oedipal) stages when most of his attention and explanation lies in the later adolescent years, as structured by Erikson. Since much more material is available for the later, in comparison with the earlier, years, this is convenient, but would Freudians accept this approach or Wolfenstein's claims that this is acceptable because the Oedipal problems reoccur in adolescence? There seems to be an ambivalence in the author's allegiance to Freud and Erikson that should be worked out.

These are small issues compared with the basic question: has Wolfenstein really demonstrated the causal links between the adult thought and behavior of his rebels and their childhood experience or has he simply drawn from that early experience the bits and pieces that permit a Neo-Freudian explanation? One may accept completely the view that adult actions and adult theories reflect efforts to work out ambivalences formed earlier. But can the specific psychody-

namic relationships be disclosed without the presence of the subject, apart from many "fifty minute hours"? Freud's own attempts to attain insight apart from personal transference with a living subject over an extended period are hardly encouraging. The impediments may be too great. It may, in principle, be impossible to achieve objectivity, to avoid the circularity of proving a theory by selecting only the data that prove it. Wolfenstein seems particularly open to this danger, moreover, because of his apparent eagerness to move on to generalizations, to go from these three cases to a larger sampling. This is precisely the wrong direction. As Erikson's study of Luther suggests, if the inherent problems of applying psychological theory to historical figures are to be solved, they will be so only by long, patient, and exhaustive study of single cases, not by dipping here and there into a number of cases. Wolfenstein should stay longer with Lenin, Trotsky, or Gandhi, and, notwithstanding all the translations, if he decides on one of the former two, it would probably help to learn Russian.

University of Michigan ARTHUR P. MENDEL

COMPETITIVE INTERFERENCE AND TWENTIETH CENTURY DIPLOMACY. By *Richard W. Cottam.* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1967. Pp. 243. $5.95.)

THE marriage of history and political theory has been long delayed, and exponents of the separate disciplines have had their problems with methodology and terminology. In this work the author has made another of the valiant attempts to correlate experience and conjecture in order to understand the past and work more effectively for control of the future.

Confining his treatment to the shadowy area of intervening in the affairs of other nations without appearing to do so, or at least not being obnoxious about it, Professor Cottam deals with the amount of or "levels" of interference that a nation will tolerate, discusses "leverage" as a manifestation of power, censures the "ad hoc" American approach to foreign policy and argues that a long-range strategic design could be followed in spite of our "democratic society," postulates "an ideal type model for foreign policy planning," explores United States-Iranian relations as a case study, and concludes with a critique of "The Institutional Base for American Diplomacy."

In a lengthy introduction Cottam reveals many of his premises, conclusions, and what some would regard as his prejudices. The "intuitive," "ad hoc," "crisis interference" policy pursued by the United States is deplored. Conventional diplomacy is no longer adequate, and the traditional final arbiter in disputes between nations, the "ultimate recourse," has been replaced by "political warfare, economic warfare, and psychological warfare." Recognizing what some may consider obvious, the author contends that "a government seeking to influence the policy of another government should, at this point, have expanded its scope of activities to attempt to influence decision-making at levels other than the top governmental." Institutionally alone, the United States is not organized to cope with the situation, but steps can be taken to remedy this and other shortcomings.

The methods and degree of intervention in the affairs of other nations are governed by numerous factors, primarily the outmoded concept of the sovereign

nation-state. Yet the amount of interference that a nation will tolerate varies depending on circumstances, and the author enumerates "ten types of interference that are commonly resorted to," ranging from diplomatic procedures to the use of force. He then considers the conditions under which a nation will accept what sort of interference and how a predictable reaction can be determined. In assessing the "leverage" that can be brought to bear to influence the policy of another nation, the author takes issue with Hans Morgenthau and Thomas Schelling's espousal of game theory. "Variables," especially of the "situational" type, are imperative considerations, and these, too, are categorized. Tactical and strategic plans must be considered in the context of long-range objectives with reference to multidimensional models constructed for illumination but not deification. Since covert and overt intervention are going to play a major role in foreign relations, the Central Intelligence Agency should be more involved in the formulation and execution of policy.

One might suspect that the marriage attempted by the author has proved to be morganatic, with history being relegated to the lower station. Post-World War II diplomacy is treated, not that of the twentieth century, and much of the evidence is drawn from events in the Middle East consonant with the author's experience and *expertise* in that area. Citations are confined largely to the New York *Times* and various secondary accounts. Still, while fault can be found with certain aspects of this work, it deals ambitiously with one of the more pressing problems of our time and is stimulating and original in many of its precepts.

Temple University RAYMOND G. O'CONNOR

DIPLOMATICHESKIE OTNOSHENIIA MEZHDU SSSR I ANGLIEI (1929–1939 GG.) [Diplomatic Relations between the USSR and England (1929–1939)]. By *V. I. Popov.* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Mezhdunarodnye Otnosheniia." 1965. Pp. 515.)

SSSR I SShA (IKH POLITICHESKIE I EKONOMICHESKIE OTNOSHENIIA) [USSR and USA: Their Political and Economic Relations]. By *V. A. Val'kov.* [Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Mirovoi Ekonomiki i Mezhdunarodnykh Otnoshenii.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1965. Pp. 395.)

V. I. POPOV opens his study with a solemn and borrowed explanation of the mainsprings of British foreign policy after 1917. Imperialist rivalry lost its priority then, he asserts, and the primary aims became "the crushing of socialist revolution, repression of the world revolutionary movement and support of anti-proletarian forces in all the countries of the world." After thus elevating prejudice and a nationalist ideology to the level of revealed truth, Popov strives by a most ingenious scholasticism to prove what has been revealed. There is, of course, enough truth in his charges to disturb any Western student who has reexamined the shabby politics of the Western Great Powers in the years leading to World War II. But wide distances separate shabby and self-serving foolishness from vicious Machiavellianism. British policy in the 1930's, like that of the United States, lies somewhere between.

Most interesting is the long, final chapter dealing with the April–August (1939) negotiations between the Soviet Union, Britain, and France. Popov's

detailed account demonstrates the Russians' sensitivity to every nuance of British diplomacy, as well as the unforgiving resentment provoked by Britain's refusal to take these negotiations seriously. The evidence appears to indicate that even as late as August 17–21 the Russians still seriously hoped to conclude a military pact with the West. That, instead, Stalin joined Hitler on August 23 is laid to England's determined and conscious malevolence toward the Soviet Union.

V. A. Val'kov's book is a carefully documented analysis of Soviet-United States relations from 1917 to 1941. A concluding chapter summarizes his views about the course of events since the war, and an excellent bibliography is appended. In general, Val'kov depicts the Soviet Union as sweet, pure, and put upon. The bad bandits are those familiar, reactionary, Wall Street bankers who find purpose in their dreary lives by endlessly concocting anti-Soviet plots. A faint ray of hope lights this book, however, for Val'kov supports the feeling—implicit in current Soviet policy—that in the United States there have always been two concurrent trends of thought about policy toward the Soviet Union. Besides those beastly "Wall Streeters," Val'kov believes, there are many people, including industrialists, merchants, and thoughtful political leaders, who understand the necessity for friendship or at least peaceful coexistence. This Soviet perception that some Americans may be rational is surely a necessary precondition for any intelligent Soviet-American relations.

These are distinguished studies by competent Soviet scholars. They illustrate once again that as long as such men must use their scholarship to prove the altruistic purity of their own nation's policies, while arguing that the policies of all rival nations are created by self-interested fiends, we have little reason to anticipate an early arrival at historical truth in these matters.

Michigan State University ARTHUR E. ADAMS

A SINO-SOVIET CULTURAL FRONTIER: THE ILI KAZAKH AUTONOMOUS CHOU. By *George Moseley*. [Harvard East Asian Monographs, Number 22.] (Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1966. Pp. viii, 163.)

THIS interesting monograph seeks to explain the political and economic patterns of Chinese Communist control of a minority group located near the Russian border. The topic is obscure, and the research timely.

Perhaps because it is a pioneering work, the book fails to measure up to high scholarly standards. The sources are inadequate, not necessarily because they are Communist publications but because they are practically all summary accounts containing few specific details. Working under such severe limitations, the author might have confined himself to painting a general picture. Yet he goes far beyond this and dwells instead on such matters as China's difficulty in countering Soviet influences and in remolding the Kazak way of life. The result is a series of projections more imaginative than scholarly. With no documentation other than a Peking statement praising Soviet influences on Sinkiang, the author concludes, on page twenty-five, that the Chinese resented Russia and

that "the . . . non-Han Chinese of the area . . . measured everything against Soviet standards."

A related problem is the author's tendency to read too much into rather commonplace happenings. He states, for example, that the Chinese Communist party, in an unusual move, reorganized the local governments of Ili, Tacheng, and Altai, but did not tie them directly to the government of Urumchi until later. Similarly, the author observes that the party reconstituted the Sinkiang League for the Defense of Peace rather than suppressing it. It is not clear why he finds these moves unusual. Surely the Chinese Communist party is known for its flexible tactics. Even its land policy was reversed several times between 1937 and 1950. If Moseley has good reasons for finding the tactical moves in Sinkiang unusual, he does not spell them out in the text.

Similar deficiencies occur elsewhere. After stating that the Kazak men usually did nothing but hunt and play with their children while the women toiled, the author suddenly raises a parenthetical question: "Could this have made the Kazakh men anti-Communist and their women pro-Communist?" No answer is furnished, and the text continues in an entirely different vein. The reader is first intrigued and then confused. Does the author have any reason to believe that the Kazak women are indeed pro-Communist? This point should either have been elaborated or omitted.

The author's main difficulty lies in his attempt to draw specific inferences from very general materials. He also has a tendency to skip from one point to another without making the connections clear.

Queens College YI CHU WANG

PRELUDE TO DOWNFALL: HITLER AND THE UNITED STATES, 1939–1941. By *Saul Friedländer*. Translated from the French by *Aline B.* and *Alexander Werth*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1967. Pp. xi, 328, ix. $6.95.)

Prelude to Downfall is the American edition of Saul Friedländer's book, *Hitler et les États-Unis (1939–1941)*, which was published in 1963 in Switzerland. Translated into English and brought up to date, it seeks to answer the question of Hitler's assessment of the United States during the years preceding the attack on Pearl Harbor.

In his carefully researched study, Friedländer delineates the outlines of the German dictator's American policy from 1939 to 1941. How Hitler, despite his dislike for the United States, attempted to keep America as neutral as possible in order to deal with his other enemies first, how he urged Japan to take decisive steps, and how his calculations went awry, is a story of great interest. Was the Nazi leader justified in attempting to minimize American intervention and in trying to induce Japan to enter the war? According to the author, Hitler's caution was well founded, but his rashness in spurring on Japan before Russia was conquered was a miscalculation.

In this analysis, Freidländer is generally on safe ground. Astute enough to know that America could do him considerable damage, despite his hatred for President Roosevelt and the democratic system, Hitler decided not to take any

chances. But because he was afraid that the United States might find a way of entering the conflict without involving Japan, he sought to instigate the Island Empire to commit itself to an active role in the war. When Japan, however, instead of attacking Great Britain and the Soviet Union, initiated hostilities against America, it probably contributed greatly to the Axis' final defeat. Hitler and his allies were unable to prevail against three major powers at the same time.

In one respect, Friedländer appears to weaken his presentation. Strangely enough, he minimizes the dramatic occurrences in the few weeks immediately preceding the Pearl Harbor attack, when the reversal of Nazi policy toward America was so evident that the Japanese ambassador in Berlin specifically commented upon it. At that time, abandoning all previous efforts to keep the United States neutral, Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop urged Japan to go to war with America if necessary. But it was Japan, not Germany, which made the final decisions, bombing Pearl Harbor and then asking Hitler for an immediate declaration of war against the United States. This fact does not emerge clearly in the narrative; the author actually makes little of Germany's comparative lack of influence in Tokyo. It is not correct to state that, in August 1941, "utter confusion reigned in the Japanese capital." The Imperial government followed a consistently independent policy. In spite of Nazi pressure to attack Singapore prior to June 1941 and Vladivostok afterward, Japan decided to maintain its neutrality pact with the Soviets and to assault the United States. This was not what Hitler wanted; in serious trouble in Russia, he desperately needed Japanese help in Siberia during the winter of 1941. Instead, Japan asked him for assistance against America. He readily granted the request, but he must have done so in the vain hope that his partner would eventually join with him to crush the Red Army.

Despite his assertion that no systematic treatment of the subject has yet appeared, the author closely follows previous accounts. What he has added is the minute documentation that was unavailable before, as well as a more detailed analysis of America's influence in Vichy France, the Balkans, and Spain. This is a valuable contribution, and the result is a well-rounded book that constitutes an important supplement to the growing literature on American relations with the Axis Powers.

Brooklyn College HANS L. TREFOUSSE

SEA WARFARE, 1939–1945. By *John Creswell.* (Rev. ed.; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 343. $7.95.)

CAPTAIN Creswell's *Sea Warfare, 1939–1945,* is what the author promises: "a study of the maritime operations of 1939–1945 from the naval angle." It covers all the maritime powers involved in World War II, but provides little not available in the more impressive multivolume histories by Samuel Eliot Morison (*History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*) and by Stephen W. Roskill (*The War at Sea, 1939–1945*), both of which are more complete and more skillfully presented. The choppy nature of the organization of this volume, attempting a topical coverage within a chronological framework, makes its use for even the limited purposes of a naval warfare buff seeking a one-volume

history of World War II difficult. Certainly it cannot be considered thorough enough for the serious student of the complexities of World War II naval strategy or tactics. Even the coverage of specific battles is more catalogue than careful analysis. The saving aspect is a good final chapter that summarizes the major points to be made about new weapons, tactics, and strategy emerging from World War II experience: the new importance of the fleet air arm based on carrier strength; radar, here called the most important technical device used in sea warfare; and the amazing development in amphibious warfare. Again, however, few of these are new pronouncements.

Creswell, like other authors dealing with recent naval history, stresses the importance of peacetime planning and preparation. In several places within this short book, the author points out the price paid for national parsimony or general unpreparedness. He comments on the failure to provide for a mobile attack force, the failure to provide sufficient planes of the right kind to operate with surface ships, the great shortage in cruiser strength that has been a constant problem especially for Britain, and even the shortsighted inadequate defensive installations for such strategic points as Malta or the anchorages for the Home Fleet. Although Creswell draws here on Britain's experience, in underlining these shortcomings he assists those involved with the military affairs of any nation, either as professionals or politicians. None can afford to ignore this lesson.

The maps, index, and bibliography provided here will be useful to students of naval warfare. The index provides a quick key to individual ships or men and their wartime history. The bibliography contains most of the major items, primary and secondary, which the novice scholar would want to consult. Still, Creswell has mined no startling new source.

East Texas State University ROBIN M. RUDOFF

A HISTORY OF WAR AND PEACE, 1939–1965. By *Wilfrid Knapp*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 639. $10.00.)

WRITING a book such as this must be one of the more trying scholarly tasks. Mr. Knapp has chosen to begin with the invasion of Poland, but that event offers no logical beginning, really. He has had to conclude with yesterday's news reports, but his theme has as yet no ending. What he presents is a large tract of our times, a quarter century of international relations, complicated and intractable, at once known in detail and lying still in darkness. The result is a cool, even narrative of events perceived that is fair-minded and lucidly composed. The range of the account is global; the principal focus, perhaps still European.

Such a starting point helps present the Second World War in another perspective than that advanced in older accounts: not so much as the close of the era between two German bids for European hegemony as rather the first phase of the eclipse of European authority and the struggle for the world between Russian-led and American-led blocs, which later opens out into a barely disguised international anarchy challenging American and Russian control all over the globe. More than ever, on this reading, it is apparent that Hitler was the last essential agent unleashing the most profound forces of violence and change in the century.

Knapp's is a spare and matter-of-fact, though unfailingly pleasant, style. He lingers over no dramas. The death of Admiral Darlan, for instance, is passed off as "one of the rare occasions when political assassination solved more problems than it created." The Vienna confrontation between Kennedy and Khrushchev is noted as being "of signal importance," but is not greatly developed. The immensity of the task causes the author to hurry on in his remarkably calm way. Quotations are neither numerous nor especially arresting, as if he were determined to avoid any sensationalism in the search for a higher view. This decision has its disadvantages.

There are mild criticisms of such statesmen as Eden and Dulles and approving remarks about others (notably Truman and Kennedy—the latter and his advisers for demonstrating "supreme competence" in the Cuban missile crisis). Stalin is rated poorly for his conduct of Russian affairs, while the democratic powers are praised for "the unprecedented and unsurpassed talent" that the cold war drew from them. Favorably inclined as he is toward much of the American stance, however, Knapp permits himself a wry allusion to US troops "finding space for themselves between the ice-cream merchants and the sunbathers on the beaches of Beirut," or to Vice-President Johnson distributing to Berliners "the symbols of American wealth, fountain pens and chocolate bars." This particular view of the world from Oxford is nevertheless free of the kind of astigmatism that once prevailed there, if not at Chatham House.

The major disadvantage weighing upon Knapp's account, as upon every account of these contemporary affairs, is of course the lack of secure knowledge about Russian or Chinese policies and intentions, and the reader is repeatedly warned of this stumbling block in the quest for the recent past. This work does, however, rest upon a comprehensive reading of the major literature on the subject. An excellent blend of narrative and analysis, it is free of jargon, not tied to any theoretical framework, and, in an unpretentious manner, reliably informative.

University of Toronto JOHN C. CAIRNS

THE WIND AND BEYOND: THEODORE VON KÁRMÁN, PIONEER IN AVIATION AND PATHFINDER IN SPACE. By *Theodore von Kármán* with *Lee Edson*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1967. Pp. 376. $10.00.)

VON KÁRMÁN and Lee Edson, a science journalist, wrote this autobiography to interest the general public. Unfortunately they did not write it for those who are, or will be, most interested in Von Kármán—scientists, engineers, social scientists, and historians. The book's major weaknesses stem from the effort to interest the general public. In his introduction Edson unintentionally belittles Von Kármán by attempting to make him great by association with figures of public renown. The photographs emphasize those aspects of his life which, though trivial, presumably have human interest, as if the essence of Von Kármán had not. There is too much emphasis upon his role as adviser to the air force, for this is made to appear the crowning achievement of his career. Von Kármán and Edson seem indifferent to the serious student for no sources are cited, nor even a discussion of sources provided. Despite these weaknesses, the book is noteworthy

because Von Kármán was a strong and vital character as well as a figure of historical significance, and he and Edson establish this.

Von Kármán was one of the group of remarkable Hungarian scientists who contributed greatly to American technology during World War II. Like Leo Szilard, Edward Teller, and John von Neumann, Von Kármán as a schoolboy in Hungary revealed his gift for mathematics and science. As a graduate student he studied both science and technology and then carried on researches as a *Privatdozent* at Göttingen which, around 1910, was cultivating applied science with industrial and government support. Ludwig Prandtl, the Nestor of aerodynamics, and David Hilbert, the profound and inspiring professor of mathematics, both of Göttingen, greatly influenced him.

Von Kármán liked university life; he enjoyed pure science, and he valued engineering. In Germany this created no conflict: he became a professor of aerodynamics at Aachen where he equipped an applied science laboratory with support from industry in the person of Hugo Junkers. In accord with his lifelong endeavor to solve engineering problems scientifically, Von Kármán chose those complex, almost chaotic, aerodynamic interactions of form, force, and atmosphere. Like Prandtl, he exhibited a genius for finding the simplifying assumptions that made possible the mathematical analysis.

In America Daniel Guggenheim, the philanthropist, cultivated the science of aerodynamics; in California President Robert Millikan strove to make the California Institute of Technology a center of scientific and engineering excellence; together they persuaded Von Kármán to become a professor and director of the new Guggenheim Aeronautical Laboratory. Accustomed to furthering cooperation among science, engineering, and industry, Von Kármán helped foster a creative symbiosis involving the institute and the California aviation industry. World War II swept him up in the great vortex of government-funded research, and, like other leaders in science and engineering, he found himself presiding over the establishment of a mission-oriented, university-administered laboratory (Jet Propulsion Lab) and a "spin-off" industrial enterprise (Aerojet General).

This career, though unique in details, is similar in broad outline to the careers of many of the new wave of engineer-scientists who are now the establishment of our leading technical universities, science-based industry, and government. They merit serious study by those concerned with the essence of twentieth-century history.

Johns Hopkins University THOMAS P. HUGHES

Ancient

THE CLASSICAL TRADITION: LITERARY AND HISTORICAL STUDIES IN HONOR OF HARRY CAPLAN. Edited by *Luitpold Wallach.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1966. Pp. xv, 606. $12.50.)

THIS is a collection of good essays written by a group of the most distinguished classicists in honor of one of our great teachers and scholars and one of the kindest and best-liked men.

Readers of this review will be most interested in the historical essays, which are few but significant; they ought to realize, however, that the topics range from Homer to Spenser and that the list of contributors contains such luminaries as Daube, Ullman, McKeon, Wolfson, Kristeller, and others. Among the historical papers, I found O'Meara's and Welles's especially noteworthy; more specialized, but equally important, are Meritt's (on the Hellenistic calendar), Larsen's (on Polybius' partiality to the Achaeans), and Getty's (on Nero's indictment of the Christians).

Behind an innocent title ("Isocrates' View of History"), Welles presents a sweeping discussion and re-examination of the famous documents of the Persian Wars, among them the Themistocles Decree, the Oath of Plataea, and the Peace of Callias; his conclusion is open to various interpretations: "I do not think that they are inventions of the orators of the fourth century . . . but that they came into existence in the archives and on the inscriptions of Athens . . . ." Of Isocrates, Welles says "there is nothing here to indicate that he deliberately invented or falsified," and he therefore concludes that "it is even possible that Theopompus had acquired his righteous indignation from his master [Isocrates]." For a more up-to-date treatment, see *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum,* XX (1967), 142, 274.

The comparison between St. Augustine and A. Toynbee ("Toynbee and St. Augustine") is devastating for Toynbee, in spite of the "greatness" of his book. O'Meara quotes him as claiming that he "had found himself in communion . . . with all that had been," and I heard him say recently that it was "the task of the historian to predict the future." Of course, the historian is none other than Toynbee.

The book merits its title, and it testifies to the survival of the classical tradition in spite of modern literary criticism and modern social science.

Stanford University A. E. Raubitschek

THE GREEKS. By *Antony Andrewes.* [The History of Human Society.] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1967. Pp. xxiii, 294. $6.95.)

The Greeks will have proved themselves a great people if their reputation survives the current spate of popularizing studies; no respectable paperback stand is complete without several works on the Greeks' art, philosophy, or way of life. While this attention is heartening, few are as solid, as sober, and, withal, as stimulating as Andrewes' well-written account.

Its scope may be defined by exclusion. The introduction by J. H. Plumb, through which the reader should pass quickly, makes clear that the series on "The History of Human Society" is not intended to furnish a group of factual handbooks. On the other hand, Andrewes does not perpetrate rhapsodic, ill-founded generalizations or deal inordinately with Greek art and literature; Plato is not here the summit toward which all Greek development paves the road. Nor, again, is this a chronological survey, though the opening chapters take up in order the geography, the Mycenaean Age, the Dark Ages, and the outlines of political history. Even so, a reader totally ignorant of Greek history may become a little confused (particularly in Chapter x, on social values) as the

argument darts back and forth over several centuries. The Hellenistic period is entirely omitted on grounds clearly stated in the author's preface, and the rise of Macedon is given little place.

What remains is a tightly knit, interpretive work seeking "to define the basic and distinctive features of Greek society, attending particularly to those factors which an English or American reader might find unfamiliar." First come the social groups of this almost primitive world, then its economic structure (Chapter VII on traders, craftsmen, and slaves is a joy to read), its military and political organization, and thereafter sections on social values, religion, and intellectual speculation. Everywhere the author considers the general reader, for whom his asides explain obscurities without condescension; still, Andrewes does not hesitate to note when it is impossible to translate Greek words or institutions into modern dress. Nor is he afraid of admitting ignorance in those dark areas where evidence is thin. By and large, however, the Wykeham Professor of Ancient History knows whereof he speaks. Unlike many recent appreciations of the Greeks, this is not a cento of ancient quotations, though one wishes that there were space here to transcribe Andrewes' own levelheaded yet sensitive justification for studying Greek civilization that appears on pages 265–266.

I would set *The Greeks* beside Kitto's bubbling "Penguin" essay, which is truly high praise. The book has thirty-two plates, the choice of which again illustrates Andrewes' independent judgment; a table of dates; and a bibliography that refers mainly to English and French studies.

University of Illinois CHESTER G. STARR

ARMS AND ARMOUR OF THE GREEKS. By *A. M. Snodgrass*. [Aspects of Greek and Roman Life.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1967. Pp. 151. $6.50.)

IN keeping with the purpose of the series in which this volume appears, the author has tried to inform the specialist and the amateur about the weapons of the Greeks and their use in war. While Dr. Snodgrass satisfactorily explains the role of superior equipment in the Greek victories over foreign enemies, his emphasis properly falls on the offensive and defensive paraphernalia of the Greek soldier from Mycenae to Macedon and beyond. He documents his study with excellent illustrations drawn from ancient textual sources, from representations in works of art, especially vase painting, and from surviving specimens.

This work begins with the Mycenaeans, when the fighting man attacked with long bronze thrusting swords, spears, arrows, and chariots and relied for defense on oxhide shields and boar's teeth helmets. Bronze body armor was introduced about 1450 B.C., only to be replaced by cloth corselets a century later, as swords and shields were reduced. Most significant was the transformation of the earlier heroic warrier into the uniformly equipped soldier as on the "Warrior Vase" from Mycenae. Following the Mycenaean collapse, short iron swords came into general use by 1000 B.C., and light cavalry appeared in the eighth century. By this time helmets with bronze crests and bronze bell corselets were available, possibly under the influence of Danubian smiths.

If the development of light skirmishing forces, composed of slingers, archers,

and peltasts continued after 750 B.C., the dominant soldier was the heavy infantryman or hoplite, armed with bronze corselet, helmet, greaves, shield, short slashing sword, and heavy thrusting spear and assembled in close formation. The author traces the evolution of the hoplite in the next four centuries, describes the various helmets, and analyzes the regional variations in equipment and the tactical results of the replacement of the bell corselet in the fifth century by the lighter quilted linen corselet or by the plate cuirass. The enhanced mobility of the armored hoplite, added to the shock of his massed charge, carried the field at Plataea and marked the heyday of the citizen soldier before the gradual employment of mercenaries in the late fifth century. With the subsequent development of cavalry and the reconstituted Macedonian phalanx under Alexander, tactics became more important than technology, although the spread of special auxiliary forces in the Hellenistic army with their equipment is fully treated, as are the adjustments in weapons and armor caused by the tactical dominance of the massive phalanx. The last great appearance of that phalanx came at Pydna in 168 B.C., where the field was won by Roman fluid organization.

The martial feats made possible by Greek arms and armor are set out for the first time in this book for the classical historian and for the general reader. On behalf of the latter, one might have wished for a glossary of technical terms, a map of the Greek world, and a more extensive list of the major collections of Greek weapons, with some indication of their contents.

University of Pennsylvania RICHARD BRILLIANT

SPARTA. By *A. H. M. Jones*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 189. $6.50.)

THE conjunction of Professor A. H. M. Jones, Harvard University Press, and the most interesting topic in Greek history—Sparta—ought to be auspicious.

The author discusses the origins of the "Lycurgan" polity and provides a narrative history of Lacedaemon from the First Messenian War to the time of Augustus and Eurycles, though the Hellenistic and Roman periods get somewhat short shrift. There is a brief appendix of digressive notes. Since Jones is one of the most distinguished living scholars, this should have been a much better book than it is, and even he has some misgivings about it. There are serious misprints, and some factual errors: for example, Cleombrotus II was the son-in-law, not the son, of Leonidas II. Cleomenes III raised five hundred, not fifty, talents, and it is *not* "fairly certain that the redistribution of land was cancelled" by Antigonus (See B. Shimron, "The Spartan Polity after the Defeat of Cleomenes III," *Classical Quarterly*, New Ser., XIV [1964], 236–37). Unlike some recent writers, Jones is rightly skeptical about Spartan traditions, and his approach to them is commonsensical. Nevertheless, he sometimes pontificates on vexed questions and gives an aura of certainty on matters still disputed and perhaps insoluble. The author states that "reports that the Spartiates once numbered 10,000 or 9,000 need not be taken seriously," while he is sure that "not only the Lycurgan distribution of land in equal lots, but also the inalienable Spartiate allotment is a myth created in the later fourth

century . . . about a generation after Leuctra." Surely Sparta had a small population, and there was never absolute equality at Lacedaemon, and Jones may be correct in both of his contentions. However, *pace* Beloch, Herodotus' eight thousand Spartans (7.234) are not implausible, and many scholars believe that a distribution of land under the spurious authority of the sainted Lycurgus took place in response to the crisis of the Second Messenian War, but Jones does not adequately present the case for differing opinions. The unwary reader may not realize the extent to which Spartan historiography is a morass of contradictions comparable to early Roman or Hebrew history.

Jones's recent history of the later Roman Empire is a monument of scholarship, and his essays on *Athenian Democracy* (1957) are extremely perceptive, but Sparta requires a more extensive treatment than he has given it in the present work, which does not reflect his great talents.

University of Southern California THOMAS W. AFRICA

SOLONOS NOMOI [THE LAWS OF SOLON], DIE FRAGMENTE DES SOLONISCHEN GESETZESWERKES MIT EINER TEXT- UND ÜBERLIEFERUNGSGESCHICHTE. By *Eberhard Ruschenbusch*. [Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte. Einzelschriften, Number 9.] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH. 1966. Pp. x, 140. DM 30.)

THIS ambitious book is a history of Solon's laws from 594 B.C. to the second century of our era. In the introduction Ruschenbusch discusses the problems of recovering from literary sources the original Solonian laws and shows that Aristotle, who wrote the first treatise on Solon's code, had access to a text unaltered by later lawgivers. Next he turns to the physical objects on which Solon had his laws inscribed. The Greeks called them *kyrbeis* and *axones;* unfortunately, we do not know the exact meaning of either word. Ruschenbusch believes that the two words referred in effect to the same thing, that we are not dealing with two bodies of law, but one could advance equally strong arguments that *kyrbeis* were entirely different from *axones*.

In the second chapter Ruschenbusch offers a sketch of the original documents and estimates the minimum length of Solon's code at sixteen to twenty-four pages. Here his imagination has gotten the better of him. He argues that Solon did not arrange his laws according to the magistrates who were charged with enforcing them, yet he admits that the laws as recodified in 410–399 B.C. were so arranged. He rejects rightly the idea that the Athenians had previously revised Solon's laws in any systematic way. The destruction of the *kyrbeis* and *axones* he dates to the period 200–130 B.C. on very shaky grounds: Plutarch first tells us that only scraps of them remained.

Chapter III traces the way in which information about the laws passed down to later writers. Ruschenbusch identifies Aristotle's treatise (now lost) as the major source of genuine material and asserts that the Alexandrian scholar Hermippus, who did not have access to Aristotle's work, was responsible for the spurious laws mentioned by Diogenes Laërtius, Diodorus, and Plutarch. He discusses lastly the influence of the Attic orators and comic poets on the tradition. His arguments would be more convincing had he not assumed

throughout that our severely limited evidence is somehow representative of all the lost material. It is impossible to pinpoint the source of every reference to a law of Solon.

The most valuable part of the book is the collection of 33 *testimonia* about the mysterious *kyrbeis* and *axones,* and 152 fragments of laws with some claim to be Solonian. Yet an inscription of 409/8 B.C., which belonged to the revised code and preserves the title "First *Axon*" is missing from the *testimonia,* and Ruschenbusch has ignored entirely the other surviving fragments of this code, several of which illuminate Solon's legislation.

The author is preparing a commentary on the fragments; if he reprints the text, he should correct the many misprints in the Greek. Ruschenbusch has reviewed a most difficult subject; he has solved few of the old problems, but his book will be useful.

University of Pennsylvania HARDY HANSEN

THE CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE. By *Lester Hutchinson.* (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1967. Pp. 182. $5.00.)

FEW periods of ancient history have received such copious and intense study as the last century of the Roman Republic, and yet it is possible to write quite an acceptable and certainly a readable account of the events of Cicero's consulship without, seemingly, ever having heard of the work of such men as Gelzer, Taylor, Syme, and Badian. It is based almost entirely on the primary sources, with help from the *Cambridge Ancient History,* and yet so much exists in Plutarch, Sallust, and the speeches and letters of Cicero especially, together with the other ancient sources listed in the bibliography, that the story is essentially complete, even if obviously nonprofessional.

The author's thesis is that Catiline and his group of conspirators were basically right, or at least had much that was right on their side. Rome was rotten, with the wealth of the provinces flowing into the hands of the small ruling group and their associates among the knights, while most of the population, even at Rome, was on the verge of starvation. Catiline's revolution was to be a social revolution on the Greek model, according to Sallust: cancellation of debts and redistribution of land, together with measures to end the senators' monopoly of the magistracies. Cicero, to win election, sold out to the conservatives and went along with them all the way to the illegal execution of Lentulus and others. The result was, later, Cicero's exile and, we are led to infer, the extinction of the Republic itself, since it was too corrupt to survive long.

Where the author is unsuccessful, of course, is not so much in his essential story as in the background: the provincial administration, the techniques of government, the economic crisis, the relationship and shifting policies of the great families. This gives his narrative a naïve quality, but it is intended for the general reader, for whom much of this background is both too technical and too controversial to be congenial. In his primary aim, I think that the author has succeeded.

Yale University C. BRADFORD WELLES

L'ARMÉE ET LE SOLDAT À ROME: DE 107 À 50 AVANT NOTRE ÈRE. By *Jacques Harmand.* (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard et Cie. 1967. Pp. xxiii, 538.)

THIS book was undertaken because previous works on Roman military affairs in the first century B.C. were devoted almost entirely to Caesar's army. The paucity of data about other armies fostered the assumption that the troops opposed to Caesar were like his—in Harmand's words, the *imaginaire reflet* of the Caesarians. But the civil war of 49–45 B.C. revealed a great disparity, and Harmand has uncovered enough evidence to provide a much clearer understanding of the military situation from Marius to Caesar. His documentation is abundant, and modern works, fully utilized, are evaluated with sober good sense.

Harmand's thesis throughout is that Rome's military establishment deteriorated steadily after the Hannibalic war because of the Senate's parsimony and its members' "obsession de l'*Urbs*," that because of these same factors Marius' innovations could not produce a thorough reform ("Des légionnaires fournis surtout par le monde de la paysannerie pauvre sont soldés de façon dérisoire, ce qui rend, dès le principe, toute discipline sérieuse impossible . . ."), and that the decisive difference between Caesar's army and the other Roman armies of the time consisted exactly in Caesar's willingness and ability to make the necessary changes. "L'esprit créateur de César s'oppose à la dégradation sénatoriale, pour les hommes comme pour les structures. . . . A partir du même recrutement de rustiques et de pauvres, une solde rationnelle permet un style disciplinaire satisfaisant qui donne une bonne armée . . . ," an army that was not only an instrument of revolution but also appropriate for the needs of the Empire.

Part I of the book is devoted to the army in its technical aspects: the size, number, and distribution of legions, arms and artillery, castrametation, intelligence, logistics, and similar things. Some is repetitious, but it is a serious re-examination of the state of our knowledge, and new insights emerge from it. Fresher and, to me, more interesting is the second part—a patient and detailed examination of the common soldier as a human being: the milieu from which he was drawn, the conditions of his service, his pay, discipline, training, and officers, the reciprocal relations of soldier and general, and the psychological factors in the soldier's position. This entails much consideration of Roman society and government in general and gives the book a value surpassing its worth as a sound study of Roman armed forces at the end of the so-called Republic.

State University of New York, Albany ROBERT O. FINK

LAW AND LIFE OF ROME. By *John Crook.* [Aspects of Greek and Roman Life.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1967. Pp. 349. $8.50.)

THIS book at once rewards and disappoints. Roman law can be a most fruitful aid to interpreting Roman life, as, for example, in A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Law and Roman Society in the New Testament* (1963). Mr. Crook also offers this reward in a study that, he states, "is about Roman law in its social

context, an attempt to strengthen the bridge between two spheres of discourse about ancient Rome by using the institutions of the law to enlarge understanding of the society and bringing the evidence of the social and economic facts to bear on the rules of law." He limits his treatment to the years between the emergence of Cicero as a pleader about 80 B.C. and the assassination of the jurisconsult Ulpian about A.D. 220. He must, therefore, often determine how far the *Digest,* on which we depend for much of our knowledge of the law of the later Republic and early Empire, was "up-dated" by Justinian's compilers. For the late Empire, historians can draw directly on the imperial constitutions collected in the Theodosian and Justinian *Codes* to illuminate social, administrative, and economic conditions, as, for example, does A. H. M. Jones in his *The Later Roman Empire* (1964), or Sir Samuel Dill in his *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire* (2d ed., 1899).

The disappointment for a reader not well grounded in Roman law is that, despite Crook's motto, *Iuris consultus abesto,* he often submerges his insights into conditions of life beneath the details of legal rules and procedure. Thus, his book is harder to follow than those mentioned above, in which the legal evidence is subordinated to the historical treatment. Crook does, nevertheless, illuminate important aspects of Roman life: citizenship, free birth, legal procedure, the family, property, guardianship, wills, land tenure, labor conditions, loans, agency, public law, municipal regulations, crime, and the courts. In his conclusions, he notes areas not covered: the quality of Roman jurisprudence, the enduring value of Roman law, the application of Roman law throughout the Empire, or the interaction between Roman and local law. He holds that, as against the excessive refinement of later Roman law, classical law provided a conservative but not unduly rigid, and on the whole a workable and fair, "legal framework in which orderly lives could be led."

Harvard University MASON HAMMOND

UNE CAMPAGNE CÉSARIENNE: ALESIA. By *Jacques Harmand.* (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard et Cie. 1967. Pp. xxii, 386.)

CAESAR's siege of Alesia and subsequent victory over Vercingetorix brought his extensive war in Gaul to a decisive end. It ranks as one of the crucial battles in the annals of warfare, for it was a major turning point in history. Caesar's own narrative in the *Gallic War* is quite brief, often laconic, and frequently lacking in the precise details that modern historians desire. In this long and meticulous study Harmand undertakes to furnish as many of these details as possible.

The book is divided into four parts. The first deals with the countryside and the town, on Mont Auxois near Alise-Ste.-Reine; the Mandubii were under Lingonian influence. The second discusses the two armies, beginning with their arrivals at the city. Harmand concludes that the total Roman muster was about 50,000 men, with ten legions of some 35,000 men as the main element; the Gauls will have had approximately 60,000 men. The third puts Caesar's various works under close textual and topographical examination in their various

phases; in the vexed textual question of *BG* 7. 72. 2, he supports *pedes* against *passus*. This is, to my mind, the most valuable part of the book. The last part attempts to reconstruct the campaign, paying particular attention to the problems of logistics on both sides. Caesar's victory was gained by his superiority in supply and the consequent ability to wait out the enemy.

Studies of ancient topography and battles generally tend to lose much of their impact for those not intimately familiar with the region and its landmarks. Harmand rather overwhelms his reader, and this does not make for easy reading. English readers will undoubtedly still turn first to the pertinent appendixes of Rice Holmes's *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, but should then consider Harmand's views, for this is an important book that contributes greatly to understanding of the end of Caesar's long campaigns.

Emory University HERBERT W. BENARIO

Medieval

THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By *Walter Ullmann*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1966. Pp. xiii, 160. $5.00.)

AN eminent historian here examines what he describes as the transition from the subject individual of the early Middle Ages to the citizen, "the individual as a full member of the State" in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. This study is set firmly within the framework of the now-familiar ascending and "descending or theocratic theme[s] of government and law." In the first of three major sections, "The Abstract Thesis," Ullmann elaborates the thesis that from the early Middle Ages the individual Christian *fidelis* was subject to governmental authority and enjoyed no inalienable rights, particularly of participation in government. This, "the medieval viewpoint concerning the standing of the individual in society was the result of the combination of . . . the overriding importance of law in the Middle Ages and the organological conception of society . . . ." Section II, "The Practical Thesis," centers about a discussion of English feudalism, focusing especially on Article Thirty-nine of Magna Carta, which, Ullmann says, "initiated what came to be called the rule of law . . . ," and which, he strongly implies, is the first appearance of "what at a later age came to be the common law of England." Unlike scholars who underline the fractionalizing and disruptive qualities of feudalism, Ullmann emphasizes its contractual nature and "the equalizing effect of the feudal law . . . in a legal sense . . . ." He argues that purely feudal law "was applicable to all conditions of man in England . . . . [and even] served for the agricultural classes." In "The Humanistic Thesis" Ullmann explains how the fusion of earlier "preparatory agencies such as feudalism" with Thomistic Aristotelianism led to a new emphasis upon nature and the role of the individual, and, hence, a challenge to the descending thesis in the emergence of the responsible citizen in place of the subject. A "rebirth of natural man . . . entailed the rebirth of the citizen in the public sphere." With Dante at last "the wheel had come full circle: the government was no longer the superior that laid down and gave

the law to a subjected mankind, but liberated man himself was to see in government his servant and the protector of his own interests."

This thesis is clearly and straightforwardly presented, but it is perhaps this very virtue that creates doubts that the author might have attempted to dispel in a more nuanced and definitive study. Would a more thorough and balanced consideration of the non-English scene and of such elements as alodial holding in Germany and Italian citizenship in city-states and rural communes have suggested a more complex analysis? Most interesting would be a detailed elaboration of Ullmann's distinction between "the earlier and largely neutral meaning and the later meaningful import of the citizen . . . ." More expanded treatment of the relationship of Roman law to medieval citizenship should also prove illuminating.

While this book may not convince medievalists who do not already agree with Ullmann's approach and interpretations, it is enjoyable, stimulating, and challenging and can be read and pondered profitably by all historians.

University of California, Davis WILLIAM M. BOWSKY

THE ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF MEDIEVAL RUSSIA. By *Arthur Voyce*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 432. $9.95.)

VOYCE presents not only the development of Russian art and architecture to about 1700 but also its Scythian, Iranian, and other antecedents. He has included political, economic, and social background with particular attention to Russia's dependence upon Byzantium's Orthodox Christianity. Byzantine influence is seen to vie with Romanesque and even more with Oriental features, especially from Georgia and Armenia. Occasional late influences from China, India, and other Asian lands are indicated. Such fourteenth- and fifteenth-century master icon painters as Theophanes the Greek, Andrei Rublev, and Dionysius receive special attention. Of particular interest is the author's brief yet detailed treatment of a much-neglected subject, the decorative arts and crafts, including such aspects as metalwork, jewelry, embroidery, arms and armor, woodwork, carving, and ceramics.

The author's coverage of his subject must be judged extraordinarily complete, if one considers the modest size of his book, although early frescoes probably deserve more space. (See his slight attention to frescoes in Novgorod, in the Church of the Saviour at Nereditsa, and in the Cathedral of St. Dmitri in Vladimir, or his mere mention of the Church of the Transfiguration in Volotovo without attention to frescoes.) One misses some important icons as the standing "Sts. Boris and Gleb," the "Zvenigorod Nativity," and the Novgorodian quadripartite icon. Voyce has made use of a wide variety of sources, relying heavily on I. E. Grabar's *History of Russian Art* and referring to numerous better Soviet works.

The work is very valuable for the historian interested in the origins of Russian culture and the influences upon it. Despite occasional stress upon the native Russian contribution, resulting from a de-emphasis on Byzantine influence (his treatment of Theophanes' impact on Rublev or the historical

significance of frescoes containing possible Byzantine models for the love and emotionalism generally considered typically Russian), the author shows a remarkable striving for objectivity by suggesting numerous likely influences. The art critic may regret the focus on the image of the objects under consideration with a concomitant modest attention to basic structure and design. In particular the roles of spatial relationships and of color seem minimized, even though their presence is noted. Numerous fine plates (none, regrettably, in color) with descriptions, a glossary, a bibliography, and a detailed index make this work a handy reference tool.

University of Kansas OSWALD P. BACKUS III

THE GEATS OF *BEOWULF:* A STUDY IN THE GEOGRAPHICAL MYTHOLOGY OF THE MIDDLE AGES. By *Jane Acomb Leake.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 212. $6.00.)

THIS book is a revised version of a doctoral dissertation. It deals with a fascinating and much-discussed subject, the identity of the Geats of *Beowulf.* As the subtitle indicates, the author examines the question largely from a historical, geographical, and mythological point of view, while dealing also with the linguistic aspect of the problem.

Her main thesis is that the Geats were neither the Jutes of historic fame nor the Gautar of southern Sweden, but are more likely to be identified as the Getae, an ancient Thracian tribe. In support of her contention, the author draws heavily on medieval and other historical sources, and, at the same time, she examines critically the extensive literature on *Beowulf.* Her detailed notes, as well as her bibliography, reveal both her scholarly acumen and how far afield she has gone in gathering information on the subject.

In her discussion (Appendix A) of the relationship of *Beowulf* to Old Norse parallels, I miss, however, a reference to Oscar L. Olson's study: *The Relation of the Hrólfs Saga Kraka and the Bjarkarímur to Beowulf* (1916). The reference to the "Hreð-gotan" of *Widsith* as the "nest-Goths" or "stay-at-home" Goths appears strange to me. The Old Norse equivalent "Hreið-gotar" (later form "Reið-gotar") clearly has to do with "riding," as seen in stanza twelve of the lay "VafÞrúðnismál" of *The Poetic Edda.*

Dr. Leake's book is not only characterized by commendable scholarship, but the wide-ranging material is presented in a very orderly fashion with commensurate readability. Doubtless, her new theory on the identity of the Geats will arouse fresh discussion of the question, and, not unlikely, some controversy on the part of *Beowulf* scholars whose views she questions or rejects. Personally, I find her linguistic argument less than convincing, and her general conclusions too sweeping.

Despite these reservations, I consider the book a noteworthy contribution to the literature on the subject; it is highly informative and stimulating in its fresh approach to the problem. A number of maps and a full index add to its value.

Victoria, British Columbia RICHARD BECK

DEATH AND LIFE IN THE TENTH CENTURY. By *Eleanor Duckett.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1967. Pp. x, 359. $8.75.)

THOSE who have enjoyed Miss Duckett's *Carolingian Portraits* will find this present volume, which concerns itself with the tenth century, a worthy successor. Written with charm and grace and based upon a real acquaintance with the sources, it tells the story of high politics and scholarship in tenth-century Germany, with some vistas from northern France, Italy, and the papacy. The author, using essentially a biographical approach, introduces us to the monarchs of the period, Charles the Fat, Arnulf, Henry the Fowler, and the three Ottos, and then to churchmen like Archbishop Bruno, Odo of Cluny, and Adalbert of Prague and then on to authors and scholars like Notker, Liutprand of Cremona, Gerbert, and Roswitha. We get the special feel of this period as it appeared to participants in its courts, its scholarship, its art, and its religious institutions. The tenth century on the Continent ends up then not as a dark period but as an age full of life and vigor preparing for the new era that was to emerge immediately thereafter.

It is perhaps unfair to ask more than the rich banquet the author has prepared in this volume for scholarly specialist and general reader alike. But some elements are missing from her picture. We never meet the common man, the peasant, in her pages, and we get no inkling of the economic and demographic changes that were taking place and that have caused Robert Lopez to label this century as one in which a renaissance took place. Nor do we see institutions at work or sense the harshness of the age. Ottonian and papal government are not explained; they are simply assumed to exist in their special form. And so the wise reader, while cherishing this volume, will turn to the *Cambridge Economic History,* Lopez' *Birth of Europe,* or Geoffrey Barraclough's *Origins of Modern Germany* to fill in the gaps left by the author. One further word: one wonders why Duckett omitted from her book an account of Odo's *Life of St. Gerald of Aurillac,* surely one of the most important and revealing biographies of the period. These are mere caveats, however, concerning a book which, like her previous ones, enriches our appreciation of a little-known period of the Middle Ages.

Austin, Texas ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS

DÉFRICHEMENTS, PEUPLEMENT ET INSTITUTIONS SEIGNEURIALES EN HAUT-POITOU DU X^e^ AU XIII^e^ SIÈCLE. By *Roland Sanfaçon.* [Les cahiers de l'Institut d'Histoire, Number 9.] (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval. 1967. Pp. xxii, 144, 10 plates. $8.00.)

THIS monographic work by Roland Sanfaçon is a study of such seigneurial records as survive for Haut-Poitou for the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. It is to be added to somewhat similar studies of restricted regions of France by such men as R. Latouche for Maine, G. Duby for the Mâconnaise, G. Fournier for Basse-Auvergne, Ch.-Ed. Perrin for Lorraine, and R. Boutruche for the Bordelais.

On the basis of the Poitevin records, Sanfaçon concludes that the clearing

of new lands for cultivation was directly related to an increase in population in the eleventh century. He also concludes that the opening up of new lands necessitated that more favorable terms be offered to attract peasants to these lands, and that more liberal conditions on the new lands inevitably forced a kind of easing up of conditions on the old. Hence peasant labor services on domain lands tended to disappear in favor of fixed rents before the thirteenth century.

In spite of this improvement in the condition of peasant labor that he notes, Sanfaçon is not sure that the extension of cultivation at the expense of wooded areas in Haut-Poitou was a good thing for the peasants. The soil of the region is not uniformly rich, and the best lands had already been cleared and placed under cultivation long before the eleventh century. Many of the new fields were on marginal land and, after a few years of use, declined in production or were abandoned. Thus, the ultimate increase in food production was not as great as one would expect, and the disappearance of the wooded areas, with their communal supply of wood, pasturage for certain animals such as pigs, and numerous wild animals to supplement the diet, was a heavy blow to the peasant population. By the end of the twelfth century the remaining wooded areas would be jealously guarded by the seigneurs as hunting preserves, and the peasant was cut off from any common rights he may once have had. Thus, the clearings in many cases may have been unwise, and Sanfaçon sees no general improvement in the actual living condition of the Poitevin peasantry in the period under discussion.

This volume is well presented by the University of Laval Press, and it contains a number of folded end papers—maps plotting the new towns and new castles, maps of the area showing fields under cultivation in the eighteenth century, and aerial maps showing the same fields today. The final conclusion is that patterns of land cultivation established by the end of the thirteenth century have remained virtually unchanged to the present day.

Rice University K. F. Drew

HILDEBERT VON LAVARDIN, 1056–1133: HUMANITAS AN DER SCHWELLE DES HÖFISCHEN ZEITALTERS. By *Peter von Moos.* [Pariser historische Studien, Number 3.] (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 1965. Pp. xv, 412. DM 80.)

Although Hildebert of Lavardin was successively bishop of Le Mans and archbishop of Tours at the beginning of the twelfth century, he is chiefly known as a writer whose poetry and letters were admired and recopied throughout the Middle Ages. Because of the breadth of his activities, scholars have heretofore limited their studies to specific aspects of his writings. For the first time Peter von Moos has offered a synthesis of Hildebert's thought and expression that attempts to encompass the writer as a whole.

It will surprise few that Von Moos sees the bishop primarily as a Christian humanist, both in the narrow sense of admiring classical literature, and in the general sense of proposing a philosophical ideal stressing the importance of man. To explore the former, Von Moos has devoted two initial chapters to Hildebert's

aesthetic ideals and Latin style, which profit from A. B. Scott's yet unpublished critical edition of the poetry. A final chapter analyzes the bishop's humanistic ideals such as *humanitas, ratio,* and *natura.* Since beautiful writing was never divorced from good conduct in ancient tradition, much of Hildebert's thought concerned ethics. The author has studied general moral themes such as fortune and wisdom, body and soul, the active and contemplative life, and asceticism and moderation, as well as courtly themes such as beneficence, glory, and friendship. A special chapter is devoted to women, marriage, and love. Most of Hildebert's moral thinking followed a long, humanistic tradition and offered little that was new or had immediate practical application. Even when discussing the more mundane problem of rulership, Hildebert followed the standard "mirrors of princes." His discussions of canonical questions involving marriage or the priesthood relied heavily on Ivo of Chartres, the foremost contemporary canonist. Von Moos' study of Hildebert, therefore, will be of greater importance to the historian of literature and philosophy than to the student of politics and institutions. Although the bishop was caught in the struggle between the Count of Le Mans and the Duke of Normandy, and later played a leading role in Anjou, Von Moos adds little to the historical biography sketched by Adolphe Dieudonné in 1898. But in three appendixes Von Moos has refined Dieudonné's dating, authenticating, and editing of the letters, and they will greatly aid the future biographer of Hildebert of Lavardin.

Johns Hopkins University JOHN W. BALDWIN

STORIA DELLE CROCIATE. By *Francesco Cognasso.* [Cultura contemporanea.] ([Milan:] dall'Oglio, Editore. 1967. Pp. 994. L. 5,000.)

THE author begins a few lines of preface with the observation that "questo libro è nato fra i banchi di scuola." It bears the mark of its origin, and is in fact a detailed textbook. Since it is without footnotes, only the professional crusader will recognize any large number of the sources. The bibliography is inadequate almost to the point of uselessness. There is no index, but the strictly chronological treatment of the subject makes it possible for the informed reader to find what he wants. The book is well printed and as a whole carefully proofread although misspelling occasionally produces such oddments as the nonexistent historians Jewdale and Michoud. Typographical errors also occur in dates.

This work abounds in names and dates, but so (alas!) does history. Cognasso provides us with an excellent sketch of the Oriental, Byzantine, and European background to the First Crusade. Indeed, the Oriental and Byzantine sources are throughout exploited fully as much as the Western chroniclers, which gives a satisfying and impartial balance to the book. Although Cognasso gives the reader a glance at the crusades of the fourteenth and later centuries, his work (like Runciman's excellent volumes) virtually comes to an end with the fall of Acre in 1291.

The failure to equip this book with enough notes to direct the reader to the more important and unusual sources is unfortunate, since Cognasso knows the

texts so well after some forty years of study and teaching. The author is a thoughtful man who asks questions as well as answers them and succeeds in maintaining a high level of factual accuracy on which the reader may rely. But in a book that moves so rapidly over time and space as this one it is easy to find mistakes. Is it not always easy to find mistakes?

Cognasso's references to the Athenian Metropolitan Michael and his brother, the historian Nicetas, as "Acominatus" may be inaccurate. The name Acominatus is actually found at the end of the fifteenth century at least, but Georg Stadtmüller has shown in his dissertation *Michael Choniates* (*Orientalia Christiana,* XXXIII [No. 2, 1934]) that the famous brothers may not have borne it. The Great Khan Mongka seems to have died not in August but in September 1259 (B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde* [1966], 41). At the Council of Lyons on July 16, 1274, not one Mongol but three received Christian baptism, "unus ex nunciis Tartarorum *cum duobus sociis*" (Mansi, *Concilia,* XXIV, col. 67). But enough of this.

Cognasso has given us another learned and effective synthesis of the first two centuries of crusading history, this time with full attention to Eastern affairs.

University of Wisconsin KENNETH M. SETTON

SEL'SKOE KHOZIAISTVO NA RUSI V PERIOD OBRAZOVANIIA RUSSKOGO TSENTRALIZOVANNOGO GOSUDARSTVA KONETS XIII–NACHALO XVI V. [The Rural Economy in Russia in the Period of Formation of the Russian Centralized State, from the End of the Thirteenth to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century.] By *G. E. Kochin.* [Leningradskoe Otdelenie Instituta Istorii.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1965. Pp. 461.)

WHILE at first glance Professor Kochin's work might appear to interest only economic historians, a more thorough study indicates that it really belongs within the broader framework of that portion of postwar Soviet historiography concerned with the theory of the formation of the centralized Russian state. In that sense this volume is in the nature of an addendum to the writings of such Soviet historians as B. D. Grekov, S. B. Veselovskii, and L. V. Cherepnin, who have contributed to the development of the centralization theory. The extent to which the views of those historians have become accepted in current Soviet Russian historiography can be understood best by the fact that Kochin has not found it necessary to preface his work with an apologia for his subject by making obeisance to the views of Marx and Lenin, as his predecessors felt compelled to do.

Aside from the first chapter, which follows the standard Soviet historical pattern of expounding the "bourgeois" and socialist historiographical interpretations of the subject, the remaining chapters largely describe agriculture, cattle raising, rural industries, and peasant-landlord relations from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century.

This work covers an important period in the evolution of Russian agriculture. The Tatar invasions, which disrupted the whole economy and devastated

many of the earlier agricultural settlements in the south and west, necessitated migrations to new settlements in the northern forest region. That shift in the area of settlement had a profound effect upon the rural economy and eventually led to the adoption of new plows, new ideas on fallowing, and the three-field system, together with the more frequent use of fertilizers. Kochin discusses those changes in detail.

The final chapter ("The Peasantry and the Feudal Landholders, Their Contacts and Mutual Relations") provides Kochin with the opportunity to relate his work to that of the historians mentioned earlier. For some this may be the least satisfactory chapter because of its ideological insistence, but that should not deter one from discovering there a body of significant information. For example, the lengthy discussion of the "black lands" serves as a useful complement to Jerome Blum's discussion of the "black people" in his *Lord and Peasant in Russia.*

Aside from an extensive use of the published sources made available in great quantities since World War II, Kochin has employed various unpublished materials from archives in state libraries, museums, and academies. It is strange, however, that he has used relatively little periodical literature. While the book contains a useful index, together with a number of interesting illustrations of rural activities and agricultural implements taken from contemporary manuscripts, there is no map, bibliography, or glossary.

University of Houston R. F. Drew

THE SHERWOOD FOREST BOOK. Edited by *Helen E. Boulton.* [Thoroton Society Record Series, Volume XXIII.] (Nottingham: Derry and Sons for the Society. 1965. Pp. viii, 212.)

This very careful and competent edition of the earliest extant forest book relating to Sherwood was probably compiled in the late fourteenth century. It contains, as do all forest books, copies of statutes and ordinances, perambulations of forest bounds, inquisitions, examples of writs, chapters of regard, and extracts from the forest eyres. In her introduction Miss Boulton discusses the provenance of the book, the original of which is now in the Public Record Office, and its relationship to fourteen other extant forest books on Sherwood, each of which she describes in considerable detail. She gives most of her introduction to describing these books and their relationship to each other, and the rest of her introduction to the description, provenance, and history of the book edited. She does not discuss the contents of the forest books, although she does state in her preface that she expects to publish a paper elsewhere on the history of Sherwood.

The volume contains an excellent index, two good maps, and numerous helpful notes, identifying documents and persons, giving cross references, and so on. It is a scholarly edition of an important document and will be very useful to students of forest history.

William Woods College Isabel R. Abbott

THE FLORENTINE GALLEYS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. By *Michael E. Mallett.* With *The Diary of Luca di Maso degli Albizzi, Captain of the Galleys, 1429–1430.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 293. $11.20.)

FROM 1421 to 1480 the city of Florence attempted to keep upon the waters a fleet of communally owned galleys. They were primarily intended, the author believes, to give the Arno city (and the large area of Tuscany it then commanded) assured contact with great markets for cloth, especially in northern Europe. They were also to provide Florentine industries with abundant wool, silks, and dyes from foreign suppliers. Quite clearly inspired by the Venetian system of government-owned galleys, the Florentine imitation never attained comparable success. In some few years as many as ten galleys displayed the Florentine lilies along the Mediterranean and Atlantic routes; for many more years, no galleys at all set sail. The ships never achieved a regular and reliable schedule of voyages that might have made them a major buttress of the Florentine economy.

Mallett tells the history of this venturous failure with admirable thoroughness. He has explored archives in Italy, Spain, and England. His diligent search led him to uncover the diary of Luca di Maso degli Albizzi, a captain of the galleys in 1429–1430. The diary is really a ship's log, and it gives a vivid description of a round trip to England. Mallett embellishes his study, and the edition of the diary, with impressive erudition. He describes the technical design of the galleys and explains the administrative institutions that governed them; he records their trips and gives a detailed summary of principal routes; he has hunted down and identified many names of obscure ports and obscure weights and measures. This is a useful book, not only for what the author has discovered concerning the galleys themselves, but for the information he has amassed concerning Mediterranean maritime travel in the fifteenth century.

Mallett also discusses the reasons for the failure of the Florentine galley system, and these explanations seem less satisfying. The galleys, he concludes rather lamely, declined because "they had outlived their usefulness." They were intended, he argues, not really to yield a profit but to provide assured communications with distant markets and suppliers. By the late fifteenth century, foreign shippers were thoughtfully meeting this need, and the Florentines could retire, as if in relief, from the unfriendly waters. But he has no proof that contact with distant markets was in any way uncertain or a cause for concern in 1421, nor really any proof that the galleys were not intended initially to make money. He seems to be missing a larger problem here. In the Middle Ages Tuscany, with its chief ports of Pisa and Porto Pisano, was a foremost maritime region. By the sixteenth century Tuscan shipping in the Mediterranean was routed by foreign competition, especially from the English. Why did this happen? What were the disadvantages under which Tuscan shipping generally, and the galley system in particular, labored in comparison with foreign carriers? On these questions, Mallett's book, for all its excellent qualities, says almost nothing.

University of Wisconsin DAVID HERLIHY

ENEA SILVIO PICCOLOMINI UND DIE JURISPRUDENZ. By *Guido Kisch*. (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn. 1967. Pp. 123. 20 fr. S.)

Guido Kisch contributed the substance of this book to a meeting, held in Siena, memorializing the year the "humanist Pope" died. In keeping with a major interest, Kisch chose to investigate Aeneas' attitude toward the jurisprudence of his day.

It had been a commonplace, especially since Voigt, to consider Aeneas the sworn foe of jurisprudence, and substantiation of this was found in certain of Aeneas' statements of abhorrence for the legal profession. But Kisch found several reasons for qualifying this opinion. For one thing, Aeneas, like most humanists, regarded the substance of the law as necessary for society, and therefore he did not attack the Scholastic substance as taught in the universities. Aeneas and the humanists in general warred, however, against the Scholastic dissociation of law from the liberal studies. The author, perhaps to save space, does not mention that Aeneas' older contemporary, the famous Vittorino da Feltre, considered the *studia humanitatis* a fitting undergraduate preparation for the professional study of law, as well as of medicine and theology. Devotion to liberal studies is eloquently described in Aeneas' "Preface to the Commentaries" on things done in the Council of Basel, included in the first appendix. Two years later (1442) he was crowned poet laureate by the Emperor, the first so honored in the North. The diploma appears in Appendix II. Trained in law, he received invitations to give speeches before faculties of law. His laureateship helped not only to give him entree but also to find a favorable response to his message of the *studia humanitatis* as prerequisite for jurisprudence. Where but in literature would the jurist get a vivid conception of the meaning and importance of equity? Aeneas' "In Praise of Literary Studies" (a letter to Stein) is given in full in Appendix III. It is shown to have been influenced by Lorenzo Valla's famous attack against the law professors of Pavia. Kisch's study confirms the findings of recent scholarship (that is, of Professor Kristeller) on the humanistic attitude toward Scholasticism.

Grand Valley State College Quirinus Breen

STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE HISTORY. Volume IV. Edited by *William M. Bowsky*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1967. Pp. 243. $7.95.)

The intent of this series is to present "original major articles and short monographs in all fields of medieval and renaissance history." This volume contains the following four monographs: Everett U. Crosby, "The Organization of the English Episcopate under Henry I"; Charles L. Tipton, "The English Hospitallers during the Great Schism"; Joseph R. Berrigan, "Benzo d'Alessandria and the Cities of Northern Italy"; William M. Bowsky, "Medieval Citizenship: The Individual and the State in the Commune of Siena, 1287–1355."

The article by Crosby, with its extensive appendixes, presents most fully all the available evidence for the period concerned. There are remarkably few

typographical errors or errors of any kind, and this is characteristic of the other articles in this collection. The only weaknesses of the article are the slight concern with the ramifications and settlement of the investiture conflict in England during Henry's reign, the little attention paid to Henry's policies within and without England that may well have had bearing upon his relations and treatment of the episcopacy, and the failure to place the episcopal situation in England in its proper perspective with the same situation elsewhere. These strictures may, however, go beyond the scope intended by the author.

Tipton's article presents and proves substantially a revision of two commonplaces: that the Hospitalers sided with the pope, supported by the ruler in whose kingdom they resided, and that this is an evidence of nationalistic tendencies within the Universal Church and, by implication, within the various states themselves in the late fourteenth century. By employing the inadequately mined sources, particularly the archives housed at Malta, Tipton has discovered the necessary documentation for his thesis.

Berrigan's study is chiefly an edition of the Ambrosian MS. of the *Chronicon* of Benzo d'Alessandria without any attempt to correct the scribal errors.

The last article, by Bowsky, is, as he describes it, a pilot study on the condition of citizenship in the late Middle Ages in a particular Italian city-state, Siena, drawn from all the extant archives. His conclusion, that there is a gradual drawing together of the various forms of citizenship into a generally defined one by the mid-fourteenth century, is not intended to be generally applied. The argument is clear and persuasive.

The general impression of this volume of monographs, then, is that it makes a substantial contribution toward clarifying little-understood or little-exploited areas in the highly complex mosaic of the Middle Ages.

Emory University FRANCIS S. BENJAMIN, JR.

STUDI DI STORIA ECONOMICA. Volume III. By *Armando Sapori*. [Biblioteca storica Sansoni, New Series, Number 43.] (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, Editore. [1967.] Pp. xv, 726. L. 10,000.)

SHORT historical papers and essays bear to history books much the same relation as short stories to novels: though they may contain some of the author's most original and valuable writing, they are hard to find and seldom get an adequate share of attention until and unless they are collected in a volume. Historians, however, are apt to postpone indefinitely what short-story writers usually do as soon as they come across a willing publisher: they will not let go a second time an essay that has not been brought up to date, or developed into a fuller study, or pruned of passages that also appear in another essay and another context. We must be grateful to Armando Sapori, the dean of Italian economic historians of the Middle Ages and early Renaissance, for waiving the quest for perfection and collecting his unrevised short papers. Thirty-eight of them formed the first two volumes of his *Studi di storia economica* (1955); a third volume (1967) contains forty additional ones. The average size is thus shorter than in the earlier volumes, and some critical reviews have been included besides independent research papers. But there are several long essays, such as "Medioevo e Rinasci-

mento" (Sapori belongs to the growing number of historians who place the high point of Italian premodern economics in the later Middle Ages rather than in the Renaissance), and "Cambiamento di mentalità del grande operatore economico" (dealing with another aspect of the same problem); and some of the briefest papers, such as a four-page article on rent control in the Florentine shops, are highly important contributions.

Space forbids a full analysis of the contents of the valuable volume, whose consultation is made easier by an excellent index. The core, as one would expect, is devoted to the economic and social history of Tuscany between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century, Sapori's preferred field of investigation, but the picture often extends to the rest of Italy and the whole of Europe, and there are some loving portraits of deceased historians.

Yale University ROBERT SABATINO LOPEZ

Modern Europe

ASPECTS DES RELATIONS RUSSO-ROUMAINES: RÉTROSPECTIVES ET ORIENTATIONS. ÉTUDES. By *George Cioranesco et al.* (Paris: Diffusion Minard. 1967. Pp. 276. 38 fr.)

THE reassertion by the Rumanian Communist regime of Rumania's "historic rights" to Bessarabia and northern Bucovina has generated stormy polemics among revisionists, dogmatists, and nationalists. Russian historians and politicians, and their friends in the Soviet bloc, have taken to task their Rumanian comrades for reopening a sealed Pandora's box. Communist Rumanian historians and politicians, with the support of such diverse anti-Soviet protagonists as Mao Tse-tung, the Iron Guard, and the Rumanian emigration, have cautiously but firmly adhered to the view that Bessarabia and northern Bucovina were historically Rumanian territories unlawfully seized by the USSR in 1940 following the Molotov-Ribbentrop agreement. Less cautious, and less historical, is the anti-Russian case as presented by the group of *émigré* historians, political scientists, and political economists represented in this volume.

Aspects des relations russo-roumaines is, in the authors' own words, "not a historical treatise." The seven contributors have rather sought to present "as objectively as possible" the historical evidence that would justify Rumania's claims for restitution of the lost territories. The individual chapters, ranging from a restatement of some of the more doubtful theses on Rumanian prehistory to a modest proposal for returning Bessarabia and northern Bucovina without prejudicing Russia's vital interests in Eastern Europe, are generally informative and well conceived. Unfortunately they are but vaguely related to one another. Radu Florescu's excellent chapter on the problems of navigation on the Danube in the 1830's and 1840's is conceptually divorced from Nicoara Neculce's three-page essay on the "Genesis of the Bessarabian Problem" that precedes it, and it has no immediate relevance to the lengthy political treatment of "Soviet-Rumanian Relations" that follows it. Similarly, Dionisie Ghermani's brief analysis of the "nationalization" of Rumanian Communist doctrine is at best superfi-

cially connected to the outline of the political actions of the Rumanian Communist regime pertinent to the possible recouping of the lost territories.

These shortcomings may be ascribed to the haste with which the volume was compiled. A few of the essays were completed in April 1967, two months before the actual publication date. There is no evidence of any editing of the individual contributions. Presumably, the essays had to be published in book form before the end of the fiscal year. The Bessarabian crisis is neither serious enough nor urgent enough to warrant such precipitous action. It is regrettable that the often important and valuable data contained in this book were not integrated into a meaningful historical treatise or at least into a coherent collection of related studies.

University of Colorado STEPHEN FISCHER-GALATI

DER FRIEDE VON VERVINS 1598. By *Arthur Erwin Imhof.* (Aarau: Keller Verlag. 1966. Pp. 316.)

IN the long struggle between the French and the Habsburg kings for hegemony in Western Europe the tide finally began to turn in France's favor in 1598. The Treaty of Vervins represented a success that, remarkably, came less than nine years after Henry IV's accession to a tottering throne, threatened by enemies at home and abroad. The miracle of internal recovery, symbolized by the Edict of Nantes a few weeks before Vervins, was made more miraculous by the simultaneous expulsion of the invading Spaniards.

Dr. Imhof provides a detailed account of the negotiations that led to this triumph. He shows that it was not military victory, but the war weariness of Philip II and Archduke Albert, that gave the French the advantage. The dying King of Spain wanted to end his reign in peace; he was prepared to negotiate even with Holland and England. Albert was determined to preserve his rule in the Low Countries, and he feared disaster if he had to maintain a two-front war with chronically inadequate resources. The Habsburgs were therefore willing to withdraw from the border towns they had captured, including Calais, without a struggle. It was harder to embrace the Dutch and English in the treaty, but when difficulties arose Henry IV was perfectly happy to abandon his allies and keep his own gains. A few other matters, such as French designs on Saluzzo, had to be left in abeyance, but their principal goals—the end of the invasion and a return to the 1559 boundary—were achieved. Imhof remarks that Spain, too, benefited simply by obtaining peace, however temporary. The real defeat had been the Edict of Nantes, because Philip had hoped that Henry's conversion, though ending Spanish ambitions, might at least serve Catholic ends.

Ecclesiastical mediation, particularly the intervention of the tireless general of the Franciscans, Caltagirone, was crucial in bringing the antagonists together. The papacy, though hoping to unite both sides in a crusade against the Turks, was markedly pro-French; its old fight against Habsburg power in Italy had resumed when Henry IV's conversion ended Catholicism's total reliance on Spain. What is significant is that Rome's influence at a major treaty negotiation was now being exercised effectively for the last time, and that papal diplomacy

was entering its last, feverish decades as a force on the international scene—two subjects which, regrettably, receive no attention in this book.

Imhof's documentation is exhaustive, his research exemplary. The day-to-day developments appear in full detail, and occasionally some of the protagonists come to life, as, for example, in Henry IV's dry comment when Albert, the former cardinal, performed pitifully in a small skirmish: "If he came as a soldier, he returned as a priest." Although the definitive account of the Vervins negotiations has now been written, the absence of an index seriously mars the book, and the bibliography ignores much recent work. The most fundamental question, however, is whether three hundred pages are needed for so narrowly confined a subject, whose wider implications for the history of the period remain largely unsuspected and untouched.

Princeton University THEODORE K. RABB

RELIGION AND REGIME: A SOCIOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF THE REFORMATION. By *Guy E. Swanson.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1967. Pp. x, 295. $7.50.)

Religion and Regime is an attempt to relate the success or failure of the Reformation, here perceived ideologically, to the political sociology of the various relevant areas of Europe: to this end, Mr. Swanson distributes governments among five categories ("Centralist," "Limited Centralist," "Balanced," "Commensal," and "Heterarchic"), roughly corresponding to a scale running from rejection of the Reformation to enthusiastic embrace of it. The author is a sociologist whose earlier work was an analysis of belief in fifty primitive societies; his professional experience may in part account for what seems, to the historian, the singular irrelevance of this book. Anthropologists, especially the chic structuralists, are accustomed to abstract from divergent and often very scattered data some pattern of ideas or ideology, some *Weltanschauung,* often very metaphysical, by which a society seems to be organized or to organize itself. Thus, from a mass of heterogeneous documentary, oral, and observational "evidence," the governing ideas of a tribe, a group, or a civilization are often drawn. For primitive societies, where, one is led to believe, a fairly uncritical acceptance of custom prevails, this method is undoubtedly often valid, or as good as is available; in a period like the Reformation, remarkable for the degree of self-consciousness and self-criticism displayed by believers, this method is open to serious question. Swanson argues, in his first two chapters, for the idea of immanence as the doctrinal hinge on which the door to Reformation did or did not swing. Though it is true, I think, that the Deity became less and less immanent in His believers' view of Him and His universe, it is an error in method to select this particular idea as crucial. Of the many ideas of deity so bitterly argued in the period, the notion of immanence is not one. Of course it is possible to say, from an extremely elevated and distant viewpoint of vision—say, the Ptolemaically placed planet Saturn—that the idea of immanence declined in the early modern period; it certainly did, but it did so in Catholic countries as well as in areas ultimately Protestant. The issue of consubstantiation and transubstantiation is unquestionably important, but it is important also for its singularity; in an

indwelt universe, the question need not arise at all. To select immanence as the key concept for this revolution in ideas is like selecting the idea of the four elements, or the idea of phlogiston, and demonstrating their absence in twentieth-century thought. This is a matter of context, and Swanson's context seems very much his own structure and not one familiar to, or congruent with, the historian's view of the period.

Such a divergence may of course be a merit; thus it is worth looking at the method of this book in relation to historical method, with all its faults and deficiencies. For the historian, this book's political categorization seems arbitrary and faulty, schematic to a degree that falsifies the conditions as they were. For scholars accustomed to working in the detailed data of mutability, the freezing of a political area, seen over a length of time, into one pattern, seems a sin not only against method but also against plain truth. In the Reformation, a period of history in which the hither boundary is very uneven (and in this book quite undefined) and in which social, economic, political, and intellectual mutability is the major problem, pigeonholing, fixing, and schematizing seem especially irritating and, though they mean to simplify, confusing. This method also seems to imply a one-way relation between environment and ideas, whereas the intellectual, the nonintellectual, or the unintellectual historian is likely to jib at any such assumption. In the case of the areas I know something about (England, France, the United Netherlands, and the Spanish Netherlands), the significant point about the period in question is the evolution in relation to each other of political and religious institutions and of political and religious ideas, even ideologies. This book offers us a Reformation stiffened into pageantry, as if each particular regional struggle had been assigned its part, or, in Reformation terms, had been predestined, by the political structure in which it took place. I oversimplify a bit. Where the areas categorized are particularly intransigent in their category, Swanson makes interesting distinctions and very interesting attempts to account for differences. What is irritating is the solemnity with which political structure is treated as a part of religious ideology, but otherwise unrelated to actual conditions. After all, it is not only because of their political structure that Italian city-states, the Papal States, and other principalities remained Catholic. There are extrinsic reasons why Antwerp remained Catholic and Amsterdam did not.

As is often the case in studies of this sort, the author has drawn on much comparative material, particularly in syncretic studies of religion—classical religions, Islam, Judaism, and others—to make telling points of contrast with the European situation. In his analyses of early modern thought, however, the author seems to have had recourse to no original source, save where a passage was quoted in the critical or summary works of scholars. In a survey of European political institutions, one may grant that the primary sources often seem more quelling than *Quellen:* pipe rolls, *cahiers,* procès-verbaux, even official acts and ordinances do not characteristically yield data on the structures within which they were developed; but not to have read the writings of the greater and lesser reformers, nor to have looked at the sermons, tracts, and pamphlets of the various Reformation critical debates means that it is all too easy to redraw the issues into an *ur*-form more intelligible to anthropologists today than to com-

batants of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Even the various councils and synods would, I think, have provided a short form of the complex issues as understood and defined at the time, but Swanson has not used these, either. In the case of the chapters devoted to Reformation political institutions, I must add that the authorities relied on are very uneven: for a nonhistorian, Swanson is remarkably widely read, but an account of the United Provinces that relies exclusively and fairly equally on Vlekke, Geyl, and Boxer is by definition insufficient and naïve.

My objections to this work are unwillingly expressed, because of the great enlightenment I have had from the work of sociologists and of sociological historians. If one may venture a generalization, I should say that historians are more likely to receive enlightenment from works in sociological history or historical sociology, which rely as well on empirical evidence as on theory. I think of the work of Charles Tilly, Elinor Barber, and J. Jean Hecht, for example. Pure structures, like this one, too often appear to the workaday, archive-bound, narrow historian to be castles in Spain, or even in the air.

Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford ROSALIE L. COLIE

BREMISCH-VERDISCHE STAATSFINANZEN, 1645–1676: DIE SCHWEDISCHE KRONE ALS DEUTSCHE LANDESHERRIN. By *Klaus-Richard Böhme.* [Scandinavian University Books. Studia Historica Upsaliensia, Number 26.] ([Stockholm:] Svenska Bokförlaget/Nordstedts. 1967. Pp. 599. S. Kr. 94.)

THIS book deals with the organization and exploitation of two German territories in the last years of and the first decades after the Thirty Years' War. Their conqueror and master was Sweden, and their fate, described in the book, presents a case of intra-European colonialism. Bremen and Verden were made to pay a large part of the bill for Scandinavian power policy, one of those historical episodes one must know in order to understand virulent nineteenth-century German nationalism. The work is based on stupendous knowledge of pertinent Swedish and German archival sources, yet it is hardly a satisfactory performance. The author's ability to unearth historical material is not matched by his skill in presenting it.

The work has resulted in an empiricistic accumulation of facts and figures that no one can digest since they are not held together by any guiding idea. As usual in such cases the writer allows no time to consider the historical significance of what he has produced. He tries neither to explain his material nor to see it against a broader background. Only in the rarest cases does he bring it to life by comparison with other contemporary events and processes. (He does do this, however, where he describes the newly introduced Swedish administrative organization.)

Typical of the way in which the material is handled by the author is the description of the loans that Count Königsmarck, the German-born Swedish general, made to the Swedish crown after the great war. This is very interesting and obviously reliably presented. But, again, the author does not understand its historical significance, and no nonspecialized reader will be able to grasp its

importance. Actually, the author describes what was a typical case. At the end of the Thirty Years' War most European princes were ruined, but some of their generals and colonels, that is, the military enterprisers, who had raised and commanded troops in their service, had by fair and foul means amassed fortunes and now became creditors of their former employers.

The summary makes it abundantly clear that the factual basis is too small for a superstructure of 489 pages plus 51 pages of tables. The book is comparable to a magazine in which a lot of more or less valuable goods are stored. Let us hope that well-informed historians will come along who will use what is made available. Since no inventory in the form of a subject index is provided—a minimum requirement for books of this sort—many will pass it over, and it will be difficult for the rest.

Belmont, Massachusetts FRITZ REDLICH

ENGLAND AND THE FRONDE: THE IMPACT OF THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR AND REVOLUTION ON FRANCE. By *Philip A. Knachel.* [Folger Monographs on Tudor and Stuart Civilization.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the Folger Shakespeare Library. 1967. Pp. xi, 312. $7.00.)

THE *Fronde* has long been the despair of historians who seek a rational explanation for the disorders of 1648–1652, as well as of those who believe that somehow the irrationalities of history can be described and understood. Dr. Knachel has attempted to explain the impact of the English Revolution upon the *Fronde.* In doing this he has had to deal with the complexities of the internal problems in France as well as with the international situation in Europe, or at least with the interrelations of the states using the Channel. Thus the problems of the parlements, of the noble *Frondeurs,* of the Princes of Orléans and Condé, of the court, and those of the English revolutionary government as well as of the exiled court of Charles II, and of the states of Spain and the United Netherlands all merge in this narrative. It is not surprising that, in an attempt to deal with an orchestration of this magnitude, some of the nuances occasionally are missed. Knachel's discussion of this matrix of events is well done, and yet it falls apart into a series of monographs more or less related to each other but without a central theme. Perhaps no other solution is possible for it may well be that any "central theme" for a book like this would be a "realist" solution that would do violence to the available evidence.

Knachel has given us an account of the French court's knowledge of the events in England leading up to the execution of the King. At several points he seems unnecessarily critical of Mazarin for not giving Charles more aid at the time when the French were heavily engaged in both Germany and the Netherlands. He develops an excellent picture of the French public's knowledge of the English problems and follows it with an analysis of the use made of this information in the *Mazarinades.* The rest of the book is largely concerned with the diplomatic and military problems created by the factions in both England and France and their relations to the other powers in Europe. His discussion of the naval warfare, both declared and undeclared, as well as of the nice mixture of

piracy and privateering, provides an excellent illustration of the status of international law and security at sea. From there he moves on to the interchanges that finally led to the alliance between Cromwell and Mazarin.

The scholarly apparatus of this book is impressive. Knachel has consulted the important monographs; he knows the printed collections of documents and letters; he has extensively used the pamphlets and other contemporary materials that have survived to us. He has also spent much time in the manuscript room of the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Public Record Office where he used the transcripts from the series *Angleterre* taken from the Archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Had he also consulted the series *Hollande Pays-bas* he would not have missed the French-Dutch problem that may have been responsible for Mazarin's unwillingness to become involved in war with England during Cromwell's war on the Dutch. In any case, however, this is a good study, a welcome addition to the growing shelf of books written by scholars from the United States dealing with seventeenth-century France.

University of Illinois, Chicago Circle JOHN B. WOLF

LECTURES ON EUROPEAN HISTORY, 1789–1914: MEN, MACHINES AND FREEDOM. By *John McManners*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1967. Pp. viii, 420. $7.00.)

JOHN McManners has written a textbook for undergraduate students on European history from 1789 to 1914. The book is aptly called "lectures," and it successfully recaptures the immediacy, liveliness, and zest of the lectures of an apparently very gifted teacher. The book lacks a bibliography, an index, and illustrations or charts to which we have become accustomed in American textbooks. On the other hand it abounds in apt quotations and avoids the dullness often connected with textbooks. Nor is it as detailed and systematic in its presentation as a similar American textbook would be; it is not a compendium of facts to be looked up or memorized but an effort to present the great outline so that even a tired student body might gladly listen.

The book is well balanced: it allows two hundred pages to the period from 1789 to 1848 and the same amount to the equally long period from 1850 to 1914. It thus avoids the mistake of "contemporaneity" from which much of our teaching suffers. McManners appears to be a student of French history. His interpretation of Napoleon's character is brilliant, and, I believe, as correct as any approach to a very complex individuality can be. In such a book, which compresses more than a century into four hundred pages, there are many minor points where one may disagree with the author. Did Herder prefer his native language as against French or was it his greatness to prefer any native language (even the Slav peasant languages) over Latin, French, or German? Was the "trim steel-plated Prussian battleship" really so much better than the "worm-eaten Austrian galleon"? Was there no fundamental weakness in Bismarck's Germany, resulting from the way it was created and Bismarck's domestic policy? In any case, both ships went down in 1918, worm-eaten or not, and this downfall was partly due to Bismarck's annexation of Alsace-Lorraine and to his system of

alliances. But generally McManners' judgments, briskly stated, have much to recommend them. Though, like most textbooks, relying generally on secondary sources—and, among them, on those written in English or French—the book is so well written and the arguments so intelligently presented that the book should be recommended not only to college students but to the general public.

The book begins and ends with general reflections on men, machines, and freedom. Machines and freedom have made great progress between 1789 and 1914. How far man has progressed is difficult to say. When war broke out in 1914, the two great forces nominally celebrating peace—Socialism, then barely one hundred years in existence, and Christianity, which by then had existed for almost nineteen centuries—were equally helpless. Yet since the seventeenth century in England and since Rousseau in France, men longed for personal fulfillment in freedom, and this meant more than well-being. It meant the right to share in political rule and, "in a paradoxical fashion susceptible of varying interpretations, to give only voluntary obedience." In a concluding sentence McManners sums up his evaluation of the European nineteenth century as "fecund in a fashion never seen before . . . the belief that man is rational and that by the exercise of reason he can master both his environment and his passions, and achieve true freedom."

University of Texas HANS KOHN

THE RETREAT FROM MOSCOW. By *R. F. Delderfield.* (New York: Atheneum. 1967. Pp. 256. $5.95.)

NOT just the retreat but the whole Russian campaign is the subject of Mr. Delderfield's vivid, many-scened description. The author is a playwright and novelist as well as a military historian. His book is full of participants' adventures, skillfully interwoven from numerous memoirs. There are no Russian sources, not even Tarlé, and few traces of recent French scholarship. Little is said, and what is proves debatable, about the larger diplomatic picture, but there are some interesting ideas, such as that Napoleon could have guaranteed his eastern frontiers for a generation if he had built up a truly independent Poland. Delderfield is careful about the pros and cons of Napoleon's decision not to use his famous Guard at Borodino, eight hundred miles from home, but is critical of the caution that he thinks overestimated Kutuzov's will to resist a more southerly retreat through unplundered and possibly warmer territory. A major factor in the French disaster was the supply failure; the long life line was uncut, but supply wagons and depots emptied too fast owing to peculation and loss of discipline. During the retreat, Marshal Bertier kept the cavalry ahead so that the foot soldiers could eat the horses as they succumbed. Captain Roeder was one of many who searched dead comrades for hoarded food scraps. There were women among the camp followers, and at least one child was born during the retreat. A number of Russian serfs died trying to follow the French to freedom. Marshal Ney was the hero of the retreat, but others, including Napoleon himself, showed their qualities when the going was roughest.

Delderfield admires the Emperor, "born into the eighteenth century with a twentieth-century brain," and supplements this puzzling description with a

number of other opinions. He writes that "if it had not been for him the growth of democratic government throughout Europe would have been much slower and probably just as expensive in blood." Of Russia's increased role in European affairs after 1812 the author goes so far as to say: "Only one man foresaw this more than a century and a half ago and he destroyed himself putting theory into practice." Such interpretations as these are not numerous and not documented or argued systematically; indeed, they are scarcely arguable in their present form. Fortunately they do not interfere with the splendidly told story.

Swarthmore College PAUL H. BEIK

THE SERBS AND RUSSIAN PAN-SLAVISM, 1875–1878. By *David MacKenzie*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1967. Pp. xx, 365. $10.00.)

THERE is much to be said for the proposition that Pan-Slavism never existed. Certainly the specter of an aggressive Russia seeking to bring all Slavs under its domination was a myth created by Russophobes in London, Vienna, and Berlin and perpetuated by diplomatic historians, some of whom have shared that Russophobia. MacKenzie's book drives into that myth a wedge of serious scholarly opposition, and for this most students of nineteenth-century Europe will be grateful. Russia, when the occasion demanded (and it often did), abandoned the Slavs with scarcely a backward glance, and some serious, respected historians maintain that, had it but done this again in 1914....

The book traces in great detail the Serbian and Montenegrin positions during the crisis of 1875–1878; this is the first time that the small states have received such extensive, careful treatment in a Western language. Though the work is based upon an analysis of a wide variety of Russian, Yugoslav, and Western materials, there is less utilization of the archives than might be expected in a book that took, we are told, a decade to complete. It is puzzling, for example, why MacKenzie makes frequent use of the German publication *Das Staatsarchiv* when he was in a position to consult the original documents. Further, it is not clear why he did not consult the unpublished papers of the Serbian liberal Vladimir Jovanović. And, incidentally, the majority of his citations of the Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv lack any identification of the *Abteilung* involved.

MacKenzie has made good use of the Serbian, Montenegrin, and Russian press. His scholarly attempt to determine what constituted public opinion in the Balkans and Russia is one of the strongest points of this eminently useful work.

The principal characters are carefully drawn. No one knows Cherniaev as well as MacKenzie, and now it must be said that few have so perceptively discussed Milan and Nikola. Gorchakov is captured nicely, as are the Russian diplomats in the Balkans, but the attempt to make even a second-rate statesman out of Ristić is not quite convincing.

The book is not well written. Its excellent organization and generally scrupulous objectivity (there are serious lapses on pages 217 and 297) partially compensate for the lack of literary grace, but the melodramatic clichés, misplaced commas, and awkward constructions remain.

The above critical comments on matters of detail and opinion cannot detract

from this fact: MacKenzie's book ranks with those of Čubrilović, Ekmečić, Harris, and others as one of the best on the Balkan crisis.

University of Virginia WOODFORD D. MCCLELLAN

L'EUROPE DE 1900 À 1914. By *Maurice Baumont et al.* [L'histoire du xx^e^ siècle.] (Paris: Éditions Sirey. 1966. Pp. 476. 40 fr.)

NORMALLY it is hazardous to make judgments about a fragment of some as yet undisclosed larger work. Apparently this volume is the first of what will be sixteen on the twentieth century. Most will deal separately with continents or major political units; four will treat of the two world wars. The structure, organization, and content of these future installments may well differ fundamentally from what one finds in this book. But it is unlikely that later volumes will directly complement the themes covered here. And so it may be permissible to comment on this work in isolation.

It consists of three uneven parts: the first, and by far the longest section, by Maurice Baumont, recounts political and diplomatic events; the second, and shortest section, by Raymond Isay, presents a rapid survey of thought, literature, science, and the arts; the third section, by Henry Germain-Martin, analyzes demography, agriculture, industry, commerce, and finance and includes summary pages on the social question. This is obviously the kind of plan and approach to the history of Europe that seems more characteristic of histories written several generations ago than of current studies. And the content of the three sections similarly reflects a general point of view about the writing of history from which historians in our times have tended to take their leave.

Nevertheless, Baumont's nearly three hundred pages afford a sound, detailed account of major national political happenings and of the course of international relations down to the war. Without any social scientific conceptions showing, he gives an authoritative reading of Europe on the long last evening of its hegemony, piece by piece, country by country, alliance by alliance, sometimes statesman by statesman. Dispassionate and replete with illuminating quotations from various actors on this stage, this major portion of the book is an excellent work that will be useful to students and a convenient mine for the digging out of lectures by teachers. It is safe to say that no surprises lie in wait for scholars, unless it is the mild astonishment of coming upon this finished late example of a variety of history now largely in eclipse. At its best, it is admirable; at its most quaint, it devotes a total of five and a half lines to Switzerland, characterizing it as an orderly multinational country where official honors go only to the level-headed.

Isay's cultural pages have something of this incidental intelligence quality about them. Seeming more dutiful than convinced about finding themselves in this particular book, they make interesting reading in a disembodied sort of way, but they also leave one with the distinct impression that European culture was then, at least, a phenomenon located between the Atlantic and the Rhine.

On the other hand, Germain-Martin's economic section casts a wide net, being both informative and full, especially on the ramifications of European finance. The eight pages devoted to social movements are, by contrast, more

than a little taxed to cover the subject.

Bibliographical listings are uncritical but lengthy, revealing omissions that would perhaps seem evident in North America, as well as an acquaintance with much contemporary scholarship in both English and French. The index is, here and there, happily analytical.

University of Toronto JOHN C. CAIRNS

ROSA LUXEMBURG. By *J. P. Nettl.* In two volumes. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. xvi, 450; viii, 452–984. $20.20 the set.)

ROSA Luxemburg was among the last of the truly international revolutionaries, owing her civic allegiance to the proletariat of all countries and to the governments of none. For the first time she has found a biographer with the skill as well as the will to accept her multinational existence as the principle of his research. Professor Nettl has pursued with equal vigor Polish and German sources, published and unpublished, written and oral. He has been strengthened in his work by the contributions of modern Polish scholarship to socialist history, most of which have not yet been assimilated by Western historians. The result is a substantial enlargement of our knowledge, especially of Rosa Luxemburg as a person: her mode of life, her tastes, her friendships, and her loves. Her aesthetic preferences emerge as surprisingly classical for a *passionaria:* Goethe over Schiller, Grillparzer over Hebbel, Korolenko and Tolstoi over Dostoevskii! We learn for the first time of the vicissitudes of Rosa's affair with the masterful Leo Jogiches, her co-worker in the antinationalist branch of Polish Social Democracy. Above all, Nettl offers us politically illuminating materials on Rosa's relations with her small, changing circles of intimate collaborators: first the defenders of Marxist orthodoxy, later the founders of the new left in German Social Democracy. The degree to which many of these played parts in Polish and Russian as well as German affairs emerges with new concreteness.

Would that this biography contributed as much to our understanding as it does to our knowledge! Nettl, in his zeal to avoid "the carefully engineered conclusions of most social scientists and historians," has committed himself to a chronicle that "moves simultaneously on several levels." His method of presentation aims to capture the life experience of his subject as it unfolds, with the author providing random commentary en route, so that the reader may "participate in the acquisition of knowledge, instead of having it served up like cold joint." The difficulty is that so many "levels" are introduced at once, in chapters without clear direction, in section after section without pause for reflective assessment of general meaning, that the reader finds himself for the most part wallowing rudderless in heavy and uncharted seas. It comes as a moment of wondrous clarification when, in Volume II, Chapter XII, the author pauses to recapitulate. At last he sets forth a real historical *Gestalt:* a structured exposition of three phases in the development of Luxemburg's theoretical position, relating her encounters with German, Russian, and Polish history to her intellectual growth. The reader might do well to read this chapter for guidance before embarking on Volume I.

Nettl rightly stresses Luxemburg's tendency to reduce philosophy to a tactic,

but in the case of imperialism he fails to distinguish adequately between thought and the social reality that stamped it. Skirting warily around the issue of imperialism as a real social phenomenon, the author interprets Luxemburg's conception of it as a purely subjective phenomenon, "a postulate required in order to justify a more active Socialist policy." Like Canning in the diplomatic world, he says, "so Rosa Luxemburg brought in imperialist society to redress the balance of the party." This is truly to stand Luxemburg on her head. Her deep concern about imperialism's real power made her almost desperate to fortify the party with a stronger tactic to meet its threat. She did not need to "postulate" imperialism for her party purposes; it was all too present in her society.

Nettl's personal distaste for theory as something somehow hostile or alien to life was not shared by Rosa Luxemburg, and the difference in attitude, I believe, creates a barrier between the author and his subject. Nettl's skillful and loving research has brought new life and new learning to the problem of Rosa Luxemburg as person and as revolutionary actor. A deeper inquiry into the historical import of her intellectual life and work remains to be undertaken.

University of California, Berkeley CARL E. SCHORSKE

DIE DEUTSCH-ENGLISCHE RIVALITÄT VOR DEM ERSTEN WELTKRIEG IN DER SICHT DEUTSCHER HISTORIKER: MISSVERSTEHEN ODER MACHTSTREBEN? By *Willy Schenk*. (Aarau: Keller Verlag. 1967. Pp. 173.)

EXPLAINING Anglo-German rivalry before World War I, Ludwig Dehio wrote that just as Prussia had once become a great European power by virtue of its military strength, Germany, in the early twentieth century, sought world power status by naval arming, thereby threatening both the European balance of power and British maritime supremacy. Gerhard Ritter, on the other hand, attributed the rivalry to distrust owing to profound misunderstanding between two nations of radically diverse political heritage: the insular English with an ethical tradition personified by Sir Thomas More, as opposed to the insecure continental power able to maintain itself only by Machiavellian power politics.

In a carefully documented dissertation, Dr. Willy Schenk reviews the writings of a dozen leading Wilhelminian historians in light of whether it was more a hegemonial struggle for power or a fateful misunderstanding. Before the turn of the century, when many German liberals hoped pursuit of empire would strengthen their socially divided and politically immature country, few except Marxists challenged the national dream of a great colonial empire supported by a mighty fleet. After the formation of the *Entente* and the debacle of Algeciras, however, no perceptive observer could fail to see that Germany was on a collision course with England. While a few historians, such as Max Lenz, thereafter refrained from further encouragement of imperialism and naval armament, most, including Delbrück, Hintze, and Schäfer, continued to advocate a militant course, regarding the possibly ensuing war with resignation or even as a means of national consolidation and renewal. The socialist Eduard Bernstein did speak out clearly against German policy, stressing patriotic rather than ideological arguments, but among academic historians, only Hermann Oncken of Munich seriously urged

a more moderate course that would have made reconciliation with England possible.

Schenk has competently demonstrated that although neither Dehio's nor Ritter's interpretation of the Anglo-German rivalry is valid for all German historians of the period, many consciously contributed to the widely held belief that Germany was destined to struggle for a place in the sun, explicitly accepting the risk of war. A few, such as Max Weber, who, together with the geopolitician Friedrich Ratzel, is included in the study, and Friedrich Meinecke, did later change their positions considerably, but only after it was far too late to undo the political effect of their prewar writings.

Southern Illinois University DONALD S. DETWILER

LENIN UND DER ITALIENISCHE SOZIALISMUS, 1915–1921: EIN BEITRAG ZUR GRÜNDUNGSGESCHICHTE DER KOMMUNISTISCHEN INTERNATIONALE. By *Helmut König*. [Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Osteuropaforschung, Forschungsberichte und Untersuchungen zur Zeitgeschichte, Number 13.] (Tübingen: [the Arbeitsgemeinschaft;] distrib. by Böhlau Verlag, Köln Graz. 1967. Pp. x, 240. DM 32.)

THIS valuable contribution to the early history of the Communist International highlights the strength, as well as the division, in Italy's militant Left in the immediate postwar period and the policy and methods pursued by Soviet Communism in crushing national independence on the part of as powerful a socialist movement as that of Italy. But since Lenin was not very voluble on the Italian question, it adds little to our knowledge of Lenin.

Still, the study, painstakingly researched and lucidly presented, rests securely on Italian, German, Russian, and other materials and utilizes unpublished sources of Italy's Central State Archive, of the police and of the Ministry of the Interior in general, papers of the noted Communist leader Serrati as well as the entire contemporary pertinent Marxist literature and personal interviews. It is a concise, well-written, knowledgeable, and penetrating account of Italian socialism since the entry of Italy into the First World War, with emphasis on its relations to Moscow. Palmiro Togliatti once remarked that a complete history of the Third International will not be written until the archive of the former Comintern becomes accessible. Yet the character, the broad trends, and significant detail of the relationship between the Soviet government and the Comintern and Italian socialists are already there for everyone to see.

The study illuminates Lenin's and the Comintern's increasingly unabashed intervention into the affairs of a great fraternal party with a proud socialist, international, and also antimilitarist tradition. It shows their insistence especially upon the exclusion of such "reformists" as Turati, Modigliani, and Treves from the *Partito Socialista Italiano*. When Serrati and the Maximalist majority rejected Lenin's and the Comintern's consistent pressures for the ouster of this right wing, the wrath of Moscow was turned against Serrati. The perplexing twists and turns of the socialist and Communist infighting and the various interventionist schemes of the Comintern are traced with perspicacity and sure grasp of Communist tactics and ideology.

Did Lenin actually believe that an Italian revolution failed to materialize because of the "treason" of "opportunists and reformists" à la Turati? Was his policy motivated by actual knowledge and cool assessment of the Italian situation, by ideological wishful thinking, or defense of the foreign interests of Soviet Russia? The basic question of why the leadership of the Comintern had wanted a split of the Socialist party at all will have to remain unanswered as long as the Zinoviev papers and the archive of the Comintern in general are not accessible. Clearly, a Communist party was needed if Italy was on the eve of revolution. Yet the extant evidence is contradictory. Lenin, while believing that Italy was ready for a socialist revolution, entertained few illusions about the possibility and effectiveness of an Anglo-French blockade and even the West's intervention in Italy. In 1922 Zinoviev still attempted to justify the split in the Italian party. But Radek later acknowledged that the Moscow-imposed split at Livorno had been an "error."

Marquette University ALFRED D. LOW

LE SAINT SIÈGE ET LA SITUATION RELIGIEUSE EN POLOGNE ET DANS LES PAYS BALTES, 1939–1945. Part 1, 1939–1941; Part 2, 1942–1945. [Secrétairerie d'État de Sa Sainteté, Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la seconde guerre mondiale, Number 3.] (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana. 1967. Pp. xxxi, 513; 515–961.)

As was to have been expected, Pius XII's long silence about the Nazi persecutions was followed by an outcry in the historical, theological, and polemical literature on the Catholic Church and the Third *Reich*. So as to bring the argument down to facts, the Vatican has now taken the unusual step of publishing from its secret archives the material on this chapter of contemporary history. These particular volumes, containing 605 letters and memorandums, include the correspondence between the Vatican and the Polish and Baltic bishops, between the Berlin nuncio, Orsenigo, and Rome, as well as diplomatic exchanges between the Holy See and the German government concerning the religious situation in Poland and the Baltic States.

Certainly the Vatican documents afford insight into the complexity of the Church's position as a supranational institution bent upon maintaining itself apart from the ebb and flow of politics. They also reveal the lengths to which the German authorities went to isolate the Polish areas with the objective of playing upon the population's fear of being abandoned by the papacy. But at the same time they confirm the picture of the Vatican sacrificing principles to expediency, and of a pope, peaceful to a point of timidity, unequal to an unusual situation. The policy of silence and indirection was, so we read again and again, designed to avoid worse occurrences, but in effect it shook the faith of the thirty million Poles, who considered themselves "the shield of Christianity," in their Supreme Pontiff. The bitter complaints of the exiled Polish bishops, among which the most outspoken ones came from Monsignor Carl Radónski of Włocławek, were finally silenced by a papal statement of June 2, 1943, in which the Pontiff for once addressed himself directly to the Polish situation.

But can it justly be said, as the editors do, that thereby the "painful episode"

of Polish complaints against the Holy See was terminated? "Painful episode" is a painful understatement; furthermore, the mild and measured tone of Pius XII carefully avoided giving offense to the Nazis. For the historian at least not even these documents succeed in making a case for a rehabilitation of the all too silent Pope Pius XII.

In concluding, it might be suggested that a volume someday be published to document the story of the clergy in the occupied areas. The data on the martyrdom of hundreds of priests, allowing even for all those who collaborated, might conceivably do more honor to the Church than any collection of papal documents during the Second World War.

Smith College KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER

LE CONFLIT DE TRIESTE, 1943–1954. By *Jean-Baptiste Duroselle.* [Centre européen de la Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale, Études de cas de conflits internationaux, Number 3.] ([Brussels:] Éditions de l'Institut de Sociologie de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles. 1966. Pp. 647. 1,200 fr. B.)

THE third in a series of studies on post-World War II conflicts being prepared under the auspices of the European center of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, this analysis of the Italo-Yugoslav dispute over Trieste demonstrates that "contemporary" (or nearly so) events can be studied in a definitive manner. The approach to the subject matter, like the one used in the previous two studies on the Saar and the Franco-Moroccan conflict, incorporates the techniques of history, political science, and sociology. While Duroselle's name rightly appears as author, since he wrote the book, the work rests on the collective research and judgment of many able collaborators, Italian and Yugoslav, who mined published and unpublished sources and the archives of many countries. Some sixty people were interviewed. Duroselle points out that the remembrances of busy men are often vague, but if the interviews are numerous they help to recreate atmosphere and motivation. Seven years in preparation, from 1956 to 1963, the book was written twice. The initial draft, finished in 1959, was submitted to specialists appointed by the Carnegie Endowment. This panel included experts from Italy and Yugoslavia, the two parties to the conflict, and Swiss, Austrian, and English scholars. As a result of their comments and suggestions, the Italian and Yugoslav governments made available additional material, and the book was completely rewritten in its present form. These procedures helped to ensure the greatest possible accuracy and impartiality in the use of sources and the presentation of subject matter.

The book is divided into three parts and includes an excellent bibliography, charts, and maps. The first part traces the origins of the conflict in the geography and past history of the area. The second presents a detailed account of the diplomatic maneuvers from 1945 to the final solution in 1954. The third discusses Trieste as a case study, representative of international conflict, and examines the "strategy" and "tactics" involved in the negotiations. For me, this last part, the "étude théorique," in which Duroselle discusses the nature of conflict and the motivations involved, was the most interesting. Here political theory and sociology buttress the historian's knowledge of the facts. The result is a brilliant analysis

of Trieste as a case study in which the lessons learned may serve to guide in future instances where similar problems and attitudes prevail.

Simmons College EMILIANA P. NOETHER

A CALENDAR OF THE WHITE AND BLACK BOOKS OF THE CINQUE PORTS, 1432–1955. Edited by *Felix Hull.* [Historical Manuscripts Commission, JP 5.] (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Service, New York. 1966. Pp. xlii, 818. $42.00 postpaid.)

THE White and Black Books of the Cinque Ports contain the minutes of the meetings of that ancient confederation of port towns that still continues, at least nominally. The books record the transactions of both the General Brotherhood, which during the fifteenth century met on a regular basis and was in many respects the parliamentary body of the confederation, and the Guestling, which developed during the sixteenth century as a special meeting of the west ports and was gradually merged with the Brotherhood. The matters that were discussed at the meetings of these two bodies were those things that directly concerned the Cinque Ports, and the calendar contains few references to affairs that affected the whole nation. There is, for example, only one oblique reference to the Spanish Armada, and there are no references at all to the Civil War period. Oliver Cromwell, as Lord Protector, is mentioned only twice. Moreover, although the calendar extends from 1432 until 1955, there are few entries after the seventeenth century; only twenty-three formal meetings of the confederation were held after 1698. At the last meeting, in 1955, the most important item of business was the presentation of a portrait of the then Lord Warden, Sir Winston Churchill. This meeting was in marked contrast to the first meeting in 1432, when the Brotherhood was very much concerned about the liberties of the ports and appointed a delegation to present a suit to the Lord Warden, the Duke of Gloucester.

This volume is a model of what a good calendar should be. There is an excellent introduction that not only describes the significance of the White and Black Books for the history and constitutional development of the Cinque Ports but also gives an account of the early history of the ports, the development of the Brotherhood and the Guestling, and the functions that these two bodies performed before the decline of the ports. This introduction is in itself a valuable contribution to scholarship. The work also contains two excellent indexes, one of personal names, listing all of the variations in spelling, and the other of subjects. Probably the best feature of the calendar is that Dr. Hull indicates clearly when he is paraphrasing and when he is quoting directly. The retention of direct quotations, especially when the language is so interesting, adds flavor to the text and provides much more interesting reading. It also reassures the historian that important materials are not omitted.

This is a joint publication of the Kent Archaeological Society and the Historical Manuscripts Commission. It is hoped that other joint publications of such high caliber and significance will soon be issued.

Temple University ROBERT C. JOHNSON

THE COMMUNITY OF KENT AND THE GREAT REBELLION, 1640–60. By *Alan Everitt.* ([Leicester:] Leicester University Press; New York: Humanities Press. 1966. Pp. 356. $6.50.)

Dr. Alan Everitt has been working for many years at the evidence on the structure, function, and behavior of the county communities of Kent and Suffolk during the critical years of the seventeenth century. This full-length, definitive study of Kent marks the consolidation of an important, scholarly career in history of the newer sort, where local materials and local events are used to exemplify change and vicissitude in the whole, national society.

The emergence of this kind of scholarship has some significance for the study of history generally, and even for its relationship with the other social sciences. The actual elucidation of what went on within one of the local segments of English political society during the years when the traditional regimen was interrupted is itself of considerable value, and Everitt tells this story with skill, experience, and conviction.

His account benefits from the comparison of Kent, with Suffolk and other counties, also. He describes how the settled, gentle families of the oldest and most community-conscious county in the country entered the Civil War as a network of traditional alliances, on the whole on the side of Pym and the Parliament, but not in the hands of the Puritans. The description of the management of the elections of 1640 is the most detailed piece of electoral analysis we yet possess, from the time of the first recognizable act of political mobilization in the history of representative government, and political sociologists should take note. The influence of family connection, of religious persuasion, of political ideology, of economic interest, even (in Canterbury especially, amongst the Walloons) of immigrant attitudes, are all there to see, but kinship and affinity between manor house and manor house are unmistakably salient. The effect of this intensification of social activity—political, religious, and general—was the strengthening of the sense of community. By 1643 it actually led to the erection of defense works along the "frontshires" of the county of Kent.

No wonder some of the writers of the time supposed that, when kingly authority broke down, England resolved itself into its constituent parts: the county communities. What happened in Kent after the initial flare-up was a series of realignments, changes of attitude, acts of defiance and withdrawal, that culminated in 1648 in the most serious and, after the appearance of the Levellers, perhaps structurally the most deep-seated rebellion that occurred during the whole period. The established, rich, successful families revolted, along with their tenants, their laborers, and a great part of the sometimes independent yeomanry. The county committee had come to consist of the newer, poorer, lighter dynasties and individuals who owed their position to the London authorities and, finally, to the Cromwellian military power. Even the Cavaliers, who were to stimulate a series of irresponsible uprisings before royalism finally succeeded in 1660, were of this character. Spontaneous political action was scarcely possible in Kent during the Puritan interlude.

Oliver and Richard Cromwell had to rule this county finally by force and no longer through a county committee representative of the gentry or community

of Kent. But it was not the merchants, the yeomanry, or any social grouping other than the gentry that gained ascendancy. The fabric of society seems to have remained much as it always had been, except in the matter of final political supremacy. This is perhaps the most important and, no doubt, controversial point that Everitt's scholarly and impressive book emphasizes on the issues of the general interpretation of what is called the English Revolution. The account that he gives is necessarily repetitive and often rather tedious. The actual analysis of social differences and social groupings is somewhat perfunctory and uses many overvague terms that are now coming into use, of which "parochial gentry" is a conspicuous example. It is not clear to me that the crucial distinction between who was a laborer and who was a servant in traditional, preindustrial English society is adequately appreciated.

But the era of properly sociological history has yet to begin, and we must be grateful for what we have been given. I can think of no better book to have been written at this time on a subject using such evidence.

Trinity College, Cambridge PETER LASLETT

GOD HAVE MERCY: THE LIFE OF JOHN FISHER OF ROCHESTER. By *Michael Macklem*. (Ottawa: Oberon Press. 1967. Pp. 277. $6.75.)

THE WORKS AND DAYS OF JOHN FISHER: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE POSITION OF ST. JOHN FISHER (1469–1535), BISHOP OF ROCHESTER, IN THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE AND THE REFORMATION. By *Edward Surtz, S. J.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 572. $15.00.)

ON June 22, 1535, John Fisher, the deprived bishop of Rochester and newly designated cardinal, was beheaded at Tower Hill for his stubborn refusal to accept Henry VIII's "divorce" and for his failure to comply with the Statutes of Succession and Supremacy (1534). Fisher's death electrified Christian Europe; it convinced the Pope and the Catholic princes that Henry meant business. Even to the great Froude, with his Protestant sympathies, writing three centuries later, it was "a hard case" but a necessary one; the death of an infirm octogenarian, so painful to relate, could only be excused in his eyes by the torment of "a nation in the throes of revolution." From the English Protestant tradition, then, Fisher, like More, had the misfortune to have died for the opposition. Similarly, he had the bad luck to have lived and moved in the shadow of his friends, Thomas More and Erasmus, who wrote those Renaissance classics, *Utopia* and *Praise of Folly*. Two weeks after Fisher's death, friend More, the former Chancellor, was executed, thus reinforcing, and in some ways obscuring, for his contemporaries the meaning of Fisher's sacrifice.

Happily these two works, sympathetic to Fisher, attempt to restore him to the pantheon of sixteenth-century great men. Dr. Macklem's attractively written biography admirably complements Father Surtz's intensive and extensive examination of Fisher's thought. While the biography restricts itself to a straightforward, chronological narrative, the critical work consists of a series of essays on Fisher's intellectual position as well as detailed commentary on his method and style. In fact, of twenty-one chapters, Chapters II through XII of Surtz's

book elaborate Fisher's thinking on such critical Reformation issues as the authority of Scripture and tradition, the efficacy of faith and grace, and the importance of original tongues for Biblical study whereas Chapters XIII through XX deal with method and style in his sermons and polemical treatises. Such organization makes for some repetition and requires close reading since Surtz presumes great familiarity with the period on the part of his reader. Nonetheless, Fisher's position as an important Christian humanist and worthy antagonist to Luther; to Oecolampadius, Zwingli's associate; and to Henry VIII emerges quite clearly. Though Fisher's writings were prolix, they were always well argued, brilliantly organized, and theologically sound from the viewpoint of Scripture and the Church fathers so that they mark an important chapter in the polemics of a polemical age. Surtz rather suggestively notes that they formed a base for the work of the Council of Trent.

State University of New York, Buffalo MELVIN J. TUCKER

A COFFIN FOR KING CHARLES: THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF CHARLES I. By *C. V. Wedgwood.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1964. Pp. 307. $5.95.)

As a narrative of the last ten weeks in the life of England's Charles I, this book is a success. With imagination, liveliness, and a remarkable sense of telling detail, Miss Wedgwood recounts the story of the defeated King and his courage and dignity in facing captivity, trial, and finally death. She tells at length of the trial itself, of the efforts of Parliament's moderates to block it and the efforts of leading jurists to flee London rather than take part in it, and of Oliver Cromwell's determination to make what must take place without legality have at least the appearance of it. The drama was a stirring one, and this account records some memorable scenes: Colonel Harrison in full and splendid uniform, with his cavalry troop drawn up behind him, taking charge of the royal captive; the chagrin of two hardy Presbyterians who had managed to slip by the discriminating eye of Colonel Pride, only to be summarily ejected into the December cold when they unwisely decided to inspect personally the Purge proceedings; the nobility of the King himself, refusing to acknowledge the authority of the ill-assorted judges who would and did condemn him.

But the book raises questions. For the reader who has neither natural affection nor admiration for monarchy, the thought of a monarch brought low is not in itself distressing. That the King had great courage and personal dignity even his enemies agreed. But it was not so much Charles Stuart as his record as a king that was on trial, and in this the effects and effectiveness of his rule were to the point; his personal characteristics seem barely relevant. Second, the author agrees with nearly all those who have thought about the matter that the King's trial was illegal; it was based on neither law nor precedent. In stressing this, she overlooks another point. Revolution itself is extra- if not illegal. To those who had fought against him, the King's appeals for judgment by God, or even by Parliament, now long divided and discredited, must have seemed a mockery of their hopes and principles. The stakes in civil war are high, as the judges themselves, as well as Charles, were to find. To

dismiss the trial as a "monstrous injustice," as it may well have been, is to miss the fact that despite its legalistic trappings it was a political more than a judicial event.

The reader is tantalized by repeated references to conflict between Cromwell and post-Purge parliamentary militants: Cromwell pressed for the King's condemnation, but did not quite possess the political control to direct the judicial proceedings. One wants to know more of it. One also wonders whether all those who took to the countryside during that fateful January did so, as the author suggests, out of residual loyalty to the crown, or out of some less laudable motives, which she reserves for those who rather fearfully stayed and sat on the regicide bench. It seems more likely that honesty, courage, and noble emotions were more evenly divided among royalist and revolutionary than she would have us believe.

The major problem seems to lie in the narrative method itself. The story is a good one, but it is only half revealed by an account of the events. Great matters were at stake, ideals of government and theories of politics in conflict, and beside these considerations a servant's boorishness, a judge's bumbling anger, and even the King's brave spirit pale. One must be glad that the lesser story has been told and told very well indeed. One also wishes, however, that it had been sketched against a deeper background. Having now the day-to-day report, one waits for the Sunday *Times,* or perhaps the *Observer,* to tell us what it all really means.

University of Illinois, Chicago Circle CAROLYN A. EDIE

THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS UNDER CHARLES II & JAMES II. By *Phyllis S. Lachs.* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 269. $7.50.)

As is made quite clear in the preface, this book examines the English diplomatic corps from 1660 to 1688, and not English foreign policy. There are eight chapters dealing with such matters as the structure of the diplomatic corps, duties and responsibilities of officials, personnel, the make-up of embassies, protocol, rights, and writings. These are followed by a short chapter giving conclusions, three appendixes, a short bibliographical note, and an index. There are good notes, but they are, unfortunately, at the back of the book. (If this must be done, surely it is possible to indicate at the top of the page to which chapter they refer.) The scholarship is of high quality, the printing not always so, and the writing is clear and readable.

It may be said that, within the limits the author imposed upon herself, the subject has been treated exhaustively and perhaps even definitively. Others working in the period will surely find the list of diplomatic personnel (Appendix II) useful and also some of the tables showing sums paid representatives. There are many charming stories illustrating the various aspects of the diplomatic corps. Within these limits, this is a good book.

While any author obviously has the right to set whatever limits he wishes and to write whatever book he chooses, he must expect to be asked: what is the point? It is entertaining to know that, when an ambassador made his

formal entry, the French government entertained him for x nights, the Russian for y, the Swedish for z, and so forth. But if these differences are not related to either the power or policy of the entertaining government (Can they be? Were they?), does it make any difference? The nearly complete absence of judgments reinforces what might be called the antiquarian as distinct from the historical bent of this book. It is tempting, if harsh, to say that all that is really useful, other than the sections indicated above, can be found in the chapter entitled "Conclusions."

Barnard College GEORGE WOODBRIDGE

THE ENGLISH COURT IN THE REIGN OF GEORGE I. By *John M. Beattie*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 306. $9.50.)

MR. Beattie has done all students of eighteenth-century England a great service: he has made a valuable contribution to the lamentably rare literature about administration by greatly clarifying the role of the first Hanoverian king, and, thereby, he has illuminated the history of the monarchy. The bibliography reveals both the scarcity of available secondary monographs and the wealth of manuscript material utilized in this book, which is the scholarly result of very extensive research directed by an imaginative and comprehensive understanding of the general context and significance of the subject.

In a brief introduction (Chapter I) Beattie notes that early separation of household and the departments of central government had not deprived the court of social and political importance. That of George I was the focal point of administration and society, as well as the most obvious source of patronage. The King continued to dominate the world of politics. Nothing could be more foolish than to relegate George to obscurity, or to believe that he cared little for his English inheritance. George was prepared to give up his cherished privacy to outshine the circle round his unbeloved son and heir and secure for himself alone the leading role in political manipulation.

The department of the household, its finances, and the recruitment, tenure, and value of offices in it, are discussed in Part I (Chapters II–VI). This provides the essential basis as well as the explanation for the author's conclusions. Part II (Chapters VII and VIII) deals with the public image and character of the court. An appendix to Chapter VII shows the size of the court group in Parliament; another, to Chapter VIII, lists offices in the reign of George I.

Nothing, Beattie declares, could be further from the truth than the statement that in 1714 George I abdicated his power to the Whig ministers. Provided the King chose those who could function effectively in Parliament, that institution being impossible to ignore, he could determine the composition of the government and direct its policy. Ministers were obliged to watch court intrigue closely. The number of Hanoverians round the King must not be exaggerated; they were legally denied public positions. Yet at least three of the "foreigners" had an influence out of all proportion to the titles held. Baron Andreas von Bernstorff, soon enjoying the confidence of Lord and Lady Cowper, and Jean de Robethon, a Huguenot who had also served William III, were hard-working, professional politicians who paid little heed to nice distinctions between English

and Hanoverian spheres. The third, Fraulein Ehrengard von der Schulenberg, the duchess of Kendal, with whom George took supper every evening, undoubtedly played some part in assisting Stanhope, in helping the establishment of the Walpole-Townshend ministry, and in defeating, at least for the moment, the ambitions of Carteret. The "King's Closet," Beattie concludes, was the primary basis of power throughout the reign of George I.

Bryn Mawr College CAROLINE ROBBINS

THE MAKING OF CLASSICAL EDINBURGH, 1750–1840. By *A. J. Youngson.* (Edinburgh: University Press; distrib. by Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. 1966. Pp. xv, 338. $10.00.)

DESPITE the coating of coal dust and grime that has covered so many of Edinburgh's buildings for generations, even the most casual visitor must at once be struck by the city's grandeur of site and magnificence of architectural projection. Surpassed by Glasgow as an industrial and financial center in the course of the nineteenth century, Edinburgh has retained its Capitoline characteristics remarkably well. This success was not simply the result of good fortune as this carefully presented and beautifully produced study reveals. Between 1750 and 1840 Scotland's capital had a civic pride to match the country's intellectual and economic expansiveness.

In the great tradition of eighteenth-century urban planning, the leaders of Edinburgh's civic life set out deliberately to create a classical setting equal to the city's appellation of "Athens of the North." That they did not entirely succeed was due largely to extraordinary mismanagement of public funds terminating in civic bankruptcy in 1833 and the great difficulty of fulfilling public subscriptions in a society that was expanding economically but had not yet reached a point of positive affluence. Even so, the quasi success was magnificent in accomplishment and reflected the willingness of a society to invest in aesthetic achievement even at the expense of other social needs. Had the city not been ruled by a rather narrow oligarchy in the eighteenth century, it is doubtful that such a costly effort might have been made. A more democratic society might perforce have exhibited greater concern for the sufferings of the crowded slum dwellers in the high wynds and dingy garrets of the "Old Town." Oddly enough, however, the conscious effort toward aesthetic improvement was not entirely divorced from larger social concerns, although it must be admitted that the intentions behind it were what one might expect of Adam Smith's countrymen in an age when stimulus to individual motivation rather than public support of mass welfare was considered the only proper means of social transformation. The project was, in fact, launched with a careful eye toward the material benefits that it was believed must flow from such a large economic commitment.

How much the efforts of Edinburgh alone may have contributed to national expansion is difficult to say. It is more likely that the attitudes of the Edinburgh corporation were a manifestation rather than a cause of the larger national motivation. The long-range effects of the transformation were ambivalent, for the stimulation of national life, while it had immediate and brilliant conse-

quences, prepared the way for that exodus of ability to England and elsewhere that has become such an unfortunate characteristic of Scottish society since the middle of the nineteenth century. Scotland remained, as the great architect Robert Adam noted, "too narrow a place" for one of his talents. It is significant that Adam's own career, after he had contributed so much to the refurbishing of Edinburgh, reached its zenith on English soil. For all of that, however, the "making of classical Edinburgh" was the extraordinary embodiment of the vision of a people determined to change not only their economic but their aesthetic circumstances. This book is a valuable study of one aspect of a nation's social and economic development. Its interest is more than parochial.

Boston University SIDNEY A. BURRELL

THE COMPLETE LETTERS OF LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU. Volume III, 1752–1762. Edited by *Robert Halsband*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xx, 408. $13.45.)

"Here lies one whose words were writ in verjuice" would have struck Lady Mary's contemporaries as a fitting epitaph. Never at a loss for words or wit, that "extraordinary phenomenon," as one of them labeled her, gained the reputation that such gifts predestine. She even induced in others the same qualities. The affable "Queen of the Blues," *Mrs.* Montagu, sourly catalogued her great family merit: "she has banished her children, abandoned her husband [and] as she cannot reach Constantinople she will limit her ambition to an intrigue with the Pope or the Doge of Venice." By her own admission Lady Mary had left England because of its dullness, but she hankered after Constantinople, Mrs. Montagu implies, for reasons neither intellectual nor platonic. The same critic also seems to imply that the cause of her death, a "most virulent cancer," fitted Lady Mary's character, though she was very placid and easy, drugged with hemlock to be sure, at the end; how strange if her last hours should be "sweet as the slumbers of a Saint forgiven."

Whatever the truth or malice of such hints, it is sufficient that this superb edition, now completed, testifies again to the eighteenth-century prodigality of versions of the self. Such collections almost persuade us that no one who had not lived before the Industrial Revolution or the great Reform Act could possibly know *la douceur de vivre*. For fully fifty years Lady Mary's quicksilver wit penetrated the cracks of human foibles, not least her own, for, though she avowed mankind to be everywhere the same, she denied her avowal by seizing on the little differences. She despised Richardson and thought *Clarissa* miserable stuff, yet sobbed over it like any milkmaid. She thought one of her own letters so incomparably dull that she would not own it by setting her name to it. She turned author, but modestly burned every quire on completion. She despised the notion that women should not be educated. She deplored the confounding of ranks as witnessed by making "coblers and kitchin wenches" heroes and heroines, but she thought the books that made them so more truly mirrored the times than any history. She saw indiscreet Lady Coke "walking blindfold, upon stilts, amidst precipices." She despised Bolingbroke's "false eloquence" and re-

gretted that many were taken in by it. She rejected translations, for though a "meer pidler" she would rather take pains with the original than sleep over a stupid translation.

The embarrassment of riches frustrates us: one eighteenth century is talking, endlessly but ever entertainingly. Some there be, no doubt, who will regard these letters as but the chattering of a jay—no common man, no merchant, only the gingerbread of politics. Yet what is wrong with gingerbread? What Lady Mary's concerns reveal about the temper of the eighteenth century must surely equal the price of grain or the member for Old Sarum. So enticing is this guide to that temper, thanks alike to editor and publisher, that they, too, must feel something of that melancholy confessed by Gibbon as he took leave of his old and agreeable companion, *The Decline and Fall.*

University of Missouri CHARLES F. MULLETT

LORD ELGIN AND THE MARBLES. By *William St. Clair.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 309. $6.75.)

LORD Elgin is remembered chiefly for having secured for the English nation those magnificent Greek sculptures that are among the most cherished possessions of the British Museum. A full account of how, as ambassador to Turkey during the Napoleonic Wars, he acquired the marbles through great personal effort and at ruinous expense is the theme of this book. It is a moving and fascinating story, reading almost like a Greek tragedy; the ancient belief that the gods would visit retribution on the despoiler of their temples might seem to have been well grounded.

When at the age of thirty-three Lord Elgin and his new bride set sail for Constantinople (1799), he was well launched on a diplomatic career. Before his departure, he proposed to his government, as a scheme for improving the fine arts in Britain, that he should have drawings and plaster casts made of the Parthenon sculptures while he was in the vicinity. When government funds were denied, he proceeded with the plan, subsidizing it himself. His decision to bring back some of the actual sculptures was made when he discovered that they were being steadily carried away by French agents and by tourists. In spite of incredible difficulties, he obtained permission and had the great figures crated and shipped to London.

The cruel blow of finding, when he returned to England, that his government was unwilling to purchase the sculptures for more than a fraction of his expenditure, and of being censured by some Englishmen for having "plundered" the Acropolis, was worsened by the ridicule of the dilettanti, who pronounced the marbles second-rate. He lived to see this opinion reversed, but not to recover his fortune; pursued by debt, he was forced to sell his London house and to live abroad in order to escape his creditors.

This is the first carefully documented account of Lord Elgin's enterprise from its conception until the Greek sculptures were finally deposited in the British Museum (1816). The author has had access to all of the important papers, many of them private and unpublished, and he has greatly elucidated the

circumstances attending the public controversies concerning the marbles and Lord Elgin's conduct, which he pronounces "entirely honorable." Since no biography of the Scottish earl exists, this detailed study of a significant segment of his life is most welcome.

New York, New York RUTH EMERY

CASTLEREAGH. By *C. J. Bartlett.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. [1967.] Pp. ix, 292. $5.95.)

CASTLEREAGH, Mr. Bartlett observes with some justice, has of late received less attention from historians than he deserves. A number of studies appeared in the 1920's and 1930's, notably the magisterial works of Sir Charles Webster, but for the past three decades the presses have been still, while far less significant characters have been receiving fresh biographical treatment. No one would deny Castlereagh's importance. For a quarter century he was a central figure in British politics, foreign and domestic, and a character who excited controversies during his lifetime and later. Perhaps, as much as anything, it is the fact that he lacked the obvious elements of color that attract biographers. In public he was the cool, aloof aristocrat, and a bad speaker, whose more attractive qualities emerged only when he had fled from London to his place at North Cray. There the life of the country gentleman took over, and in conversations with friends and political associates an informal, engaging human being revealed himself. His greatest effectiveness, indeed, was in private discussion, where rhetoric was superfluous and where reason, tact, and patience were in greater demand.

This book examines, with a sympathetic but not uncritical eye, Castlereagh's record. It rests on no manuscript sources but on a careful reading of the printed materials, primary and secondary, and is written with sound historical judgment, though with little distinction of style. There will be no surprises, I think, for students of the period. Bartlett's view of Castlereagh, in general, is the temperate one that historians, following Webster, have now adopted. The commanding achievement of this Anglo-Irishman, he would agree, was the creation of a European balance that lasted for half a century. No doubt the years 1814–1815 saw his career at its peak, but in some respects the policy followed in the years after Waterloo was more interesting and original. This policy, Bartlett argues, was so distinctive and imaginative that no other politician of the time could or would have attempted it. Yet, with all Castlereagh's skill as a diplomatist, his policy was self-defeating. It rested primarily on his personal relationships with other statesmen and rulers, relationships that no succeeding Foreign Minister could well take over, and on his own prestige in the House of Commons.

This matter of Castlereagh's leadership in the Commons has been too little explored. Bartlett gives him high marks as an able manager, though admittedly an uninspiring speaker. When one looks underneath for Castlereagh's political ideas, they turn out to be about what one would expect. If he was not the ogre of the "Masque of Anarchy" mythology, neither was he, in domestic affairs, a creative statesman. His approach to mass discontent was conditioned by his own background, and he had few impulses toward reform (save Catholic Emancipation). But when there were sound political reasons for moving ahead,

Castlereagh would not resist. Though we shall have to call him a Tory, he was never enlisted in the ranks of the "Ultras."

Harvard University DAVID OWEN

A LIBERAL STATE AT WAR: ENGLISH POLITICS AND ECONOMICS DURING THE CRIMEAN WAR. By *Olive Anderson.* (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 306. $8.50.)

GRADUALLY that strange no man's land of English historians of the nineteenth century—the 1850's—is being invaded. From the late Professor W. L. Burn we have learned to think of the mid-Victorian era as an Age of Equipoise, and already the modifications, revisions, and extended footnotes are beginning to appear. Mrs. Anderson's excellent monograph is a useful corrective to the racy exuberance of Cecil Woodham-Smith's *The Reason Why,* and also provides important revisions of the usually accepted views of the effects of the Crimean War at home. By means of a skillful combination of material and techniques from political, social, intellectual, and economic history concentrated on a limited period and set of problems, she has produced a study in depth that provides new insights into mid-Victorian England.

The Crimean War was a curious episode. It was, as the author puts it, "a great war which failed to materialise"—far from the Armageddon that had been expected in England. Yet in these brief two years the impact on English public life ranged from extreme patriotic excitement to gloom and angry recrimination, with manifestations of naked class consciousness and unparalleled public debate about the shortcomings of British constitutional institutions. So great was the role of the *Times* newspaper that it seemed to overshadow the House of Commons as "the grand inquest of the nation." The men at the top in every department of English public life appeared so incompetent that the middle-class cry to "commercialise" government attracted considerable support: "why does not the Government allow some great firm to contract for carrying on the war?" asked A. H. Layard. As for the radicals, they were hopelessly split between those who followed the pacifist opposition of Cobden and Bright, and the liberal champions for whom Russia had always stood as the symbol of despotism and the oppressor of small nations. Some strange bedfellows appeared among the radical confusion, including Karl Marx and the Russophobe, David Urquhart, who were on friendly terms during the war.

There is little of the legend of "the Lady with the Lamp" in this account. Gone, too, are the myths that the Crimean War caused sweeping administrative changes and that its financing was a triumph of Manchester school principles. The role of the Administrative Reform Association as a vehicle for middle-class assertiveness is clearly brought out, and the hypothesis is put forward that this outburst of middle-class radicalism, with its emphasis on efficiency, hard work, and self-help, "promoted the emergence of that well-integrated class culture which permitted the peaceful transition to democracy accomplished in later Victorian England." The author has provided an interesting gloss on the idea of the Age of Equipoise.

University of Wisconsin JOHN F. C. HARRISON

VICTORIAN MILITARY CAMPAIGNS: THE SIKH WARS; THE THIRD CHINA WAR, 1860; THE EXPEDITION TO ABYSSINIA, 1867–8; THE ASHANTI CAMPAIGN, 1873–4; THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR, 1880–1; THE EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGN, 1882; THE RECONQUEST OF THE SUDAN. Edited by *Brian Bond*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. xii, 328. $7.95.)

THE title of this book is as Victorian and as informative as the subject. As each generation writes its own history, so present-day historians return to having an interest in minor campaigns of the past as we no longer seem likely to fight major wars so much as colonial ones. This volume has many fascinations; as in all edited works, however, the caliber of the essays varies.

Brian Bond had, as the appendix shows, a wide variety of campaigns and incidents from which to choose, since there were seventy-two in Victoria's reign alone. Obviously it was impossible to touch upon all of them, or even upon all of the militarily or politically significant ones. Instead, the editor took the sensible approach of picking out those campaigns upon which either little had been written or upon which not much had been published in recent years. The intent, generally well carried out, was to deal less with the tactical approach than with the campaign in its whole setting. While in the descriptions of the Sikh Wars and the Third Chinese War, the reader is left with the impression that tactical details overshadow, this is not without its merits, for Victorian colonial operations so often did depend upon the actions of a very few individuals: the defeat at Laing's Nek in 1881 being due to Colley's failure to appreciate the tactical weaknesses of Majuba Hill, an Achilles' heel he could easily have covered.

As an edited book, *Victorian Military Campaigns* has certain weaknesses. There is a failure to comment upon the apparent lack of military historical thought, as shown with the army in South Africa making many of the same mistakes Braddock made in America. There is little comment upon the success of the Abyssinian campaign being due to the fact that Napier was an engineer; nor is there any analysis as to the chances others had to command when the "Wolseley Ring," because of its successes, tended to monopolize command of expeditions. Perhaps what is needed, and what makes the above criticisms unfair, are more studies of the services in the nineteenth century, especially from a sociological viewpoint where career patterns and connections are scrutinized. For Americans the book contains certain difficulties owing to the lack of first names, and, notably in "The Reconquest of the Sudan," there is a tendency to assume familiarity with the unfamiliar. The publisher's editor should have caught these points. A further difficulty is the fact that the bibliographic notes are split between those at the ends of the chapters and a useful, more general note on sources at the end of the book.

The introductory essay is well worth reading. For courses in British imperial history, the book will be a boon. It provides a variety of readings on a subject that was of considerable importance throughout the nineteenth century and is of revived interest today.

Kansas State University ROBIN HIGHAM

THE SCOTTISH CARTER: THE HISTORY OF THE SCOTTISH HORSE AND MOTORMEN'S ASSOCIATION, 1898–1964. By *Angela Tuckett.* Foreword by *Alexander H. Kitson.* (New York: Hillary House. 1967. Pp. 448. $8.50.)

Miss Tuckett's painstaking monograph will be welcomed by students of modern Scottish history, an area of study that will cease to be the province of charlatans only when more works of this type have been published. It will be welcomed by all labor historians and also by social historians concerned with the central relationship between technological change (above all, change from horse-drawn vehicles to those propelled by the internal-combustion engine) and general historical development. Finally, though Tuckett's chapter on the Second World War is sketchy and unsatisfactory, the book will be clasped to the bosoms of all whose studies of Britain since 1940 have led them to decry the fundamental shortage of serious monograph material for this period.

The Scottish Carters' Association was founded in 1898 and in 1908 became, in recognition of the burgeoning monster that now has conquered our roads, the Scottish Horse and Motormen's Association. That name lasted till 1964 when, despite the fact that in Edinburgh milk carts continued to be drawn by horses, the less poetic title, Scottish Motormen's Union, was adopted. The union consistently preserved its Scottish identity, refusing in particular to be swamped in the giant Transport and General Workers' Union built up by Ernest Bevin in the 1920's. Strongly in favor of the nationalization of road transport, the union was not otherwise closely involved in socialist politics. The man who dominated it till his dismissal in 1936, Hugh Lyon, was a fascinating trade-union boss of a type more often met with in the United States than in Britain. Though himself a member of the Strike Committee, he managed most skillfully to keep his union out of the 1919 Forty Hours Strike on Clydeside, and after the 1926 general strike (during which he was, not for the first time, accused of "treachery" to the labor movement), he severed the union's connection with both the Labour party and the Trades Union Congress. Tuckett gives an admirable description of the chaos that fell upon British roads in the interwar years, and her account of the manner in which various vested interests prevented successive governments from taking effective remedial action is stimulating enough to suggest that a valuable topic here awaits the eager Ph.D. student.

Tuckett's literary style veers between the adequate and the appalling; better organization would also have brought out her main points more clearly; nonetheless, there are enough of those to engage the attention of the serious student.

University of Edinburgh ARTHUR MARWICK

GREAT BRITAIN AND GERMANY'S LOST COLONIES, 1914–1919. By *Wm. Roger Louis.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 165. $4.80.)

Most works on the diplomacy of World War I and the Paris Peace Conference concentrate their attention on the European objectives of the combatants. Military operations in the Middle East and Africa were a "sideshow," and decisions on the

disposition of the German colonies among the victors were of relatively little consequence to the security of the world. This was also the view of President Wilson. But the colonial issue was of central importance to a powerful group of British and imperial statesmen—among them, Harcourt, Curzon, Smuts, and Milner. These men believed that the security of the British Empire was bound up with the fate of the former German colonies. British statesmen professed the fear that a German Mittelafrika could be a mortal threat. The population was convinced by government propaganda that the beastly Huns should not be permitted to retain control over the overseas peoples whom they had allegedly treated inhumanely. The representatives of the southern Dominions were determined to retain the German possessions adjacent to their countries, again for reasons of security. No schemes of internationalization could be acceptable substitutes for direct control. Against these objectives were the ambitions of other European states but, more formidably, the opposition of President Wilson to imperial aggrandizement.

The general outlines of this work are already familiar to students of imperial and European history, and Professor Louis does not alter significantly the accepted version of the background of the mandates system. But he has contributed substantially to our understanding of the British Commonwealth's war objectives and the thinking of individual statesmen. These thoughts may seem to most readers to be characterized by narrow nationalism, and assumptions of racial superiority that belong to the nineteenth rather than the twentieth century. They would be justified in this view, for in a sense Lloyd George, Hughes, and Smuts represented the age that was dying in the cataclysm of World War I. Professor Louis considers Wilson to be a prophet in his plea for the right of Africans and Asians to determine their own future. As he states, however, Wilson was not prepared to support this position with the same intensity as the statesmen of the British Commonwealth, and they won, albeit with the "fig leaf" of the mandates system.

The author has done an excellent job of research, and, contrary to a suggestion in his preface, his narrative is far from dull.

University of California, San Diego JOHN S. GALBRAITH

THE TROUBLED GIANT: BRITAIN AMONG THE GREAT POWERS, 1916–1939. By *F. S. Northedge.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger for the London School of Economics and Political Science. 1966. Pp. xi, 657. $17.50.)

IT is a pleasure to discover that F. S. Northedge, who teaches "international relations" at the London School of Economics, not only has an unusual sense of history for an international relations specialist, but is also a first-rate historian. Until the appearance of this volume, W. N. Medlicott's brilliant tour de force, *British Foreign Policy since Versailles,* published in 1940 before almost any archival material was available, was the best single survey of the subject. It was admirably supplemented, of course, by the sections on foreign policy in C. L. Mowat's impressive *Britain between the Wars,* but no other work of a general character gave us so balanced a combination of patient exegesis of what happened and judicious appraisal of its significance as those two books. Now we have a major addition to

fill the proverbial need for a solid new study of foreign policy during the interwar years.

Few unpublished sources were available for this account, but Northedge has combed the monographic materials with discrimination and has used the cabinet and other papers and the *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919–39,* with admirable care. His story, it goes without saying, is a tale of decline. Beginning in 1916, when Britain seemed to be at the peak of its power, he assesses the factors that influenced foreign policy and the international problems faced by British governments as the illusions of the twenties gave way to the more destructive illusions of the thirties. In a sense, as the author readily notes, this is a history of Britain's relations with the Great Powers, although even here the American relationship is given that excessively short shrift so common to British accounts of the interwar period. For the most part, it wisely does not try to be all-embracing and so manages to keep steadily focused on the important issues. Central to the British approach to foreign policy, Northedge concludes, was a basic conservatism that reflected the country's supposed status as a "wealthy, contented Power," but with outside interests too large to defend and with a real fear of violence or revolutionary change in the external world. Tory and Labour leaders shared this approach, and both assumed, incorrectly, that economic questions, rather than political, were the major determinants of international relations, not a particularly penetrating position in the Europe of Adolf Hitler. Added to this was the outdated notion that in the bitter international atmosphere, especially of the period after 1933, all issues could be compromised on some business principle of the rational bargain. Such a notion, to be sure, was humane and intelligent, but unfortunately humanity and intelligence had little to do with Hitler's Nazism and Mussolini's Fascism, to say nothing of Stalin's Communism. Few any longer characterize Neville Chamberlain as a villain; rather he was almost a caricature of all the elements that went into the making of a self-deluding and singularly unsuitable posture assumed by many British policy makers between 1919 and 1939. And indeed, to cite only one example, Northedge uses the British documents with telling effect to make it clear that in the tense spring and summer of 1939 the British government tried desperately to find a formula for some sort of accommodation with the Soviet Union. Their power to do so by that time was more limited than most of us had supposed. As a result, although it is hard to rethink one's clichés and tear up one's lecture notes, all of us who work in the period will be grateful for his insights even if we cannot accept every conclusion he reaches. This is a fine piece of work, the greatest flaw of which is its title. After 1919, Britain was admittedly troubled; it is a mistake to suggest, despite its central role in international affairs, that it was any longer a giant.

Rutgers University HRW

RETREAT FROM CHINA: BRITISH POLICY IN THE FAR EAST 1937–1941. By *Nicholas R. Clifford.* ([Seattle:] University of Washington Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 222. $7.50.)

ANGLO-JAPANESE diplomacy, especially during the Chamberlain government, remains a vital and neglected aspect of the prewar diplomacy of East Asia. Since the

published memoirs and the published British records reveal little concerning British policy vis-à-vis China and Japan, Professor Clifford reconstructs British policy by a thoughtful analysis of the State Department's archives. Given this source, understandably his emphasis is on "the role of Anglo-American relations," and, ignoring Japanese sources, he explicitly excludes "the making of Japanese policy" from this presentation. Within the restraints imposed by these considerations, *Retreat from China* is a judicious analysis of British travails and responses to Japan's China policy.

As Clifford sees it, before 1940 Britain "bore the brunt of the Japanese drive," and "almost by default, [it] had to take the lead in the West's rather uncertain efforts to stem the course of Japanese imperialism." Until 1939, British policy centered on "the protection of British interests in China"; after that year, the concern shifted "to the defense of the Empire." Few historians will dispute these judgments. Other assessments open to reservation include the contentions that the Chamberlain government displayed "greater flexibility in dealing with the Orient than with Europe" and that Britain was "even less ready to come to an understanding with the Soviet Union in the East than she was in Europe." Until the records are scrutinized, one is entitled to wonder how "flexible" the Chamberlain government was over British interests in China. Was it really less willing, in 1938, to sacrifice China's interests than those of Czechoslovakia? To the extent British policy was committed to assisting Chiang's government, was not the Soviet Union rendering equal, if not superior, support to Chiang's policy of resistance? These reservations aside, Clifford's central theme on Anglo-American relations is persuasive: before 1940, the Roosevelt administration would not cooperate in any "joint" policy toward Japan; it would not encourage any British "appeasement" of Japan; and it refused to lend any tangible support for British resistance to Japan. In essence, the absence of a policy of collective security before 1940 precluded viable restraints on Japanese efforts to realize a "political and economic hegemony over large parts of East Asia." The penalty, of course, was Pearl Harbor, and the subsequent expulsion or retreat of all the European powers from Southeast Asia. Equally true, as Clifford writes, "What was lacking was not only the willingness to form an alliance which might stop Japan, but also the willingness . . . to make some concrete proposals to meet Japanese needs, and thus to divert her from the cause of her imperialism."

Yale University JAMES B. CROWLEY

AMBROISE PARÉ: SURGEON OF THE RENAISSANCE. By *Wallace B. Hamby*. (St. Louis: Warren H. Green. 1967. Pp. xxi, 251. $9.50.)

THIS biography is so obviously a labor of love and dedication that the task of criticism becomes difficult. Ambroise Paré, the "father of modern surgery," deserves serious scholarly study on the level of C. D. O'Malley's recent work on Vesalius. In the past a long series of devoted investigators and biographers has unearthed a surprising amount of information both about Paré himself and the conditions under which he worked. Professor Hamby, a prominent neurosurgeon, for all his devotion to the task, adds little that is new to the study of Paré or that has not been presented in other biographies of his subject available in English. He relies,

as all other biographers have, upon J. F. Malgaigne's work, which was published in 1840, and while he utilizes the discoveries of more recent biographers to update Malgaigne's findings, he does not really set Paré in the historical context of the sixteenth century.

In a sense this biography might be called antiquarian rather than historical. In the century of the Reformation, where the religious wars afforded Paré an opportunity to experiment with his surgical techniques, Hamby is concerned only with whether Paré was Catholic or Protestant. He has not even placed Paré in the context of the medical or scientific events of the time, when a whole series of revolutionary discoveries was changing the attitude and outlook of Europeans. As far as I can ascertain, Hamby did not consult any of the standard historical reference works on the sixteenth century, and he ignored all the more specialized studies. But then, as a surgeon, he was probably not particularly concerned with such matters. What he has done is to combine Paré's various case reports, medical and autopsy records, and other such documents with the known biographical details to give a sort of historical case book of Paré's activities. Though earlier biographers had done some of this, Hamby does it much more comprehensively. The book should interest the dedicated physician who is an amateur historian, but it is not a real historical biography of Paré and his times. In fact, it tends to demonstrate those pitfalls that await all who work in medical history: it is not enough to understand medicine; the investigator must also be a historian. Perhaps this can best be achieved through a collaborative rather than an individual effort. The book is indexed and attractively printed, but it contains several errors, of typography as well as of fact.

San Fernando Valley State College VERN L. BULLOUGH

MAZARIN, LA FRONDE ET LA PRESSE, 1647–1649. By *Marie-Noële Grand-Mesnil.* [Collection Kiosque, Number 31.] (Paris: Armand Colin. 1967. Pp. 307. 8.50 fr.)

THE "Kiosque" series, devoted to "les faits, la presse, l'opinion," is a very ambitious scholarly-popular undertaking. The difficulties confronting a historical approach to "the press" become particularly evident in Number 31, the first to attempt a study of the period before 1830. The author is to be commended for her courage and her scrupulous reading of major source materials (particularly the Mazarinade pamphlets at the Méjanes library at Aix-en-Provence and in the municipal collection at Paris). However, she has not escaped the traps set by Clio for seventeenth-century historians. Hence, this short study is of only moderate interest for the scholarly audience.

In the introduction Grand-Mesnil hints at an imaginative approach to the subject, namely, the use of the *Fronde*'s pamphlets to see the "real state of the country" through an examination of the "state of opinion." Alas, like others before her, the author cannot free herself from the lure of "objective" history. Thus the Mazarinades fall into place as source materials to fill in the details of the *Fronde.* This approach is revealed by the heavy reliance on the *Journal du Parlement,* a straightforward, contemporaneous account rather than a biased tract. Frequently Grand-Mesnil does go beyond objective history, seeing the Mazarinades for what

they were: attempts to sway opinion and reflections of the myths that the society of the *Fronde* believed in. Nevertheless, there is no systematic examination of the myths and image building of the *Fronde*. Less to be criticized is the tantalizing treatment of almost impossible questions such as the authorship of pamphlets, the purpose behind them, and their actual influence on opinion. Perhaps it would be just as well for future scholars of the Mazarinades to avoid such blind alleys and concentrate on the myths of mid-seventeenth-century France that the tracts reflect.

It would be a pity to end this review without drawing attention to some very exciting and provocative points buried in the middle of the book. The religious overtones in political pamphlets were strong: rebels "sinned" against God; or were faithful subjects, whose punishment by Anne was a "sacrilege." And the Spanish devout movement against Richelieu reappeared in pleas for international, Christian harmony. Secular, nationalist historians should re-evaluate their assumptions!

University of Southern California A. Lloyd Moote

L'INFLUENCE FRANÇAISE ET LE SENTIMENT NATIONAL FRANÇAIS EN FRANCHE-COMTÉ: DE LA CONQUÊTE À LA RÉVOLUTION (1674–1789). By *Bernard Grosperrin*. [Cahiers d'Études Comtoises, Number 11. Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, Volume LXXXV.] (Paris: Les Belles Lettres. 1967. Pp. 131.)

Publication of this *Diplôme d'Études Supérieures* fifteen years after its completion may indicate the favorable status of its theme: that the assimilation of a hostile and backward province between 1674 and 1789 was due to the genius of French civilization.

Franche-Comté was pacified, but not won over by the monarchy. Gallican policies were unheeded by the staunchly ultramontane episcopacy until the very eve of the Revolution (an execution for blasphemy occurred in 1769). The status of the area as a *province réputée étrangère* apparently did little for economic growth or public opinion. The parlement at Besançon resolutely defended the local liberties guaranteed in the capitulations of 1674. While there were exiles in 1759, in a clash with the intendant not well explained here, the *parlementaires* were largely out of touch with their colleagues, opposing the expulsion of the Jesuits and constituting 30 per cent of the exiled magistrates at Mannheim. Intendants and subdelegates, even the capable and moderate Charles de Lacoré (1761–1784), failed to instill confidence in the leadership of royal officials.

The author's conclusion follows by elimination. Parisian influence in the decorative arts, especially in domestic architecture, and the appearance of an affluent urban society, with its charities, its theater, its Parisian journals, constituted successful penetration of the province after about 1761. The exact result of these "outside" influences is not clear, for the province after 1789 is characterized as both patriotic and federalist.

The conclusion is not easy to find in a work divided into three periods (1674–1715, 1715–1761, 1761–1789) and six subdivisions ranging from the parlement to economic life. The footnotes attribute most of the hard evidence to the papers of the parlement, and the work is most useful in outlining the attitude of the sover-

eign court toward royal policy. Information on economic and cultural life is sparse and nonquantitative, while there is too much detail on the clergy. There is no concept of public opinion here other than a sampling of pamphlets. The narrative is further complicated by the omission of publication dates from footnotes, making it impossible for the untutored reader to distinguish contemporary from modern works.

Throughout this ambitious monograph the reader must assume that France had consciously undertaken a mission of assimilation. Conversely, the people who responded to the royal initiative are said to represent the province rather than their order or their city. It would be unfair to expect the precision of argument of Franklin Ford's *Strasbourg in Transition* in a book one-half its size, but local and general history alike would benefit from a more careful description of the intransigent *parlementaires* of 1759 or an explanation of why the sword rather than the robe threw in their fortunes with the monarchy.

University of Pennsylvania PERRY VILES

JEAN PELLET, COMMERÇANT DE GROS, 1694–1772: CONTRIBUTION À L'ÉTUDE DU NÉGOCE BORDELAIS DU XVIII[e] SIÈCLE. By *Jean Cavignac*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—VI[e] Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Affaires et gens d'affaires, Number 31.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1967. Pp. 406. 58 fr.)

THE author has prepared a scholarly volume on the business career of Jean Pellet that should be of primary interest to the economic and business historian. The period covered was one of relative peace in which an aggressive merchant could accumulate a great fortune were he willing to take the risks involved in foreign trade. The institutions and techniques of eighteenth-century business are distinctly described and cover such topics as navigation, marine insurance, business organization, bookkeeping, and financial operations. The conversion chart for local, colonial, and foreign monies established values in trade and wealth accumulation.

The writer clearly unfolds Pellet's rise from a modest middle-class family to a wealthy Bordeaux merchant-landowner. While in colonial Martinique, he capitalized on his marriage through his wife's dowry and family business connections. Then, returning to Bordeaux, he formed partnerships and companies to operate in the risky colonial sugar trade with all of its ramifications, and he gained great wealth. From there, he shrewdly moved into various European markets where his success continued to overshadow any occasional loss.

The reader is able to follow readily the maneuvering of Pellet from one scene of action to another so as to adjust to the variable markets, to reliable sources of supply, or even to war risk which combined to establish his acumen as a successful merchant. Soon, he acquired many ships and excellent business connections throughout Europe. His steadily accumulated wealth was reflected in his account books.

The selective choice of materials by the author described the details of the sugar and indigo industries and provided very penetrating information on specific areas of trade, as, for example, the trade in Irish beef or the monopoly at Spanish

Caracas. Parallels in the colonial trade can be drawn that might well create interest for American colonial historians.

That portion of the book dealing with Pellet's personal family affairs and his struggle to attain noble status became rather tedious reading. While it afforded insight into his personality behavior, it had little value in terms of business strategy.

The volume has satisfactory indexes and period maps. The extensive bibliography and documentation distinctly enhance the presentation. It should take its rightful place as a basic French reference for economic historians.

University of Alabama FRANK E. DYKEMA

AGRONOMIE ET AGRONOMES EN FRANCE AU XVIII[e] SIÈCLE. In three volumes. By *André J. Bourde.* [École Pratique des Hautes Études—VI[e] Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Les hommes et la terre, Number 13.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1967. Pp. 595; 598–1192; 1194–1740. 180 fr. the set.)

IN this massive study Bourde describes the eighteenth-century effort to modernize French agriculture. Those who read it will learn all there is to know about progress in French agricultural theory, research, experiment, invention, propaganda, and legislation from 1750 to 1789. They will also learn about "the old agriculture" and its faults and the structures, attitudes, and property rights that thwarted a French agricultural revolution and stifled the kind of growth that would have solved one of the key social and economic problems of the old regime. It is an important work. There is nothing in its field that rivals it. Anyone interested in French social and economic history or the history of science and technology will read it with profit.

After 250 pages on agricultural reformers from 1563 to 1750, Bourde introduces Duhamel de Monceau, whose *Traité de la culture des terres suivant les principes de M. Tull, anglais,* the first volume of which appeared in 1750, launched *agronomisme.* Duhamel's doctrines became the programs of a movement. For forty years the *agronomes* struggled to bring unused land under cultivation, enclose improved fields and meadows against common grazing rights, improve the cultivation of crops and exploitation of forests, breed better livestock, introduce better tools, develop veterinary science and training, and establish societies of agriculture whose members would experiment, innovate, and educate the rural population in the new techniques. One enthusiast for these programs was H.-L. Bertin, controller general from 1759 to 1763, who, after his dismissal, was allowed to serve the government until 1780 as an unofficial minister of agriculture. As in so many other matters, the central bureaucracy took the initiative for reform. But the local interests, including peasant communities and parlements, generally opposed reform, and the intendants, sensitive to local pressures, often sided with them. Many a promising venture was killed by litigation. For these and other reasons, France had no agricultural revolution, and the old regime collapsed in an agrarian disaster that accelerated beyond anyone's expectations the popular insurrections of 1789.

Bourde's documentation is enormous. His bibliography is itself a contribution

and shows what immense labor he has accomplished since 1953, when he published his *Influence of England on the French Agronomes.* Yet there are reservations. No one, for example, who reads these pages with close attention will agree with Bourde that *agronomie* was "born and developed in an essentially bourgeois class," as stated in the third volume on page 1563. All his evidence shows that the leading *agronomes* from Duhamel on belonged to the aristocratic establishment, and their passion for the soil reflected the agrarian values of a precapitalist society. One also regrets that Bourde ended his story with 1789. By so doing he threw out the testimony of the rural *cahiers* and petitions of the early Revolution, in which the peasants spoke for themselves, and he missed a chance to show that the Constituent Assembly was as powerless as the old regime to modernize French agriculture. Finally, he seems overly committed to defending *agronomisme* against charges of ineffectuality. Whenever he admits its failures, as he always does, he adds compensating tributes that tend, by force of language, to outweigh the admission, and there are places in the last chapter where sequences of rhetorical questions are substituted for assertions. These devices tend to obscure the fact, manifest in Bourde's evidence, that the agronomers could have had only a marginal impact on French agriculture. This is confirmed by the statistics on agricultural growth in eighteenth-century France published by J.-C. Toutain in 1961. However controversial Toutain's figures might be, they are the best we are likely to get, and Bourde should have explained why he has ignored them. Broadly interpreted, they indicate that production grew slightly and productivity hardly at all, so that no safety margin was built up to avert or modulate the subsistence crisis of 1788–1789.

Taking these objections into account, however, it remains true that we have in these volumes one of the most remarkable books on the last decades of the old regime to have been written in recent years, a work of which the scope and importance far exceed those implied in its title, a work whose author is unrelenting in research and skillful in the use of sources. One of the reasons for Bourde's success is that, unlike many academicians, he knows the practical details of farming. Contrary to what Arthur Young wrote about the Abbé Rozier, M. Bourde does know the right end of a plow.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill GEORGE V. TAYLOR

ACTES DU COLLOQUE ROBESPIERRE: XII[e] CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DES SCIENCES HISTORIQUES (VIENNE, 3 SEPTEMBRE 1965). Preface by *Albert Soboul.* [Bibliothèque d'Histoire révolutionnaire, Third Series, Number 7.] (Paris: Société des Études Robespierristes. 1967. Pp. xiii, 330.)

It turned out to be a useful idea to have an international colloquium on Robespierre at the Twelfth International Congress of the Historical Sciences at Vienna in 1965 and to publish the papers of the participants. In this volume there are twenty-seven papers, thirteen on Robespierre as viewed by his contemporaries in different countries and fourteen on Robespierre in the historiography of various countries, including the United States, Egypt, and Japan. The authors include some of the most distinguished members of the historical profession: Marc Bou-

loiseau and Jacques Godechot of France, Walter Markov of Germany, and Robert R. Palmer of the United States. All papers are at a high level of scholarly competence and excellence.

The first reaction of the reader may be that the participants are able men who are exercising their real talents on what is essentially a gleaning operation about a historical character who is not, to speak frankly, one of the world's greatest personalities. More than one author is compelled to remark that Robespierre did not figure significantly in the contemporary comment of a given country. Nor does he always loom large in a country's current historiography. Also, an observant reader would notice that the volume is pervaded by a mild bias in favor of Robespierre. Criticism of him tends to be regarded as a somewhat unfortunate deviation from truth. If the reader stopped with these observations, however, he would be seriously misled. Attitudes of contemporaries and of historians to Robespierre tended to be a touchstone of their attitudes toward democracy, the terror, the First French Republic, and the French Revolution. In digging for public opinion about Robespierre in many countries and among many social groups, the twenty-seven authors accumulated a tremendous amount of data about international public opinion on these broader subjects. The data should be immensely useful in affirming and enlarging our knowledge of the international civil war that was raging in Western civilization at the close of the eighteenth century.

Duke University HAROLD T. PARKER

FRENCH SOCIETY AND CULTURE SINCE THE OLD REGIME: THE ELEUTHERIAN MILLS COLLOQUIUM, 1964, OF THE SOCIETY FOR FRENCH HISTORICAL STUDIES AND THE SOCIÉTÉ D'HISTOIRE MODERNE. Edited by *Evelyn M. Acomb* and *Marvin L. Brown, Jr.* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1966. Pp. xvii, 296. $5.95.)

IN preparing for publication the twelve papers and one formal comment that make up this volume, the editors faced a task more difficult than that usually attendant upon putting together a collection of essays: they had to create—as earlier the organizers of the Franco-American colloquium at which these papers were read had had to do—some kind of thematic unity out of a great diversity of topics. The able editors, in spite of the seeming unrelatedness of the subjects treated, found that, taken all together, the essays do in fact revolve around "some causes of revolution and the impact of revolution and war upon French society and on certain nations closely associated with France since the eighteenth century." The book's four parts make possible a sharp focus upon selected elements within this very broad frame: "Economic and Social Development"; "Liberalism, Christianity, and the Revolutions of 1848"; "The French Image of Russia and Russian Views of France"; and "France and the Second World War."

Given such varied emphases, it would be unrealistic to expect every article to hold the same degree of interest for each reader. One over-all value of the collection is the way individual essays illustrate major differences between French historians and American historians of France in their attack upon their material: French scholarship tends to be minutely preoccupied with the sources and un-

compromisingly detailed; American scholarship, more concerned with an overview and more pliant and graceful. As with all generalizations, any statement of different tendencies must be taken guardedly, for several articles reflect the best of both worlds. Among them are Louis Girard's interpretation of "Political Liberalism in France, 1840–1875," and Shepard Clough's hard-facts analysis of "Social Structure, Social Values, and Economic Growth." In at least one instance the juxtaposing of a French and an American historian resulted in admirably complementary studies: Jacques Droz's "Religious Aspects of the Revolutions of 1848 in Europe" and Joseph N. Moody's "French Liberal Catholics, 1840–1875."

Because all of the articles were initially designed for oral delivery, inevitably some have fared better than others in print. For example, the maps and charts that make up half of Marcel Reinhard's "Demography, the Economy, and the French Revolution" lose impact when separated from the author's live commentary. In contrast, the notes that here accompany William Langer's "The Pattern of Urban Revolution in 1848" add a further scholarly dimension to his earlier remarks. The printed text of J.-B. Duroselle's "France and the Crisis of March 1936" omits the speaker's amusing observations on Ambassador François-Poncet's prolixity, although John C. Cairns's rather severe critique of Duroselle makes specific reference to this point.

Inescapably the essays in this volume bear the mark of having been prepared for a particular meeting, which was in itself quite outside the ordinary run of scholarly conferences in America. The appeal of these papers will be largely to persons professionally concerned with France. Of potentially wider appeal are the Moody article since it examines the unpublished correspondence of Montalembert and Orestes Brownson and the brief exploration by Crane Brinton of the problems met in the "associationist" and "dissociationist" schools regarding the French and Russian Revolutions.

The translations, each by a different American scholar, are well done; they manage to preserve the individual flavor of every French speaker's style.

American University JEAN T. JOUGHIN

JACQUES ROUX ODER VOM ELEND DER BIOGRAPHIE. By *Walter Markov*. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1966. Pp. 111. DM 7.50.)

A GROWING number of scholars, including Albert Soboul, Kare Tønnesson, R. R. Palmer, R. B. Rose, George Rudé, and Richard Cobb, have undertaken the task of unraveling the complex history of popular democracy in the French Revolution. Professor Walter Markov, himself a noted student of the popular movement, has now provided a useful guide to the literature of an important aspect of this problem.

In a brief twenty-eight-page essay Markov describes the changing interpretations of the nature and impact of the *enragé* faction and one of its leading spokesmen—Jacques Roux. In the nineteenth century conservative commentators on the Revolution dismissed Roux as a bloodthirsty anarchist with a passion for destruction who outdid Marat in calls to revolutionary violence. Later authors came to regard Roux and his fellow agitators as part of the Left-wing opposition to the

Committee of Public Safety, but they generally failed to distinguish the *enragés* from the *Hébertistes*. When seeking revolutionary antecedents for their own movement, socialist historians like Jaurès looked to the life and work of Robespierre and Babeuf, while ignoring the popular partisans like Roux. Modern scholars have revised these judgments. They show that the popular movement of 1793–1794 had many facets and that Roux and his allies were for a time quite influential. By giving voice to the popular demands for direct democracy, price controls, cheap food, and vigorous action against the internal and external foes of the Revolution the *enragés* played an important role in forcing the Jacobin power structure to grant concessions to the sans-culottes in order to retain their loyalty. Roux was then an important figure in a significant social movement.

The most valuable part of Markov's book is the lengthy section of footnotes that provide a detailed survey of works dealing with the revolutionary populace. Markov covers the works of all schools of interpretation from royalist to Marxist. Nor does he confine himself to French scholarship, for he also supplies information on the work of Russian, American, English, and German historians. Finally, he supplies a survey of source materials available in Paris and in provincial archives. This solid historiographical study will be of considerable interest to students of the social question and the popular revolutionary movement, and it provides an excellent background for those who wish to undertake more detailed studies.

University of Texas STEVEN T. ROSS

NAPOLEON AS MILITARY COMMANDER. By *Sir James Marshall-Cornwall*. ([Princeton, N. J.:] D. Van Nostrand Company. 1967. Pp. 308. $8.95.)

SIR James proposes to cover Napoleon's entire career as a military commander, with proper attention to his interwined activities as a statesman. He also reviews Napoleon's formative years and the legacy he drew from such military theorists as Bourcet and the Du Teils. There are a good chronological table, a bobtailed bibliography, and eighteen maps—most of them good. At the end of each chapter the author attempts an analysis of the events described therein.

The tone is stuffy: Napoleon contributed nothing new to the art of war, in strategy, tactics, or weapons; Liddell Hart so pontificated, and that suffices. He was a sort of expert military plumber, supremely skillful in using existing tools. This is the Napoleon of pre-1940 English historians, devoid of personal virtues, if an admitted military genius.

The author's coverage of the Napoleonic Wars is quite complete, especially if the relatively short length of his text is considered. Allowing for the author's built-in bias, it is roughly impartial. No words are wasted, but room is found to wedge in an occasional detail of interest. Taken as a whole, the book develops considerable drive, something like a falling brick wall.

It is unfortunate that most of the individual bricks are chipped, cracked, broken, or completely pulverized. There is hardly one really complete and accurate battle description in the whole book, and some are ridiculous. The author frequently seems ignorant of what troops were engaged and who was in command. The tactics involved get hashed, and the casualties become astronomical.

(For Aspern and Essling, Sir James claims 44,000 French casualties out of the approximate 55,000 engaged and invents the statement that they "had to abandon most of their wounded.")

The whole book is studded with such chunks of nonsense: at Marengo, Kellermann charges with "two squadrons of the Consular Guard"; the Russians "recaptured Eylan" during that battle; one day's fighting disappears from the Battle of Leipzig; the separate 1814 battles of Brienne and La Rothière mysteriously become one affair; at Waterloo French infantry columns attack British infantry squares. The strategical "analysis" likewise contains nothing new, much that is dubious, and some flat errors. The whole effect is one of hasty writing and complete carelessness as to the results.

In sum, the book cannot be recommended for either pleasure or profit.

Falls Church, Virginia JOHN R. ELTING

PRESSE ET JOURNALISME SOUS LE SECOND EMPIRE. By *Roger Bellet.* [Collection Kiosque, Number 30.] (Paris: Armand Colin. 1967. Pp. 326. 8.50 fr.)

THE "Collection Kiosque" is another example of the French talent for popularization. The volumes already published are, as the title of the collection suggests, on the press. Several are studies of some aspect of the French press, but most of them deal with an event or movement as seen through French periodicals. Bellet's work is a bit of both; it is a history and description of the press during the Second Empire with the press as its main source.

The history, which is scattered throughout the volume, is too sketchy to be of much use to the historian. The author contrasts the 1850's, a period of "stagnation" for the press, with the 1860's, a period of "movement." His account of the government's attempts to control and guide the press are familiar, but his well-chosen examples of censorship suggest that inflexibility and lack of imagination may be occupational diseases of the censor.

More interesting and new than his history of the press is Bellet's description of French journals and of the work and customs of their editors and writers. The variety of the press during the Second Empire reminds one of a well-stocked supermarket magazine rack. The ingenuity of French publishers seeking to sell their products to the vastly increased reading public at times even surpassed that of twentieth-century American publishers; the owners of the journal *La Naïade,* for example, printed fifty copies on rubber for use in public baths, where they served both as reading matter and as towels. The *feuilleton,* a continued novel usually written especially for the press according to a tried formula, accounted for the success of some journals. Timothée Trimm, the first modern columnist, contributed to raising the circulation of *Le Petit Journal* to an unprecedented figure of 300,000. Largely by means of extracts from the press and memoirs, we follow a number of journalists from the moment of their decision to become writers to their subsequent first trembling visit to the famous editor and the acceptance of their initial article (usually uncompensated) and finally to their establishment in the profession.

After strolling with Bellet along the boulevards and streets of Paris, through the journalists' *cafés,* to the fields of honor where they so often faced each other, and after meeting as individualistic a group of men as the profession has ever known, the reader would be ungrateful to complain that the author failed to use archival material and the results of recent scholarship, sources that might have been helpful on problems such as the economics of journalism and the relationship between the government and the press.

San Jose State College DAVID I. KULSTEIN

THE COMTE DE CHAMBORD: THE THIRD REPUBLIC'S UNCOMPROMISING KING. By *Marvin L. Brown, Jr.* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1967. Pp. vii, 225. $8.00.)

POSTHUMOUS son of the Duc de Berry and grandson of Louis XVIII, Henri Comte de Chambord (1820–1883) never reigned in France and, when he died, the House of Bourbon died with him. Royalists placed their hopes in *l'enfant du miracle,* but his most concrete effect on the destinies of the promised land he scarcely touched after 1830 was to make possible the Third Republic by making a monarchist restoration impossible.

The greater part of Mr. Brown's book indicates the reasons and beliefs behind Chambord's failure to take advantage of the favorable situation of 1871–1873. Royalist politics as Professor Osgood outlined them a few years ago are not his main theme. Despite chapters on legitimist politics and diplomatic maneuvers, the book focuses on the royal personage itself, described from early youth to an end that contributes the cautionary tale of a healthy fat pretender dying because he dieted to be king.

Chambord's papers were destroyed after his death, but Brown has gathered his documents with exemplary industry and tells his story deliberately, with much detail of the pretender's life and ways. Little is said about the basis of legitimist support, about its socioeconomic implications, about the differences between rival monarchist groups and ideologies, about the rather intriguing (and by now familiar) conjunction between political reaction and a certain kind of social reformism. Here, however, is the first English-language biography of the man whom the Orléanists rightly called *Monsieur de Trop,* and, despite the biographer's sympathy for his subject, the book does nothing to contradict that view. Willy-nilly, it depicts a dull figure that bears out Thiers's judgment: "Un enfant ou un sot, doucement . . . obstiné," driven by the notion of his royal duties away from what he would really have liked to be: "a bourgeois and very rich. . . ."

The story really proves how much *men* count. One wonders what a personality like the Duc d'Aumale's would have achieved in the Bourbon's place. In the event, Chambord's importance was purely negative. His principles ensured inefficacy; his presence kept the Orléanists out. Hugo described his adherence to the white flag, which ended all chances of restoration, as a noble suicide. But the stuffed corpse persisted Ionesco-like long after it had become an anachronism, and its admirers with it. Monarchism remained a threat to the republic; legitimism ceased to be one after 1873. Brown's conclusion that Chambord "restored purity

to the idea of absolute monarchy" merely makes the point that purity, like the pretender, was sterile.

University of California, Los Angeles EUGEN WEBER

CHARLES PÉGUY: THE DECLINE OF AN IDEALIST. By *Hans A. Schmitt.* ([Baton Rouge:] Louisiana State University Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 211. $6.00.)

PROPHET, poet, prig, and paranoiac, Charles Péguy (1873–1914) was one of the most interesting denizens of *fin-de-siècle* France: talented, pugnacious, intolerant, articulate, and intense. His works and his person, only narrowly noticed in his lifetime, were canonized after his death in battle and have since been used to serve the purposes of both Right and Left.

Most people read *either* Péguy's verse *or* his polemical prose, which often comes even closer to poetry. Mr. Schmitt has read all the *œuvre.* He compares its parts, traces the development they reveal and the twists between them, and does it with sensitivity and intelligence. The result is a novel picture of Péguy: the brilliant youngster destined to propel his family to glory and comfort, who flouts academic success for political commitment, gradually becomes a national socialist (or national populist), and takes out his frustrations in acerbity.

Here, then, is no hagiography but a critical treatment of works Schmitt finds too wordy, vain, unreal, or self-centered and of a man who, he argues, declines from moralism to egotism, from idealistic to amoral nagging. The tale of doctrinal decay and perversion is well told. Péguy appears an embattled and egocentric idealist determined to impose his absolute values, refusing to accept the validity of anyone else's, seeing himself as a lonely knight surrounded by foolishness, aberration, and treachery. No issues but his causes and *cahiers* deserved attention or won his understanding. His monomania could be as obtuse as it was acute.

But if *tout commence en mystique et finit en politique,* one should not forget the *déception domestique.* Schmitt has not had the opportunity to see the recently defended thesis of Robert Vigneault: *L'Univers féminin dans l'œuvre de Péguy* (1966). If he had, he might have paid more attention to the private life of a man whose work was always being done in spite of, rather than because of. The biographical background, swiftly sketched out in the first chapter because, Schmitt tells us, good biographies exist already, would have provided an essential counterpoint of this switchback life, as, I believe, of all lives. As it is, he gives us a suggestive, plausible, but, to me, not wholly convincing thesis that is well worth reading and debating.

University of California, Los Angeles EUGEN WEBER

PARIS 1900: THE GREAT WORLD'S FAIR. By *Richard D. Mandell.* ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 173. $8.50.)

DR. Mandell contends that the larger international expositions, or world's fairs, ought to be studied by the historian as reference points in style, art, and technol-

ogy. He finds that they offer "a sort of comprehensive, though variously distorted, flash picture of world civilization at its particular epoch." The author has sought to demonstrate his thesis by telling the story of the Paris Universal Exposition of 1900.

As government-sponsored projects, French fairs had invariably served political purposes: to take part in the larger struggle against English competition (the first revolutionary and Napoleonic exhibitions); to compensate for political and diplomatic defeats and to aid in the consolidation of a new regime (the Exposition of 1878); and to clear away the debris of antiparliamentary insurgency (that of 1889). The Exposition of 1900, long and intensively planned and entrusted to well-trained administrators rather than transient and possibly inept politicians, was no exception. If it served as a rallying point for anti-Dreyfusard patriots in 1899, it acted as a tranquilizer in 1900 and helped to refurbish a tarnished French image. Highlights of the story include the sponsors' struggles with a reluctant Chamber of Deputies and with regionalists like Barrès and of course include descriptions of the fair itself, with its banquet for twenty thousand French mayors, its industrial exhibits, and its display of (predominantly academy) art and architecture.

Mandell appears to be stronger on the exposition than on the political and economic framework of the Third Republic in which it was set. (Clemenceau did not "begin to learn and master the trade of journalism" after his fall in the Panama scandal.) As the author readily acknowledges, moreover, he is on shakier ground when describing the fair itself as a factor for change. But he has succeeded in his main purpose of relating its history and describing its impact. In what appears to be a most thorough bibliography, Mandell graciously shares his knowledge of resources on almost all other fairs. As he states, the gaps should suggest tasks for other scholars. The University of Toronto Press is to be commended for having produced an unusually handsome book, especially noteworthy for the number and quality of its illustrations.

Carnegie-Mellon University LESLIE DERFLER

SPAIN: THE VITAL YEARS. By *Luis Bolín*. Foreword by *Sir Arthur Bryant*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1967. Pp. 396. $6.95.)

SR. Bolín's book is important as autobiography and extremely misleading as history. The best chapters are the first five, describing his role in arranging for the private plane that flew General Franco from the Canary Islands to Spanish Morocco on July 18, 1936, and Chapters XXII and XXIII, dealing with his trip to Rome and the dispatch of the first Italian planes to Morocco. His contacts with British sympathizers, with fellow monarchists like Juan de la Cierva (the inventor of the Autogiro) and Luca de Tena (owner of ABC, of which Bolín was the London correspondent), with Generals Sanjurjo and Franco, and with Count Ciano and the Italian aviators are all related with verve and circumstantial detail. It is fortunate that the author decided to recount in the first person those actions in which he was a direct participant or witness and to use third person for his narrative of other events. He states frankly that "it was easier to refer collectively

to the 'Reds' than to mention in turn" the many political parties that supported the republic and later resisted the military revolt. Without the slightest hesitation or shrillness he repeats long-exploded falsehoods such as the charge that the Azaña government issued a "No prisoners and no wounded. Shoot 'em in the guts" order during the Casas Viejas anarchist rising in 1933.

In a short review I cannot even list all the inaccuracies and myths. Suffice it to examine one short, but crucial, paragraph: "The Spanish Civil War was a national movement against five years of misgovernment and oppression without parallel in the history of the country. The immediate objective of all who took part in the rising was to save Spain from disruption, preserve national unity, and prevent the rule of Communism upon its soil. The spark that set off the conflagration was the murder of Calvo Sotelo." The first sentence describes correctly the sentiment of a small minority of monarchists, fascists, and paranoid officers. For anyone else, including the majority of Franco partisans, talk of "oppression without parallel" is simply ridiculous. The phrases "national movement" and "all who took part" would lead the unwary reader to suppose that a great popular uprising was involved. Perhaps the author knows that the conservative Catholic bloc of Gil Robles, the largest party in opposition to the popular front, supported neither a monarchist nor a military rising. It is thus equally cautious and misleading to write "all who took part." The term "national unity" is understandable for those who considered the Catalan and Basque autonomy movements as treasonable, and the term "Communism" is understandable if one chooses to call everything from Azaña leftward "Red." The last sentence is factually correct, but nowhere in the text do I find any mention of the murder of Leftist officers to which the murder of Calvo Sotelo was a counteraction. Final warning: Appendixes II and III, dealing respectively with the relative armament of the two sides and with the destruction of Guernica, are totally misleading, but would require hundreds of words to analyze.

University of California, San Diego GABRIEL JACKSON

RECHERCHES SUR L'HISTOIRE DES FINANCES PUBLIQUES EN BELGIQUE. Volume I. By *M.-A. Arnould et al.* Preface by *G. Jacquemyns.* [Acta Historica Bruxellensia: Travaux de l'Institut d'Histoire de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, Number 1.] (Brussels: the Institut; distrib. by Éditions Universa, Wetteren. 1967. Pp. 397. 575 fr. B.)

THIS volume marks a promising beginning for an ambitious group of economic historians of the recently founded Institute of History at the University of Brussels.

The first article, which presents the methodology of the project, probably contains more of interest to the general reader than do the other contributions. Professor Stengers identifies three more or less original aspects of the task: its "diachronic" character, that is, intensive study of public finances at particular intervals over a five-century span, from the late Middle Ages to the twentieth century; its homogenous character, that is, an attempt to classify data with sufficient uniformity to permit comparisons over long time spans; and the broad use

of the term "public finances" to include regional, provincial, and communal, as well as central government. He also wrestles with some of the major obstacles encountered in this type of research: the changing functions of the state and the resulting shifts in disbursement patterns; the comparability of money and purchasing power over time; and various methodologies of translating archaic monetary units into modern terms.

The second, and by far the longest, article is an application of the method, using as subject the funding and disbursement of welfare in Brussels in 1856 and in 1956, accompanied by copious tables and charts.

The other four articles in the collection illustrate in narrower compass the general theme of the project. Mlle. van Nieuwenhuysen's monograph on the financial organization of the lands of Philip the Bold leaves no doubt of the cluttered diversity of financial arrangements in the Burgundian states. Other contributions deal with the tax base in Tournai and its environs in the sixteenth century, the political and fiscal implications of the taxes levied by the Duke of Alva, and the peculiarities of taxation in Charleroi in the eighteenth century.

Falls Church, Virginia THEODORE B. HODGES

OLDENBARNEVELT. Volume III, BESTAND, 1609–1619. By *Jan den Tex.* (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon. 1966. Pp. xxiii, 808. 37.50 gls.)

ONE of the most charming characteristics of the Dutch in modern times is their habit of naming streets after all their national heroes, whatever their party, rather as if in the United States Burr Street were to intersect Hamilton Avenue or Lincoln Lane to run into Booth Plaza. In the seventeenth century, however, relationships were not so friendly as this custom would imply. As he grew older Jan van Oldenbarneveldt, advocate of Holland and the soul of the republic, became more and more difficult. Beset by gout and recurrent bouts of malaria as well as old age, he became more arrogant and dictatorial as his body grew weaker. Over the years he alienated a formidable body of opponents: the army, Amsterdam, Zeeland, the orthodox Calvinists or Counter-Remonstrants, the landward provinces, and those who distrusted the policy of alliance with France. Gradually these groups formed a party, which favored an English rather than a French policy, a stronger federal government rather than Holland dictatorship, orthodoxy, and of course jobs for its members. When the stadholder, Prince Maurice, joined this group its success was assured. Maurice led it to triumph, and the Synod of Dort, in 1619 by the not very judicial murder of a great man. Most of the political struggles of the Dutch to the end of the republic in 1795 are commentaries on the crime of 1619.

With his third volume Mr. den Tex ends his narrative of the life of Oldenbarneveldt. A fourth and final volume will contain essays on particular points and a master index. Since this is the first serious biography since that of John Lothrop Motley, it is in one sense something of an event. The research for the work was broad and deep: there are references in Czech as well as in English. But since in many ways Oldenbarneveldt *was* the republic, the text keeps breaking down into an old-fashioned narrative history rather than keeping within

the limits of biography. And a very long history it is, too. Even so this is a major work for those with the patience to read it.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill STEPHEN B. BAXTER

CORRESPONDENTIE VAN MR. M. M. ROST VAN TONNINGEN. Volume I, 1921–MEI 1942. Edited by *E. Fraenkel-Verkade*, with the collaboration of *A. J. Van der Leeuw*. [Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen, Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie. Bronnenpublicaties, Documenten, Number 1.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1967. Pp. xiii, 974.)

M. M. ROST van Tonningen was the most prominent Dutch National Socialist after Mussert and the most complex and interesting NSB leader. Born in Indonesia, he completed his legal studies in Leiden and in the 1920's became a member of the League of Nations staff in Austria supervising League loans to that country. In Austria Rost was converted to National Socialism. Despite a suspect racial background ("Indonesian blood") he later fell in with the radical SS wing of the Nazi movement.

After joining the Dutch NSB in 1936 Rost saw himself as a rival of Mussert for leadership in the party. He became the chief exponent of the SS philosophy which advocated the outright integration of the Netherlands into the Greater German *Reich*. In 1940 the Germans first placed their bets on Rost, but soon decided that Mussert could command a larger following. They continued to use Rost, however, in a variety of prominent positions almost until the end of the war. After his capture in 1945 Rost committed suicide.

In a sense the title is overly modest since the introduction, which takes up approximately one quarter of the book, in effect provides a partial biography of Rost as a public figure to 1942. It is quite apparent that infinite care and painstaking research have gone into the preparation of the biographical sketch and of the documents. The collaboration of an economist (A. J. Van der Leeuw) with a historian (E. Fraenkel-Verkade) has made it possible to discuss with equal competence technical, economic, and general political problems. I found the biographical sketch most illuminating.

Most (258) of the 305 communications printed in the volume deal with the period of occupation. They have been selected primarily for the purpose of explaining Rost's public career. The selections include such materials as letters from public figures and personal friends.

The English section consists of a ten-page summary of the biographical sketch and an annotated listing of documents describing each in a sentence. More detailed summaries would have been helpful to the English reader.

The work is a monument to the kind of meticulous scholarship that characterizes the publications of the *Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie*. Together with the forthcoming second volume which will carry the story to 1945, this will be one of the building stones of the history of National Socialism in the Netherlands, which, as the introduction admits, remains to be written.

Pitzer College WERNER WARMBRUNN

LAURENTIUS NICOLAI NORVEGUS S.J.: EN BIOGRAFI MED BIDRAG TIL BELYSNING AF ROMERKIRKENS FORSØG PÅ AT GENVINDE DANMARK-NORGE I TIDEN FRA REFORMATIONEN TIL 1622. By *Vello Helk*. [Kirkehistoriske Studier, udgivet af Institut for Dansk Kirkehistorie, Second Series, Number 22.] (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad. 1966. Pp. 516.)

WHEN Gustavus Adolphus took Riga in 1621, he encountered an old Norwegian Jesuit who had been active more than forty years earlier in attempts to regain Sweden for the Roman Catholic Church. This man, known as Klosterlasse (Cloister-Larry), is now the subject of a detailed biography by a professional archivist. Helk has done an extraordinarily thorough job of working through a great variety of unused or little-consulted sources as well as the published work related to Norvegus. He has been effective in his criticisms of a recent book by Oskar Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia . . .*, Volume I (1963), and his comments have appeared, along with those of others, in *Historisk Tidsskrift* (Norway) (XLV [No. 2, 1966], 125–94) and in a review article, "Rome et la Contre-Réforme en Scandinavie de 1539 à 1583" (*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, LXI [No. 1, 1966], 119–31). It is Helk's knowledge of sources, such as those found in the *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*, that makes his contributions most valuable, but sometimes the very mass of details detracts from the biography.

Norvegus does not often emerge as an understandable human being. He was born in Oslo and studied at the University of Louvain where he became a Jesuit. In 1576 he was sent on a mission to Sweden where he remained until 1580. During this period, and for the balance of his life, he was deeply interested in the training of young Scandinavians for the reconversion of their countrymen. Except for one brief visit to Denmark in 1606, his contacts after his forced departure from Sweden were all by means of Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, and Finns who found their way to the various centers of Jesuit education where he labored such as Olmütz (Olmouc), Prague (Praha), Braunsberg (Braniewo), Riga, and Vilna (Vilnius) but also Vienna and Graz. The papacy did not place a high priority on the northern mission, and it may well be that the greatest importance of Norvegus and his disciples was to give substance to the Scandinavian fear of Rome and in this way to help bring about Lutheran uniformity. There are a summary in German and an index of names.

University of California, Riverside ERNST EKMAN

ADMIRAL HENRI KONOWS ERINDRINGER. Volume II, GUVERNØR—MINISTER—FLÅDECHEF: 1914–27. By *Tage Kaarsted*. [Skrifter udgivet af Jysk Selskab for Historie, Number 17.] (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget. 1967. Pp. 371. 34 D. Kr.)

THIS second volume of Admiral Konow's memoirs is both less pleasant and more important than the first. The observant sailor (and familiar of Danish royalty) gives way to the frustrated executive and the opinionated politician. Simple nautical matters fade increasingly into the background. Some of the Danish

naval operations in World War I are described, later the operation of the Copenhagen Navy Yard receives attention, and command problems are touched upon throughout. This book is, however, mainly a political testament by an ultraconservative whose career was in the navy.

Konow reveals his ideals on every page of his memoirs; the action is almost incidental. Sent to the Virgin Islands in 1916 to prevent a feared uprising of "the Blacks," he impresses (we are to believe) the "child-like" people with his steely nerves and impeccably correct behavior. Order is maintained! The same correctness also takes him through the sale of the islands to the United States in 1917. At that point, however, the memoirs begin to reveal profound regret and even a sense of betrayal—a tone that dominates to the end of the story. During the so-called "Easter Crisis" of 1920, for example, Konow eagerly took upon himself three portfolios in the caretaker government of Otto Liebe. He prepared, as Defense Minister, to meet the threat of general strike and possible insurrection, with strong nerves and, if necessary, force. Alas, the grapeshot was not needed. The King, who had asked Konow for his services, capitulated to the potential insurrectionists and dismissed the heroic caretakers. Until his retirement in 1927, Konow fought for effective defenses, for tradition, for responsibility, as he saw them. He won petty victories and major decorations, but even in his own memoirs he comes through as a man of only modest stature. The disaster in April 1940 was to vindicate some of his bitter judgments about weak men, politicians, and so forth, but his memoirs do not succeed in doing so, possibly because he tries so hard.

California Institute of Technology HEINZ E. ELLERSIECK

THE ORIGINS OF THE MODERN JEW: JEWISH IDENTITY AND EUROPEAN CULTURE IN GERMANY, 1749–1824. By *Michael A. Meyer.* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1967. Pp. 249. $8.50.)

THIS brief doctoral essay deals with a transitional era of modern Jewish history which embraced, in Dr. Meyer's conception, both the intellectual awakening and the spiritual and psychological disjuncture of the middle-class German Jew. It was a period of traumatic self-identity. Although the Enlightenment had barely eroded Christendom's traditional Judaeophobia, the emergent Jewish intellectual was initially convinced that rationalism alone provided the fateful key to Jewish cultural emancipation, and after that to political and social acceptance by gentile Europe. The author capably describes the mastery of the rationalist genre by Moses Mendelssohn, the incomparable patriarch of the Jewish *Aufklärung;* the force of Mendelssohn's erudition and example in introducing Jewish literati to the wonders of German humanism; but ultimately Mendelssohn's involuted and self-defeating effort to reconcile Orthodox Judaism with the precepts of rationalism. Mendelssohn's disciples were hardly more successful. David Friedlander, for example, found traditional Judaism an anachronism and groped uncertainly for an alternative spiritual anchorage. Leopold Zunz, the magisterial figure of Jewish scholarship in modern times, employed historical and philological research as a sanctuary from the vapidity of Judaism and Jewish society in his own lifetime. The most poignantly ironical fate was reserved for Mendelssohn's

own children and grandchildren, most of whom renounced the ancestral religion or were baptized as Christians.

Meyer explores the dilemma of Jewish protoemancipation with sensitivity and perception. He is at his best in his refreshing evaluation of such underrated figures in the early Christian-Jewish dialogue as the Marquis d'Argens, Christian Gellert, Charles Bonnet, and others even less well known, and in his deft interweaving of European and Jewish cultural patterns. Yet his study is not without its occasionally serious shortcomings. In conventionally citing the mid-eighteenth century as the dawn of modern Jewish intellectual history, the author ignores the recent seminal discoveries of the Israeli historian, Ben-Sasson, who has conclusively exposed a major Jewish intellectual awakening fully a century earlier. Similarly, Meyer does not avoid the young historian's familiar pitfall of ascribing cultural change exclusively to cultural influences; surely it was not rationalism alone which opened the initial fissure in the ghetto *Weltanschauung*. One wonders, too, what natural terminus Meyer finds in the collapse of the *Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden* in 1824. Far from becoming "segmental and hence problematical" in the 1820's, Jewish identity precisely then was beginning to be successfully defined by such forthright German-Jewish patriots as Gabriel Riesser, and Riesser's innumerable thousands of followers. Admittedly it is difficult to evaluate the changing cultural patterns of an entire transitional civilization, in the manner of Huizinga's *Waning of the Middle Ages,* for example. Yet in devoting the major portion of his essay to a small handful of rather familiar historical personalities, Meyer has not convincingly projected their cultural malaise onto the larger backdrop even of the literate elite of German Jewry. Perhaps in the last analysis it is the book's somewhat comprehensive title that leads us astray. Meyer's biographies in and of themselves are surely erudite and eloquent, an impressive maiden effort suggestive of even richer future creativity.

George Washington University HOWARD M. SACHAR

PREUSSEN ZWISCHEN REFORM UND REVOLUTION: ALLGEMEINES LANDRECHT, VERWALTUNG UND SOZIALE BEWEGUNG VON 1791 BIS 1848. By *Reinhart Koselleck*. [Industrielle Welt: Schriftenreihe des Arbeitskreises für moderne Sozialgeschichte, Number 7.] (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag. 1967. Pp. 732. DM 84.)

THIS work, which is better described as a Prussian constitutional history, provides on the basis of an extensive search of unpublished sources and of the literature a systematic and fruitful analysis of the development of Prussian institutions and society between 1791 and 1848. By concentrating on the important points and by employing a skillful presentation, the author furnishes both a comprehensive survey and a stimulating account, full of valuable insights and conclusions.

To note a few: civil officials played a leading role in reforming the Prussian state; Svarez chose *Glückseligkeit* (happiness) as the basis of his political system, which found expression in the *Allgemeines Landrecht,* and he gave the right to own private property full recognition. Thus the modern Prussian constitutional development initially derived its fundamental ideas largely from the Enlightenment. But this was a reform from above that first affected the government itself,

especially the army and the civil administration. Efforts to extend this movement further fell short of their aim, as major changes in the social structure, particularly in the feudal landholding system, could not be effected without serious modifications of existing property rights. The reaction that set in after 1815 resulted, moreover, in an increasing cleavage between *Geist* and *Staat,* a process that did not interfere, however, with a successful policy of promoting institutional change for the purpose of furthering economic development, which in turn solidified the role of vested interests.

By going back to 1791 the work properly stresses the impact of the Enlightenment on the regeneration of Prussia after 1806, and the rôle of its national German mission during this phase is accordingly depreciated. This approach is enhanced by the careful analysis of the *Allgemeines Landrecht* and of the body of public law that was derived from it. The result is a sound contribution that not only provides a penetrating re-examination and a reliable re-evaluation of this period, but that also can serve as a basis for a better understanding of the subsequent institutional and social development of modern Germany.

Library of Congress ARNOLD H. PRICE

LE ROMANTISME ALLEMAND ET L'ÉTAT: RÉSISTANCE ET COLLABORATION DANS L'ALLEMAGNE NAPOLÉONIENNE. By *Jacques Droz.* [Bibliothèque historique.] (Paris: Payot. 1966. Pp. 310. 21 fr.)

STARTING from the premise that European Romanticism at the end of the eighteenth century adhered to one body of political ideals, Professor Droz argues that German Romantics, in particular, reacted in identical fashion to the challenges of their times. That his initial assertion is untenable need not invalidate the author's attempt to demonstrate the German Romantics' predisposition to attitudes that might be loosely described as conservative. It does, however, indicate the flaw running through the length of this intelligent book: a tendency to overlook variety and ambiguity for the sake of developing a smooth synthesis.

After tracing the emergence of a political "doctrine" in the works of such writers as Möser, Novalis, and Arnim, Droz analyzes Romanticism in action against French ideas and French domination, as well as its links with the German people, which characteristically he believes owed much to necessity: if the Romantics wished to defeat Napoleon "they were obliged to appeal to Nationalism." He ends with a discussion of the share Romanticism had in creating the policies of restoration Germany. The book's most valuable sections are those that examine the interaction of religiously inspired groups and political Romanticism. The author, however, does little to substantiate his claim that the Romantics turned Catholicism into the most powerful antidote to the French Revolution in Germany, and even less to support his related argument that conservative and reactionary elements provided the most effective resistance to Napoleon. Other conclusions, offered as rectifications of the traditional view of German history, are scarcely more than elegant tilting at straw men. Who today would suggest that in the first decade of the nineteenth century liberalism and nationalism were necessarily linked, or that it was due only to Metternich, or the German governments, that reform eventually failed?

The unevenness that marks the book's over-all argument is equally evident in its separate parts. Some figures, notably Friedrich Schlegel and Metternich, and certain trends such as the developing notion of a supranational Austrian fatherland are discussed with great insight and clarity. Elsewhere the impression cannot be avoided that out of the proliferation of men and ideas only those are selected that advance the author's thesis. For example, to expose the conservatism of the Prussian reformers ten pages analyze the views held by Stein and "two of his closest collaborators," Arndt and Nicolovius, but far more influential colleagues of Stein, to whom the Romantic-conservative label can be attached only with difficulty—Schön, Vincke, J. G. Frey, Klewitz, among others—are mentioned only in passing or not at all.

It is the merit of Droz's study that it compels us to think more carefully about the political passions of a generation whose apolitical musings are too often emphasized. We can go further and agree that the intervening 150 years show that on balance German Romanticism has had the effect of strengthening the authoritarian forces in German history. But that is far from saying that in their lifetime the German Romantics, however defined, possessed common political and social attitudes, which found their inspiration and sought their fulfillment essentially in values of the past.

University of California, Davis PETER PARET

SOZIALPOLITIK UND SOZIALE ANSCHAUUNGEN FRÜHINDUSTRIELLER UNTERNEHMER IN RHEINLAND-WESTFALEN. By *Ludwig Puppke.* [Schriften zur Rheinisch-Westfälischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte, New Series, Number 13.] (Cologne: Rheinisch-Westfälischen Wirtschaftsarchiv zu Köln. 1966. Pp. 317.)

DIE POLITIK DES VERBANDES DER BERGARBEITER DEUTSCHLANDS VON DER NOVEMBERREVOLUTION 1918 BIS ZUM OSTERPUTSCH 1921 UNTER BESONDERER BERÜCKSICHTIGUNG DER VERHÄLTNISSE IM RHEINISCH-WESTFÄLISCHEN INDUSTRIEGEBIET: EIN BEITRAG ZUR GEWERKSCHAFTLICHEN AUSEINANDERSETZUNG MIT DEN LINKSRADIKALEN STRÖMUNGEN NACH DEM STURZ DES KAISERREICHS. By *Manfred Dörnemann.* ([Bochum: Berg-Verlag GmbH.] 1966. Pp. 271.)

HERE are two examples of German doctoral dissertations, both dealing with aspects of the history of labor. This they have in common and little else. In their own ways, they are both competent pieces of work, but their methodologies are different. Dörnemann's work follows the standard, descriptive method; presumably he has marshaled all the extant information pertinent to the topic. A detailed, exhaustive monograph is the result, and it often exhausts the patience of the reader.

I must confess that I prefer Puppke's method, which reflects the approach of such persons as Hermann Kellenbenz, Puppke's presumed mentor at the University of Cologne. The author scrutinizes the social policies toward factory labor, keeping in mind the special perspective of the enterpriser in Rhineland-Westphalia in the nineteenth century.

As elsewhere at this time, people were concerned with the questions of child

labor, women in factories, wages and hours, plant accidents, and the truck system. Puppke treats these questions and relates the interplay between the responses of governmental authorities (local and otherwise) and private enterprisers. In a number of instances this work supplements if it does not duplicate the important study by Hans J. Teuteberg, *Geschichte der industriellen Mitbestimmung in Deutschland* (1961).

Where Puppke's work is analytical in structure and deals with some of the more prosaic, basic problems of labor, Dörnemann provides the reader with an intensive view of the highly dramatic days following the end of World War I. Here it is a question of organized labor and its actions during the days when Germany's governmental structure was in the balance. We get a close view of the internal strains within labor where anarchists, conservatives, and progressive socialists vied for control. To these internal, mostly doctrinal problems are added the even more pressing external ones, such as, above all, the Kapp *Putsch* and the equivocal position taken by the army.

Both Dörnemann and Puppke completed their exercises well and clearly demonstrated their professional competence. In the process they made modest contributions to knowledge. Neither showed great imagination in approach; both, however, show promise for the future.

Tulane University HERMAN FREUDENBERGER

ZWISCHEN BEBEL UND BISMARCK: ZUR GESCHICHTE DES LINKSLIBERALISMUS IN DEUTSCHLAND 1871–1893. By *Gustav Seeber.* [Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften des Instituts für Geschichte. Series 1, Allgemeine und deutsche Geschichte, Number 30.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1965. Pp. xv, 226.)

WESTERN historical research has lagged behind Marxist scholarship in exploring policies of the liberal parties of the Left in Bismarckian Germany. The former has too strongly emphasized the ideological, psychological, and diplomatic aspects of political problems that confronted the Progressive and *Freisinnige* parties. It has tended, conversely, to disparage class motives of their attitudes toward government military policy. The present work is, like related studies by Dieter Fricke, Gertrud Theodor, Rolf Weber, Thomas Höhle, Robert Naumann, Ursula Hermann, and other East German historians, a corrective to Western appraisals.

Based upon a doctoral dissertation written at the Karl Marx University of Leipzig, Seeber's work is in no sense a history of German progressivism but a minute and copiously documented treatment of two problems: the attitude of the liberals of the Left toward "Prussian-German militarism," and their policy toward the socialist movement.

If one accepts the postulate that the Bismarckian regime was "militaristic," Seeber's conclusions are ineluctable. They are that the Bismarckian internal system was a "Bonapartist dictatorship"; the gradual extension of the power of the military apparatus was the principal means by which the Chancellor maintained his position; and the tragedy of liberalism of the Left lay in its unprincipled rejection of alliance with the mass, democratic movement. Unfortunately the au-

thor uses the word "militarism" indiscriminately and errs in confusing it with simple military policy.

Seeber's central contention is that, since the Socialist party was prepared to take up the struggle against the Bismarckian "dictatorship," primary responsibility for the failure of a democratic, popular opposition to develop must rest with the liberals of the Left. When the latter did not fight the anti-Socialist law of 1878, they compromised their own integrity, subverted their ideal of a government of laws, and played directly into the hands of the *Junker*-capitalist condominium over Germany. The fusion in 1884 of the Progressives with the National Liberal Secessionists to form the German *Freisinnige* party only corrupted further the party of Richter and Von Forckenbeck. Thereafter the policy of the liberals of the Left was stated by the Secessionists, who were economically linked to the *Deutsche Bank* and the finance capitalists and had no heart for the overthrow of the existing political system.

Because they had no foreign policy of their own, the *Freisinnige* were blind to the close connection between Bismarck's foreign policy goals and his internal program. The pusillanimous retreat of the liberals of the Left in all capital questions before the Chancellor's *Machtstaatsgedanken,* avers Seeber, prepared the way for the material and ideological ascendancy of German militarism, the foe of democracy and world peace. More specifically, it doomed the bourgeoisie to dwell until 1918 in political shallows and miseries.

Written in succinct, pellucid language, this monograph is buttressed with detailed evidence drawn from exhaustive research into the relevant published sources and unpublished material in the East German Central Archives and the Brandenburg Provincial Main Archives at Potsdam and at the Merseburg division of the Central Archives. The footnotes testify to the author's familiarity with the voluminous secondary literature on the subject. Although uncompromisingly hostile to Bismarck and uncritically laudatory of Socialist policy, this work is not unimportant. It possesses the merit of having shown how radical liberalism led the German middle class to within sight of the promised land of the *Rechtstaat,* but was, like Moses, fated never to enter it.

Nebraska Wesleyan University WILLIAM H. MAEHL

MAX SCHELER, 1874–1928: AN INTELLECTUAL PORTRAIT. By *John Raphael Staude.* (New York: Free Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 298. $6.95.)

PROFESSOR Staude's purpose is to "explain the development of Scheler's social and political ideas," but he manages in passing to comment perceptively on other interests of this far-ranging German philosopher. Biographical data hitherto unavailable, assembled with care and tact, support the book's central thesis that Scheler's personality, turbulent and erotic, had a decisive influence on the unfolding of his thought. He was also attuned to the stormy time during which he lived, that of the First World War, the German defeat, and the Weimar Republic. His method was phenomenological, faithful in the main to Husserl's directives. But his instincts were conservative, leading him to commend Plato's concept of the "rulers" and to sense a kinship with Nietzsche, rightly apprehended of course and not bastardized in the Nazi way. Supporting during his first period the

Prussian monarchy and Germany's "destiny," he all but seemed a Bavarian counterpart of France's Léon Daudet. But as the war deepened into tragedy and defeat his role became that of political and sociological exhorter concerned with problems of leadership and of Europe's cultural and social future. The years when as a convert to Roman Catholicism he stood at the center of the intellectual quest and creativity which seemed for a while to give the Church new life are described by Staude with rare skill in what Dilthey termed *Einfühlung*. Scheler's books of that period were characterized by profound pessimism concerning the future of mankind, increasingly at odds with nature and hemmed in by a technocratic bureaucracy, and yet also by the belief that, as Staude writes, "the ultimate goal of human life was for the individual to become 'like God.'" After the abandonment of Catholicism he espoused a creed that on the one hand called for service to "this world" and on the other hand for contemplation in the presence of a God patterned after the deity of Oriental philosophy but still in the process of "becoming."

Staude's book is effectively written in view of the great complexity of the sociological philosophy under consideration. One might quarrel here and there, particularly when it is argued that a Drydenesque opportunism was part of Scheler's character.

University of Notre Dame GEORGE N. SHUSTER

DZIEJE HAKATY [History of the HKT Society]. By *A. Galos et al.* Edited by *Janusz Pajewski*. [Studium Niemcoznawcze Instytutu Zachodniego, Number 10.] (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni. 1966. Pp. 486. Zł. 75.)

THIS collective work by an East German and two Polish scholars on the history of the so-called HKT duplicates to a certain degree a volume published on the same subject by an American scholar (Richard W. Tims, *Germanizing Prussian Poland: The H-K-T Society and the Struggle for the Eastern Marches in the German Empire, 1894–1919* [1941]). There are, however, two basic differences in the volumes: Tims limited his work to the period from the founding of the HKT in 1894 to the end of World War I, whereas the present authors extended their work to the liquidation of the society in 1934; Tims based his work almost entirely on German publications by and about the HKT, whereas the three authors had, in addition to the same material, access to the well-preserved archives of the society in the Deutsches Zentralarchiv in Merseburg.

The official name of the HKT was *Verein zur Förderung des Deutschtums in den Ostmarken* (Society for the Promotion of Germanism in the Eastern Provinces); the abbreviation stands for the initials of the founders: Hansemann, Kennemann, and Tiedemann. The officially advertised purpose of the society was to defend the interests of Germans living in the Polish-speaking areas of the eastern provinces of Germany. The actual purpose was quite different: to Germanize these areas by destruction and displacement of the Polish population and its political, social, and economic institutions.

Bismarck's Kulturkampf in these areas started the struggle against the Poles exactly along these lines. When the Iron Chancellor was replaced by Caprivi, the latter needed the Polish votes in the *Reichstag* in order to balance the opposition.

To secure these votes he was compelled to install a policy of conciliation toward the Poles, which in turn created a panic among the Germans in the eastern provinces. The disappointed *Junkers* and recent settlers turned to Bismarck and found sympathetic support because it fitted the offended Chancellor's policy of revenge against Caprivi. The appeal for the founding of the HKT preceded Caprivi's dismissal by two weeks.

The forty-year existence of the HKT falls into two periods: 1894–1918, when the society enjoyed the full support of the German government and local authorities in its aggressive Germanization of the eastern areas; from 1919 (when a large part of the Polish-speaking area of Germany returned to independent Poland) to June 1934, when the society organized and supported the disloyal and subversive activities of the German minority in Poland. Although this activity was still supported less openly by the Weimar Republic and developed along the eastern policy line of the Nazis, the HKT was dissolved by the Gestapo because it refused to submit to Hitler's policy of *Gleichschaltung* and delayed its incorporation into the *Bund Deutscher Osten,* the NSDAP's organization for the realization of the party's objectives in Eastern Europe.

Supported by abundant documentary evidence from the archives of the society, this volume dispels the myth that the HKT was a defensive organization that was protecting the Germans in the "Eastern Marches" from Polish aggressiveness. Even Tims, obviously influenced by his one-sided German sources, succumbed to this myth.

When one reads the documents of the HKT now, he is startled to discover to what degree Hitler and his "Eastern specialists" adopted the program and methods of the society. Their plans and procedures in Poland and the Baltic States during World War II are proof of this.

The volume is marred by some artificial Marxist interpretations and a twisting of historical facts in the post-1914 period; this, however, does not affect the validity of its documentary contribution.

Hoover Institution WITOLD S. SWORAKOWSKI

VON BASSERMANN ZU STRESEMANN: DIE SITZUNGEN DES NATIONALLIBERALEN ZENTRALVORSTANDES 1912–1917. Edited by *Klaus-Peter Reiss.* [Quellen zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien. Part 1, Von der konstitutionellen Monarchie zur parlamentarischen Republik, Number 5.] (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1967. Pp. 463.)

THIS valuable addition to the history of German political parties centers around the nearly complete stenographic reports of three meetings of the National Liberal Central Committee in 1913, 1916, and 1917, supplemented by brief accounts of two sessions in 1912 and 1915. Useful tables are included of the party statutes of 1892, 1905, and 1912, and the dates and places of Central Committee and convention meetings from 1902 to 1920. Of especial value is the list of delegates from 1913 to 1917 indicating their profession, parliamentary membership (if any), the areas they represented, and the parts they played in the sessions of 1913, 1916, and 1917. The exemplary introduction is reinforced by footnotes that contain every-

thing necessary to elucidate the text; source references are extensive, though more authortative British and American works might have been used.

There is much to be gained here about the organization, sociological composition, and development of the National Liberal party. Particularly illuminating are the frank and uncensored appraisals of colleagues. Though a trend toward democratization of control may have been faintly evident, jurists, factory owners, and party functionaries tended to predominate as delegates. Tensions among National Liberal bureaucrats, the party press, and the *Reichstag* delegation are increasingly evident. The emergence of Gustav Stresemann as the party leader will perhaps evoke most interest, though viewed in retrospect Heinrich Prinz zu Schönaich-Carolath perhaps showed a wider political realism.

In foreign and domestic affairs, the ghost of Bismarck stalks powerfully through these pages. Compared to him party members saw little to praise in the actions of Germany's officials—least of all Bethmann. Criticisms of inept noble predominance in the diplomatic corps and administration were scathing. From 1912 delegates were advocating an increased army budget and a militant foreign policy. During the war this chauvinism turned toward a strong annexationist policy exemplified in the debates over the future of Poland, Alsace-Lorraine, and Belgium, and, the attitude to be taken toward the *Vaterlandspartei*. Opinion gravitated more and more to Hindenburg, Ludendorff, and Tirpitz. Even in 1917 there were dark hints of the people at home letting the army down. Criticism of Austria-Hungary was unrestrained, while dislike of France paled beside hatred of Britain.

Duke University FREDERIC B. M. HOLLYDAY

THE ROAD TO REVOLUTION: GERMAN MARXISM AND WORLD WAR I—1914–1919. By *John W. Mishark*. (Detroit, Mich.: Moira Books. 1967. Pp. x, 310. $7.50.)

THE author of this study praises recent West German contributions on the subject, criticizes previous American works, and curiously concludes that "the old American spirit lives on" in the interpretations of East German scholars. Thus we expect to find this volume superior in research, interpretive power, and literary quality to monographs by Abraham J. Berlau and others. The results are disappointing.

The author has done much honest research, but he has not used manuscripts now available in Europe, and one misses the important *Leipziger Volkszeitung* in the list of wartime newspapers that he consulted. Many of the author's generalizations are utterly reasonable, but some seem to be untenable, others contradictory. After rejecting on page ix the use of such "emotionally colored" words as "bureaucratic" to describe the SPD, Mishark tells us on page 53 that on the eve of 1914 "paid officials ran the party as a bureaucratic machine." On page 75 the SPD *Reichstag* delegation's vote for war credits in 1914 is presented as "an abrupt about face," but on page 245 it "was not a break with the party's Marxism." The evidence I know does not support the statement that "party papers exulted at the news that Germany and Russia were at war" or the assertion that after 1914 Majority Socialists "pointed out dangerous opponents" among Leftists for arrest by

the police. The conclusion that the schism of German Socialists was between "tough-minded ones" and "gentle ones" appears to oversimplify the matter. The conjecture that "if war conditions had been different . . . Independent Socialists might have captured the party" seems scarcely more helpful than the conclusion that "the form of the party split was largely accidental." Social Democratic leaders are taken to task for letting the German people as a whole decide in 1918–1919 on Germany's future, but the author does not appear to like any better the alternatives they might have chosen.

The literary quality of this volume can most gently be evaluated by the general comment that it leaves something to be desired.

University of Pennsylvania JOHN L. SNELL

THE GERMAN REVOLUTION OF 1918: A STUDY OF GERMAN SOCIALISM IN WAR AND REVOLT. By *A. J. Ryder.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 303. $11.50.)

READERS of this study will find few surprises if they know the works by Berlau, Coper, Prager, Rosenberg, Schorske, and Volkmann. The author has used these earlier treatments of his subject, some of the more recent ones, and most of the published primary sources. In addition, he has consulted the unpublished memoirs of W. Dittmann, the wartime diary of Eduard David (now published), the Kautsky *Nachlass* at Amsterdam, and the minutes of the Council of People's Commissars and the *Zentralrat.* The older studies by Hans Herzfeld (1928) and R. H. Lutz (1922) might have been used to some advantage, and this is even truer of the excellent documentary collections edited by E. Matthias and R. Morsey on the *Interfraktionelle Ausschuss* and the government of Prince Max of Baden.

The generalizations most in need of more precise formulation are those that move away from the author's central subject—the German Socialists—into the larger political context in which the Socialists operated. It was, strictly speaking, Admiral Capelle, not Michaelis, who accused the USPD of instigating the 1917 naval mutinies; it was not July 1918 before Hertling proposed equal suffrage to the Prussian lower house; the evidence does not suggest that in November 1917 Lenin was "rather more sceptical" than Trotsky about the chances of revolution in Germany. More fundamentally, only by discounting the importance of political change can one consider what was done in November 1918 a failure and thus treat the decision to elect a constituent assembly as "the suicide of the German revolution." For the most part, however, Ryder has given us judicious and durable generalizations in admirably tight prose. He aptly remarks that "for most of its supporters" the revolution was "a movement for democracy even more than for socialism." (For many of them it was simply a way to end the war.) The author is too responsible to label any of the Socialists as traitors to the working class, and he understands them too well to portray them as heroes. Liebknecht, Luxemburg, and the Independent Socialists receive the criticism they merit, and the leaders of the SPD are not spared. Should Ebert, as Ryder suggests, have made greater use of the councils than he did, while insisting upon the election of the

constituent assembly? Would the leaders of the councils have been content to see them become "a complementary, not a rival institution"? In the very data Ryder presents one can find reasons to doubt that there was any way to achieve both democracy and socialism in the Germany of 1918–1920, though he is reluctant to reach this conclusion.

University of Pennsylvania JOHN L. SNELL

ARBEITSMARKT VERBÄNDE UND STAAT, 1918–1933: DIE ÖFFENTLICHE BINDUNG UNTERNEHMERISCHER FUNKTIONEN IN DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK. By *Hans-Hermann Hartwich.* With a foreword by *Georg Kotowski.* [Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin beim Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin, Number 23.] (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1967. Pp. xvi, 488. DM 78.)

THE contents of this volume are not self-evident from the title. It is, in effect, an analysis of collective bargaining during the Weimar Republic. "Analysis" is the proper word rather than "history" since the author evidently lacks any sense of style or structure that might have made his book more coherent and less repetitive. The resulting chronological morass may be partially explained by the fact that this is literally an expanded doctoral thesis; the original thesis (an excellent study of the Berlin metal industry) is left virtually intact and augmented by introductory and concluding chapters. Historians should find Hartwich's work a diligent presentation of evidence, a useful work of reference, a guide to pertinent German dissertations, a fund of statistics, a fair-minded treatment of a complex problem—everything but a readable history. It supplements, but certainly does not supersede, Ludwig Preller's *Sozialpolitik in der Weimarer Republik* (1949).

The book's format does not, however, entirely account either for its most serious omission or for its fundamental importance. The central theme—the precarious relationship between labor and management, specifically in heavy industry, and the role of the state as mediator between them—is insufficiently developed for the early years of the republic, but convincingly documented for the latter years.

Hartwich's failure to integrate his monographic work with the general history of Weimar from 1918 to 1923 is all the more distressing because it is precisely that phase of the republic which requires more careful attention than it has received. The author misses an opportunity to relate his account of the *Zentralarbeitsgemeinschaft,* the principal organ of voluntary collective bargaining, to the ill-fated revolutionary innovation of the workers' councils. He completely ignores the research of several younger German historians (Eberhard Kolb and Peter von Oertzen, for example) that might have put his own investigation in better perspective.

The book's saving grace is its penetration into the years after 1928. Hartwich shows that most German industrialists, to judge by spokesmen such as Ernst von Borsig, were perfectly willing to engage in voluntary bargaining with trade-union representatives so long as management held the upper hand, as was the case during the period of recovery after 1923. By the end of the decade, however, the state had increased pressure on management by the progressive introduction of com-

pulsory arbitration under the auspices of the *Reichsarbeitsministerium*. As the republic's economic condition worsened, the industrialists deliberately undermined the government's attempts to intervene on behalf of the unions and to find some way out of the crisis. While he constantly emphasizes the complexity of his subject, Hartwich reaches the unequivocal if unsurprising conclusion that the chief gravedigger of the republic was the industrialists' man in Berlin, Franz von Papen.

Despite the reservations registered here, no future historian of the Weimar Republic should fail to consult this book.

Smith College ALLAN MITCHELL

HITLER'S SOCIAL REVOLUTION: CLASS AND STATUS IN NAZI GERMANY 1933–1939. By *David Schoenbaum*. [Anchor Books.] (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1967. Pp. xxii, 324. $1.45.)

THIS book originated as a dissertation at St. Antony's College, Oxford. The editors of Doubleday are to be commended for publishing it not only in hard cover (1966) but also in the excellent Anchor Books paperback series. It deserves an accolade as an addition to the increasing literature on the Third *Reich*.

The opening chapter concerns the social promises of the Third *Reich*. Germany after World War I was badly damaged by the inflation of 1923 and the subsequent disintegration of the economy. There were similar crises elsewhere, but they were followed by convalescence. The key difference was that in Germany there was a permanent disaffection of the major social groups. Hitler came to power by miscalculation rather than by exclusive popular demand. Successful in combining a conglomerate of disparities (what the author nicely calls "the homogeneity of common disaffection"), Hitler appealed, not to all Germans, but in each case to some Germans: farmers, workers, businessmen, industrialists, women, and youths. His program offered something to everyone, including the mirage of a classless society with both equality and equal opportunity for all Germans (except German Jews).

In succinct, well-organized chapters the author examines the Third *Reich* and its relations to labor, business, agriculture, women, the state, social opportunity, and society. He shows how, step by step, accompanied by insensate hatred and economic catastrophe, the structure of German society collapsed, with nothing remaining but a kind of nudity composed of impotent rage, criminal malice, and a thirst for vengeance. "In the end, with the achievement of each partial goal, the destruction of unions and aristocracy, of Jews, and the Rights of Man and of bourgeois society, destruction was all that was left."

The author sees the basic issue as not political or economic, but social—"the problem of an arrested bourgeois-industrial society, convinced of its guilt feelings and its impotence of its own superfluousness, and prepared to destroy itself with the means of the very bourgeois-industrial society it aimed to destroy." This is a shrewd judgment, but colored, nevertheless, by the author's special concern with the social revolutionary aspects of the Hitler movement and with class and status. Schoenbaum is aware of the danger of trying to extract the whole apple from the

applesauce. Political, economic, psychological, and social factors are so intermingled in the Nazi revolution that it becomes impossible to isolate "basic" or "ultimate" trends as of exclusive significance.

Schoenbaum's book is a valuable inductive study. Its synthetic purpose does much to explain the social process. Its analytical method, breaking down German society into constituent groups and examining their development, is the right way to examine the topsy-turvy land of Nazism. This is important work, as long as it is understood that the social process is one part of a complicated process.

Historians will continue to be fascinated by the spectacle of a highly civilized people gripped in the strait jacket of nihilism. In the search for explanation this volume is a first-rate contribution.

City College of New York LOUIS L. SNYDER

CHARISMA AND FACTIONALISM IN THE NAZI PARTY. By *Joseph Nyomarkay*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1967. Pp. 161. $5.00.)

ALTHOUGH Hitler's charismatic powers have long been recognized as vital to his absolute control over the National Socialist party, the precise nature of his charisma and of its political function has never been adequately studied. The history of Nazi factionalism has been equally neglected. Professor Nyomarkay makes a laudable attempt to correct both of these oversights.

Originally not very different from the *Völkisch* groups that dotted the political landscape of the early Weimar Republic and that eventually disappeared in a welter of rivalries and splits, the Nazi party, according to Nyomarkay, was saved from this fate primarily by Hitler's charismatic leadership and his control over the factions in his movement.

In a very thoughtful analysis the author demonstrates how Hitler established his charismatic claim and was thus afforded the unique opportunity to "establish a new order" and to "rule in accordance with his conscience." This alone, however, cannot be regarded as the key to his eventual success. Shrewdly anticipating the threat of potential rivals, Hitler pitted the Nazi leaders against one another by granting them conflicting and overlapping areas of jurisdiction, thereby concentrating power in his own hands. Of even greater importance was the fact that Hitler consistently refused to allow himself to be tied to a specific ideology that would limit his attraction and provide grounds for factional disputes. Instead he insisted on formulating a much more ambiguous and ephemeral *Weltanschauung* that he alone could interpret.

By these means Hitler permanently acquired the primary loyalty of the Nazi masses. Never able to oppose the *Führer* for fear of losing their supporters, the Nazi factions became totally dependent upon his tolerance. They could at best seek to capture him for their cause and to obtain his support, but they could never become a serious threat.

Less valuable than these informative and persuasive chapters is Nyomarkay's history of the factions, which despite his access to new documentary material fails to treat the National Bolsheviks in more than summary fashion, has nothing new to say about the SA, and neglects the SS completely. The only redeeming

feature in this section is the treatment of the northern faction led by Gregor and Otto Strasser and the party's reorganization struggles of 1925. Praiseworthy for elucidating the uses of Hitler's charisma, this book is far from definitive in regard to Nazi factionalism.

Rutgers University DANIEL HORN

HITLER'S LAST GAMBLE: THE BATTLE OF THE BULGE. By *Jacques Nobécourt.* Translated from the French by *R. H. Barry.* (New York: Schocken Books. 1967. Pp. 302. $8.95.)

M. NOBÉCOURT, a correspondent for *Le Monde,* asks: "was Europe really on the verge of catastrophe" during the Battle of the Bulge? He replies: the Ardennes offensive was "little more than an incident in the war." What is the reason, then, for his book? To restore perspective to the Allied military reverse, which quickly grew out of proportion because it was so unexpected and created such alarm. Interested in both the battle and its "possible [political] repercussions," Nobécourt characterizes himself as a historian "working in that grey area where military adventure and political gamble overlap, where the operational becomes merged into the strategic, and where the wishes of the personalities . . . were necessarily subordinated to . . . events."

His achievement is splendid. He has ordered, synthesized, and explained a highly complex military operation. He has corrected a widespread impression that Bastogne alone was the key to the defense; his more balanced view credits the defenders at Elsenborn Ridge and Saint-Vith. He has portrayed, with exceptional sensitivity and accuracy, the principal participants on both sides. He has illuminated, with subtlety and grace, the contrasting strategies and war aims. He has discussed clearly and in good taste the impact (he finds very little) of the battle on the Yalta Conference.

I have three reservations. First, in exploring the roots of Hitler's counteroffensive Nobécourt overlooks a vital point in German army doctrine: that wars are to be won not by attrition but by a decisive blow. Though Hitler tried to change the course of the war from the time of the Normandy invasion, he finally succeeded in December when it was too late. Second, in seeking the reasons why the Allies could not exploit their summer success and end the war in the fall of 1944, Nobécourt blames the political authorities for having failed to authorize immediate movement to Berlin. The real reason for stopping at the Siegfried Line was the tyranny of logistics. Third, in discussing the Strasbourg incident, Nobécourt writes eight pages of informed and highly interesting speculation, drawn from memoir materials. The facts are: Eisenhower ordered withdrawal; the French refused to abandon Strasbourg on the ground of national interest and were thereby guilty of military insubordination; De Gaulle asked for help from Churchill, who flew to France and had lunch with Eisenhower. The question is: since Eisenhower changed his mind and issued a new order around noontime, did he do so because of Churchill's arguments in support of De Gaulle? This is Nobécourt's conclusion. Yet a close inspection of the records reveals that Churchill

arrived for lunch at 3 p.m., several hours after Eisenhower authorized the French to retain the city.

The last is a small point but a large issue in historical methodology. The author says that the truth "can be discovered, not so much by working out the exact chronological sequence of events . . . as by progressive reconstruction of the atmosphere" of the time. This explanation is, in actuality, nothing more than rationalization for his lack of opportunity to study the official US Army records, which are open to all scholars, but are located in this country and not in France.

Despite this shortcoming, the book is intelligent, articulate, objective, and well translated.

Alexandria, Virginia MARTIN BLUMENSON

BEYOND EAGLE AND SWASTIKA: GERMAN NATIONALISM SINCE 1945. In two volumes. By *Kurt P. Tauber.* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1967. Pp. xxiv, 995; 999–1598. $35.00 the set.)

THIS is an encyclopedic survey of Rightist-extremist movements in West Germany since 1945. The coverage is impressively thorough, and it seems inconceivable that there are any pertinent organizations, publications, or publishing houses that have escaped Dr. Tauber's attention. In discussing the various parties and groups Tauber probes deeply into their historical background, gives us detailed biographical sketches of their leaders, and allows us many a look behind the scenes. Despite the lack of cooperation by many of the subjects of his researches, he has been able to assemble a large amount of unpublished materials.

It would be impossible to do justice to Tauber's findings in a short space, but a few of his major conclusions may be recorded. Postwar Rightist extremism in Germany, according to him, is a streamlined type of nationalism rather than Nazism which has been too thoroughly discredited to attract many followers. This new nationalism fed on resentments against the victorious powers: expulsion from one's homeland, de-Nazification, re-education, and partition. No strong leader or leaders emerged, however, to forge these reactions into a powerful unified movement. The many groups that were formed also proved impotent on the whole vis-à-vis the political quietism of most Germans. Gradually, moreover, most of the causes that fed the nationalist resentments were eliminated, by the *Wirtschaftswunder,* the absorption of refugees and expellees into their new homeland, and the rehabilitation of the Bonn Republic as a sovereign state in response to the needs of the cold war.

Yet while Rightist nationalism has proved so far a failure in Germany, Tauber warns that it cannot be written off permanently as a political force. Nationalist thought, ideals, and ideology are not dead; if they have been ineffective so far, they have been repressed rather than eliminated. Given the right opportunities, the author believes, they may again reassert themselves. He does not seem to feel, however, that the new National Democratic party constitutes as yet such a threat.

Ohio State University ANDREAS DORPALEN

GRAF LEO THUN IM VORMÄRZ: GRUNDLAGEN DES BÖHMISCHEN KONSERVATIVISMUS IM KAISERTUM ÖSTERREICH. By *Christoph Thienen-Adlerflycht.* [Veröffentlichungen des Österreichischen Ost- und Südosteuropa-Institutes, Number 6.] (Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf. 1967. Pp. 227. DM 42.)

Count Leo Thun (1811–1888) was undoubtedly one of the most interesting personalities during the transition period from the restoration, throughout the revolutionary era and neoabsolutism to the constitutional period after 1867. His main achievements follow the pre-March period, the setting of this study. Yet the groundwork of Thun's policy as governor of Bohemia during the early phases of the revolution, his successful tenure as Minister of Education and educational reformer from 1849 to 1860, and his subsequent policies as parliamentarian was laid during his early manhood. A study of the formative years of this original thinker and statesman is therefore most welcome.

The author has managed successfully to place Thun in the middle ground between late Josephin reformism, an enlightened conservative centralist bureaucracy, and a Bohemian moderate federalism along historic-traditional lines. All these trends conflict with each other, of course, as much as they supplement each other. Mr. Thienen-Adlerflycht rightly perceives that their interaction in Thun's original mind and policies can be understood fully only by a study of his feudal background, the setting of the early Industrial Revolution, the evolution of the national problem in Bohemia, and Thun's contacts with the ideas of Tocqueville. The remarkable efforts toward self-education and strictly professional judicial and administrative training are rightly emphasized.

Possibly the antecedents of Thun's highly original ideas concerning the national problem might have been explored more fully. Possibly also a somewhat simpler diction would have added further strength to this thorough, well-balanced, and sophisticated study. Yet, as it stands, it serves extremely well a threefold purpose. It gives new insight into the biography of a distinguished statesman whose achievements far outweigh his prejudices. It helps to destroy the stereotyped concept of a lazy and greedy aristocracy, which actually did not play the major role so widely assumed by superficial interpreters of Austrian history. Above all, this work of high distinction offers a portrait of social and cultural history as informative as it is original. It would be too much to say that the moderate conservatism of Thun's activities ran true to type any time in the pre-March, the revolutionary, the neoabsolutist, or the constitutional period. Yet the history of none of these periods can be written without considering the impact of men of Thun's caliber and dedication. This fine study offers a key to the understanding of a truly distinguished personality.

Rutgers University Robert A. Kann

JACOB BURCKHARDT: EINE BIOGRAPHIE. Volume IV, DAS HISTORISCHE AMT UND DIE SPÄTEN REISEN. By *Werner Kaegi.* (Basel: Schwabe & Co. Verlag. 1967. Pp. xx, 483. 36 fr. S.)

This volume deals with the heyday of Burckhardt's academic life. Kaegi again combines his art of colorful narrative with painstaking research. We see Burck-

hardt as scholar, educator, and burgher, in the solid and happy routine of his daily work, against the social and cultural background of his home city-state of Basel and the small university with its few hundred students. Free from the "publish or perish" treadmill, he wrote, after the *Civilization of the Renaissance,* only his study on *Italian Renaissance Architecture,* a long-underrated contribution to the foundations of modern art history, published in 1867 as the last fruit of the cooperation with his late friend Kugler. Burckhardt's main concern, however, became his courses. In an academic world not yet impersonalized through oversized dimensions, the human atmosphere of his relations with students, colleagues, and fellow citizens appears as a vital part of his existence. As a counterpart to his teaching, his public lectures on a great variety of subjects were for decades the meeting place of the cultural elite of the city. Kaegi's analysis follows the wide range of Burckhardt's courses at the university, which covered almost every stage of European history. Because he had access to the restricted Burckhardt materials in the Basel archive, the author has been able to consult the inexhaustible wealth of Burckhardt's lecture notes. These notes take the place of the books he did not write on topics of his most intense concern such as the Middle Ages and the Age of Revolution.

As a counterweight to the quasi-ascetic simplicity and seclusion of a provincial professorship Burckhardt undertook numerous trips to the countries of *Alteuropa* (as he called it). Making use of his letters, the *Biography* allows us to accompany him on his travels. The picture as presented by Kaegi reveals not only the professor dutifully visiting galleries, churches, and historic sites in preparation for his academic work, but also the humanist who enjoys himself moving around in a different world, talking with common people, tasting the local wines, occasionally even looking at pretty eyes. Thus many sections of Kaegi's work are not only the biography of a representative individual; they are also a cultural history of the age.

Marquette University FELIX M. WASSERMANN

CARTEGGI DI FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI. Volume XII (16 GENNAIO–5 MARZO 1527). Edited by *Pier Giorgio Ricci.* [Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1967. Pp. 322. L. 5,000.)

THE turning point in the political career of Francesco Guicciardini came in the spring of 1527 with the submission of central Italy to the Spanish-imperial armies of Charles V. As governor of Romagna under Pope Clement VII and papal minister during the early part of 1526, Guicciardini was largely responsible for the decision to resist the Emperor. Sent north as lieutenant of the papal army that formed a major contingent of the allied forces of the League of Cognac, Guicciardini tried desperately to spur the league into action while the imperial army was still vulnerable. But his efforts were nullified by the Pope's chronic indecision and the Duke of Urbino's inertia.

This twelfth published volume of Guicciardini's correspondence covers the brief but crucial interval from January 16 to March 5, 1527. Most of the 220 letters of the period were written to four men: Giammatteo Giberti, bishop of

Verona, who, as datary and principal adviser to the Pope, was the official line of communication between Guicciardini and his employer; Silvio Passerini, cardinal of Cortona and papal legate to Florence where he represented the Pope's Medici interests; Cardinal Innocenzo Cibo, Clement's cousin and papal legate to Bologna, who was sent to Florence late in 1526 to assist Passerini; and Count Guido Rangoni, commander of the league armies at Piacenza and Modena. From Parma Guicciardini wrote daily letters to these four men advising them of the progress or delays in the imperial advance and pleading for support. Many of the *carteggi* are repetitious, but their frequent and interesting variations justify their complete publication. Although his dispatches to Bishop Giberti contain the most information on events leading to the sack of Rome, some of the other letters are more personally revealing.

Pier Giorgio Ricci continues the fine editing of these papers, begun by Roberto Palmarocchi in 1938, and facilitates their use by frequent clarifications of the text, although no introduction nor major editorial comments are undertaken. The usefulness of this collection is evident, but it is unfortunate that the sponsors have chosen not to publish a critical edition. There are many Italian scholars capable of the task, including Ricci, and the value of the collection would have been appropriately enhanced.

Brigham Young University De Lamar Jensen

PETER MARTYR IN ITALY: AN ANATOMY OF APOSTASY. By *Philip McNair*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xxii, 325. $8.80.)

In 1542 Peter Martyr Vermigli, prior of the Monastery of San Frediano of the Lateran Congregation in Lucca, renounced the Roman obedience and hurried across the Alps into the welcoming arms of the Zurich Protestants. From Zurich he made his way by stages to England, where he arrived in 1547, just in time to play a substantial role in the Edwardian reform as Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford and canon of Christ Church. In 1553 he was one of Mary's exiles, returning to the Continent to occupy a chair in divinity at Strasbourg and then at Zurich, where he died in 1562. Peter Martyr after 1542 is fairly well known to Reformation history, especially in his English period; Peter Martyr before 1542 is almost a stranger, his career in Italy leading up to his defection wrapped in obscurity. And yet he was an important figure in the Catholic reform movement that has come to be known as evangelism, and his apostasy was one of the series of disasters, along with the failure of the colloquy of Ratisbon, the death of Gasparo Contarini, and the defection of Bernardo Ochino, which shattered Italian liberal Catholicism and left the field to Gian Pietro Carafa, the Roman Inquisition, and the Council of Trent.

In this book Philip McNair illuminates the Catholic period of Peter Martyr's life, which coincides with the rise and decline of Italian evangelism. Despite thorough research, which has turned up considerable new material, he has had to piece out his "anatomy of apostasy" with conjecture and circumstantial evidence at numerous critical points, for Peter Martyr was reticent about his earlier life and thought in Catholicism. Thus, for example, on the critical questions of when and where and how Peter Martyr changed from a conservative

reformer on the order of Ximénez into a Biblical reformer on the order of Zwingli, McNair makes out a good case for the three years he spent in Naples in the circle of Juan de Valdés and, conversely, dismantles the case for an earlier conversion at the University of Padua, but he never obscures the paucity of the evidence on which he bases his argument.

One of the best features of the book is due to the author's good historical sense. Through brief, apt sketches of men, places, and ideas he grasps the milieu of pre-Tridentine Italian Catholicism and sets Peter Martyr in his environment; at the same time, through him he mirrors the spirituality of the time. Some will take sharp issue with a number of his contentions, for instance, that evangelism was not an indigenous Catholic reforming movement but a crypto-Lutheran one, and that the chief influence upon Juan de Valdés, apart from the Bible, was Calvin, but no one will be able to dismiss these contentions without first coming to terms with McNair's arguments.

This is a good book, interestingly and even gracefully written, skillful and honest in the use of evidence, with a fine appreciation of the human passions and the dramatic qualities in this story of a man whose crisis of conscience drove him "to forsake the sweete nest of his natiue countrie & earthlie pleasures."

Rutgers University DONALD WEINSTEIN

MISCELLANEA WALTER MATURI. [Università di Torino, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia. Storia, Volume I. Istituto di Storia Moderna e del Risorgimento.] (Turin: G. Giappichelli. 1966. Pp. 526. L. 6,000.)

WARMLY dedicated to the memory of Walter Maturi five years after his death, this book is composed of twelve studies by his former students and colleagues at the University of Turin. It follows, thus, the celebrated volume of the *maéstro*'s lectures on the *Risorgimento* that his students prepared in 1962. At the start, there is a brief passage from Maturi's projected study of De Maistre; at the end, a complete bibliography of his works.

While there is no common theme underlying these studies, half of them center on the eighteenth century. Of interest among these are Ada Ruata's on the Count of Canale, Charles Emmanuel III's ambassador to the court of Maria Theresa, and Franco Venturi's on the decade of the 1730's. In the former, Ruata paints the portrait of a typical figure of the old, reactionary Piedmontese aristocracy, closed to all the ideas of the Enlightenment; in the latter, Venturi depicts the decade of the 1730's as both the time when Italy reached the nadir of its political, economic, and cultural decline and began its slow recovery and ascent. Especially acute is Venturi's analysis of the first attempts at reform under Charles III in the kingdom of Naples, particularly of the reasons for the failure of the Neapolitan reformers to make any breach in the privileges of the barons.

Of the remaining studies, mention must be made of Dora Marucco's, on the youthful formation of Antonio Labriola in the radical and socialist currents of late nineteenth-century Naples, and particularly of Adriana Lay's, on an intriguing bishop of the Counter Reformation, of Milanese patrician origins, one Francesco Panigarola, who, sent to Paris to preach against the heretic

Henry of Navarre, soon realized the French wanted peace above all and wound up an admirer of the Politiques and Henri IV! But of most interest to students of modern European history will probably be Aldo Garosci's closing essay, "Sul Conceto di 'Borghesia.'" Tackling anew the "problem of the bourgeoisie," Garosci begins with some early objections of Croce to the use of the term "bourgeois" as one too ambiguous by which to denote epochs or historical movements, and then seeks to show how recent non-Italian studies on the problem, principally E. Eisenstein's, D. H. Pinkney's, and A. Daumard's, have confirmed Croce's original objections. Interspersed are his own observations. Toward the end, not without interest, he traces the development of the concept of the bourgeoisie as the "instrument of history" in the early nineteenth century, particularly in the works and thought of Thierry and Guizot.

University of California, Santa Barbara DONALD A. LIMOLI

LA FINANZA TOSCANA DAGLI INIZI DEL SECOLO XVIII ALLA CADUTA DEL GRANDUCATO. By *Luigi Dal Pane.* [Studi e richerche di storia economica italiana nell'età del Risorgimento.] (Milan: Banca Commerciale Italiana. 1965. Pp. 759.)

LA VENDITA DEI BENI DELLO STATO NEL REGNO DI NAPOLI (1806–1815). By *Pasquale Villani.* [Studi e richerche di storia economica italiana nell'età del Risorgimento.] (Milan: Banca Commerciale Italiana. 1964. Pp. 234.)

PROFESSOR Dal Pane is an eminent authority on the economic history of Tuscany. This study is a work of impressive scholarship and presents an exhaustive treatment of the public finance of Tuscany from the end of the Medici dynasty to the beginning of Italian unification. Dal Pane follows the story of public finance from the great reforms of Pietro Leopoldo in the eighteenth century, through the period of French domination, to the last of the Lorraine dynasty under Leopoldo II, at the end of the restoration. The book is based on archival sources, most importantly on the annual budgets, the revenues and expenditures of the grand duchy of Tuscany between 1768 and 1860. Dal Pane has published here, for the first time, the budgets of Pietro Leopoldo. These budgets constitute a landmark in the history of public finance because of their modern character; they gave Tuscany one of the most advanced fiscal systems in all Europe at the end of the eighteenth century.

Enlightened fiscal policy contributed to the economic development of Tuscany between 1760 and 1860. The public revenue of Tuscany increased approximately six times between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century. The periods of most rapid growth in income coincided with periods of economic expansion and inflation, notably during the great fiscal reforms of Pietro Leopoldo and in the decade of the 1850's. Tuscany pursued an expansionary fiscal policy at the end of the eighteenth century that it was unable to continue because of mounting costs of public administration, welfare programs, and increased military spending during the nineteenth century. The fiscal system, Dal Pane points out, was basically regressive despite the liberal reforms of Pietro Leopoldo, Napoleon, and Leopoldo II. Fiscal policy was generally more responsive to the interests of

the landed aristocracy than to the small farmers and agricultural workers. The highest proportion of government revenue was derived from taxes on consumption and trade; the tax on land provided only a small proportion of total government income.

Dal Pane shows that Tuscany enjoyed a period of budgetary surpluses at the end of the eighteenth century and maintained balanced budgets between 1815 and 1840. Expenditures exceeded revenues in the decade preceding unification. The restoration government concealed its budgetary deficits from the public and financed these deficits through foreign borrowing, higher taxation, and the sale of state property.

This is a valuable study for its material on budgets and fiscal policy. It is regrettable that it does not consider the effect of government taxation and expenditure on long-term changes in the level of income in Tuscany in the century preceding unification. To appreciate the real importance of fiscal policy, we need data on the private sector to estimate the national income, data that do not now exist. Dal Pane promises other studies of the Tuscan economy in the future, and it is to be hoped that he may eventually fill this void.

The system of feudal landholding and the predominance of a feudal aristocracy have been a major factor in the economic backwardness of southern Italy. Agricultural stagnation, inadequate capital formation, and low rates of industrial growth have been a historic legacy of centuries of unequal distribution of the land.

Dr. Villani has studied the problem of property distribution in the south of Italy, specifically the confiscation and sale of Church lands in the kingdom of Naples during the period of French domination between 1806 and 1815. His study begins with an account of the dissolution of the monasteries and the reconstitution of confiscated lands into the national domain and a description of the methods, conditions, and successive phases of land sales. The main part of the work is devoted to a study of over five thousand contracts of land sales, a detailed analysis of land purchases by size of purchase, and a more detailed analysis of sales by social and professional groups in one province, Salerno.

The French confiscated about three-quarters of the lands of the religious establishments. These confiscations were undertaken for economic and political reasons rather than for ideological considerations, primarily to raise revenues to liquidate the public debt and to support the rising costs of administration and war. Villani concludes that despite the confiscations there was no agrarian revolution in the kingdom of Naples because of the primitive condition of agriculture and the existence of a powerful feudal aristocracy. The Napoleonic regime, by favoring the landed aristocracy at the expense of the lower middle class and peasants, reinforced the existing predominance of feudal property and failed to introduce important elements of modernization into a backward, traditional economy. Villani has made an important contribution to the history of property in southern Italy worthy of the tradition of Georges Lefebvre.

We must be grateful to the *Banca Commerciale* for its initiative in the planning and publication of these volumes which form a part of a larger series on the economic history of modern Italy.

Boston College IRA A. GLAZIER

IL GOVERNO DEI C. L. N.: ATTI DEL CONVEGNO DEI COMITATI DI LIBERAZIONE NAZIONALE, TORINO, 9–10 OTTOBRE 1965. By *Guido Quazza et al.* Preface by *Giuseppe Grosso.* Introduction by *Franco Antonicelli.* [Istituto Storico della Resistenza in Piemonte, Studi e documenti, Number 3.] (Turin: G. Giappichelli Editore. 1966. Pp. xvi, 255. L. 2,500.)

DURING the period of the resistance the Committees of National Liberation (CLN) were the only outlet for the expression of the national will in Italy. For many Italians they were the government in those years. This is the justification for this book, which precisely because of the importance of the CLN succeeds in touching on most of the major problems of Italian politics from 1943 to 1956.

The work contains the papers, comments, and debates of the convention commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the CLN and an appendix listing all the delegates with their original party affiliation and the geographical location of the committees on which they served. The three papers dealing with the historical, political, and juridical problems of the CLN show that the committees were not merely anti-German and patriotic, but were driven by a common aim to rid the country of Fascism and establish a democratic society of a "participatory" character. They also make it clear that the resistance movement would never have achieved its important military and political successes without the leadership and coordination of the CLN.

In this, as in other books on this period, Palmiro Togliatti's "svolta di Salerno" of March 1944 continues to serve as a basis for polemics. His declaration that the Communists were disposed to enter a government led by Badoglio to postpone consideration of the fate of the monarchy has been consistently criticized by most liberals, *azionisti,* and socialists as a blow to the development of democracy and republicanism. Here too Leo Valianti remains firmly committed to this view and even insists that Togliatti "had decided it in Moscow with Stalin." Professor Quazza, however, while asserting reservations about Togliatti's method and timing, declares that the Communist leader's move was "the most eloquent recognition that unity against Nazi-fascism could be achieved only on the positions of the moderates." In the discussions following the lectures, the Communist leaders Amendola, Pajetti, and Sereni offer some spirited arguments in defense of the action of their late, lamented chief.

All in all, this book is a fine reconstruction of the origins, role, and demise of the CLN. It is also an inspiring testimonial to an important episode in the recent history of the struggle for freedom and democracy.

John Jay College of Criminal Justice JOHN M. CAMMETT

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΒΛΑΧΩΜ ΤΩΝ 'ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ ΧΩΡΩΝ. Β', 'ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΒΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ 'ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΚΟΥ ΤΣΟΒΛΑΧΩΝ 'ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥΡΚΟΚΡΑΤΙΑΣ [The Vlachs of Greek Areas. Volume II, Life and History of the Kutsovlachs under Turkish Rule]. By *Telemachos M. Katsougiannes.* [Society for Macedonian Studies. Publications of the National Library, Number 23.] (Thessalonike: the Society. 1966. Pp. 118.)

VARIOUS theories have been expressed on the primitive homeland of the Balkan

Vlachs, but these have often been vitiated by politics. Rumanian scholars have held that the Vlachs were dispersed into the Balkans from Dacia or Moesia. T. M. Katsougiannes, on the other hand, has attempted to show in the previous volume (1964) of his work that the Vlachs of Greece, the so-called Kutsovlachs, are autochthonous, ethnically belonging to the Greeks, although linguistically Latinized. On the basis of this opinion, he seeks to show in the present volume the contribution of the Kutsovlachs to modern Hellenism.

First, the author deals with the passage of the Kutsovlachs, during the Ottoman rule, from a nomadic pastoral state to the settled life in towns and cities, where they formed a middle class. This is an important topic, but the treatment it has received is sketchy. Several towns are mentioned either founded by or constituted for the most part of Kutsovlachs. Prominence has been given, and rightly so, to Moschopolis, which before its destruction in 1771 had been a center of commerce and Greek culture for the southern Balkans. The Kutsovlachs distinguished themselves primarily as businessmen, in Greek lands, in Balkan countries, and in Austria-Hungary.

Katsougiannes treats next the struggles of the Kutsovlachs in favor of Hellenism during the period of the Macedonian question. It was then that the Rumanian government created the Kutsovlach political question, which affected not only the Kutsovlachs but also the patriarchate of Constantinople and the Greek government. After discussing the various vicissitudes brought about by the Rumanian move, the author regrets Venizelos' Bucharest note of 1913, whereby the government at Athens recognized the autonomous status of the pro-Rumanian Vlach minority in the Greek lands.

Whereas the first volume of this work was published by Katsougiannes himself, the second is posthumous and in part has been edited by two Greek scholars. Since he was not a scholar, but a cultured man, the author used his knowledge and personal experience more than historical sources. He presents the viewpoint of a Hellenized Vlach, trying to demonstrate the active contribution of his fellow Kutsovlachs to the Greek society and its national struggles. In doing so, he neglects or degrades the pro-Rumanian faction of the Kutsovlachs whom he regards as mercenaries at the service of Bucharest.

Though a few details Katsougiannes had witnessed or heard, especially when he lived in Bitola, are interesting, his work as a whole is of little value. A sounder historical treatment about the Kutsovlach question is to be found in various chapters of *The Macedonian Question as a Phase of the Near Eastern Question, 1878–1908* (1935), written in Greek by N. Vlachos or in Volume IV of the well-documented diplomatic history of Greece by Driault and Lhéritier. The recent work, *The Greek Struggle in Macedonia, 1897–1913* (1966), by D. Dakin, also contains something on that question. This situation in Balkan historiography points to the need of a scholarly study of the Kutsovlach question, 1860–1913, in English.

Columbia University STAVRO SKENDI

REVOLUCIJA U LICI, 1941–1945 [Revolution in Lika, 1941–1945]. By *Mane Pešut.* ([Bielefeld, Germany: the Author.] 1966. Pp. 398. $3.50.)

THE controversy over who was on the side of the angels in wartime Yugoslavia

—the Partisans of Marshal Tito or the Chetniks of General Mihailovich—continues unabated. Supporters of the Partisans have the advantage of access to substantial collections of documents and facilities for publication; a good many of them are trained historians. Supporters of the Chetniks, on the other hand, have little more than memories to draw on, and few of them are scholars. The Serbian refugees, moreover, are politically divided, emotionally involved, and not all support the Chetnik cause. No wonder that the best short statements on the Chetniks are the wartime report by the Allied Force HQS in Italy and the article that appears in Volume II of the *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije,* written by a Yugoslav Communist.

Yet the writings of the Chetnik emigrants, the published documentary series of Communist Yugoslavia, and the official documents of Germany, Italy, Great Britain, and the United States at long last make it possible to do a good study of the Chetniks. The question is no longer asked whether Mihailovich collaborated, but rather when he started on the course of collaboration and why. A professional historian, free from Yugoslav ethnic and political commitments, could certainly produce a scholarly account of the Chetniks and give an objective assessment of their political program, their activities, and their failure.

Mane Pešut is not such an unbiased writer. A Chetnik refugee, Pešut gives his recollections on what he calls the Serbian uprising and revolution in Lika, Kordun, and Banija during 1941–1945. He describes the struggle of the Chetniks with the Ustashe and the Partisans, their withdrawal from Yugoslavia in 1945, and the fate of the units they left behind. The author is critical of the Allies, Churchill, and Roosevelt and claims that through their "inexcusable errors" the Communists "came to power" in Yugoslavia, and he reproaches Chetnik leaders (such as Slavko Bjelajac and Radmilo Grdjićh) for being silent on the wartime situation in Yugoslavia. Although Pešut is by no means an objective reporter, like other refugees he has given us a few details that fill the existing gap in the historiography on the Chetnik-Partisan fratricide. His is one of numerous memoirs published by refugee Chetniks. The book includes a useful index of persons, a list of Serbian clerics who perished in the war, and the names of the Chetnik battalions and their commanders who operated in wartime Lika.

Stanford University WAYNE S. VUCINICH

ISLAM IN THE SOVIET UNION. By *Alexandre Bennigsen* and *Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay.* With an introduction by *Geoffrey E. Wheeler.* [Published in association with the Central Asian Research Centre, London.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. xiii, 272. $7.00.)

RUSSIA's largest non-Slavic group of nationalities, its mostly Turkic-speaking Muslim peoples (Tatars, Uzbeks, Kazaks, and so forth) have several demographic features in common with the American Negroes: both amount to roughly a tenth of the total populations; their main habitats are located to the southeast; and neither of them merges easily with the majority group of European origin in each respective nation. In contrast to this country's Negroes,

however, Russia's Muslim peoples have preserved their native languages and distinct national identity.

Their evolution, especially in the Soviet era, has been vividly narrated in the present book, introduced and excellently translated from the original French by Geoffrey Wheeler, the eminent British Islamist and Sovietologist and author of many works on Central Asia. The initial section of the volume deals with the incorporation of the Turkic peoples into the Russian Empire during the Russian advance into the vast territories between the Volga and Pamir Mountains, a process that lasted some four centuries and was completed almost a hundred years ago. The political awakening of these Muslims around the turn of the century is discussed in the second section, the story of their Sovietization is offered in the third, while the final, fourth, and most original part analyzes the present situation of Islam in the USSR. Leaning heavily on Wheeler's views, the authors come to the conclusion that Russian Muslims, despite the insistent pressure of Soviet propaganda, education, and administration, have nonetheless been able not only to preserve their own Turkic tongues but also to maintain many important features of the Islamic cultural and social heritage.

The authors are competently informed and well acquainted with the vast American, British, French, and Russian research in their field, as well as with original sources, and have written a balanced work in which they provide much interesting information and many insights. It is regrettable that this volume is too often marred by the authors' uncritical, often naïve, enthusiasm for the achievements of the Russian Muslims, while they repeatedly disregard the centuries-long Russian settlement of these areas, where Russians and other Europeans now often form a substantial majority of the population. Any comprehensive population statistics of these territories are omitted, and in the ethnographic and linguistic maps European, mostly Russian, presence is forgotten. The data given on education in Central Asia and the other Soviet "Muslim" republics also do not always reflect the exact picture. I hope that in the next printing of this easily readable book these regrettable inadequacies and omissions will be eliminated.

Vanderbilt University SERGE A. ZENKOVSKY

THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE 1801–1917. By *Hugh Seton-Watson.* [Oxford History of Modern Europe.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xx, 813. $10.00.)

PROFESSOR Seton-Watson's latest book, which may be considered to supersede his *The Decline of Imperial Russia, 1855–1914* (1952), has many merits. It is based on a wealth of material including sources and monographs, Russian and foreign. It is clear; the author has a spare, straightforward style; he is willing to write simple and apparently obvious statements without apology, but he provides qualifications whenever needed. Its foremost virtue is objectivity; he tries to give everyone the credit he deserves and has not excluded from humanity any person or group, no matter how reactionary or revolutionary. One of the chief assets he has brought to this book is his ability to draw

helpful comparisons with other areas, Japan, Greece, and Ireland, for example. He is especially careful about telling the story of the non-Russian borderlands, from Finland and the Baltic areas to the usually neglected Caucasus and Central Asia. He is at pains to provide at least minimal biographical information on almost everyone of importance he mentions. Some will wish he had been less generous with the detail of military campaigns, but not I.

Errors (except for a few typographical ones) are at a minimum. It is not exactly true to say that "until 1918 Russia used a different calendar from the rest of Europe," since the Julian calendar was in use in both Russia and England from 1700 to 1752; Filaret was forced to become a monk before being chosen bishop; the phrase "Sha-Ho river" is redundant because "ho" means river; though the author is defensibly vague about what transliteration system he is using, "Ilyminsky" is surely incorrect.

He notes that "the history of the Church and of religious ideas remains virtually untouched"; if more work on the subject had been published he might have refrained from speaking of the mid-nineteenth century as a time "when bishops and monks were virtually indifferent to thought" and asserting that the Russian schism originated not in "the troubled consciences of priests and laymen" like the Reformation but in "a decision of the patriarch," both of which statements may be quite misleading. What is more important, one might hope that the categories of "underdeveloped" societies and "deliberate modernization" around which he organizes his over-all interpretation of modern Russian history might have been qualified and supplemented by recognition of what the Empire did to Russian culture, high and low. Aside from culture, he has not told us clearly what he thinks happened to Russian society during the period; he does not relate his actual narrative to the notion of "deliberate modernization" sufficiently so that one is sure what he wants the reader to make of his 742 pages of text. At any rate the balanced, detailed, and critical narrative on which any sound interpretation must rest is here, and for it Russian historians will long be in Seton-Watson's debt.

University of Washington DONALD W. TREADGOLD

RUSSISCHER INTELLEKT IN EUROPÄISCHER KRISE: IVAN V. KIREEVSKIJ (1806–1856). By *Eberhard Müller*. [Beiträge zur Geschichte Osteuropas, Number 5.] (Köln Graz: Böhlau Verlag. 1966. Pp. xii, 512. DM 56.)

RECENT literature on the Slavophiles has tended to emphasize their differences, their lack of a common all-embracing ideology, their sincere libertarianism (as opposed to the proponents of official nationality), and the depth and nature of their religious commitment, while at the same time keeping in view their sense of a shared purpose. Among the Slavophiles, Ivan Kireevsky has usually been regarded as the most "rational" and philosophical and, in his respect for European culture and his concern to overcome Russian backwardness, the closest to their Westernizer opponents.

To this tendency, Professor Müller has made a distinguished contribution. He has organized and highlighted much evidence of differences among the

Slavophiles and of the numerous bonds tying them to the Westernizers. And he has demonstrated most convincingly the extent to which Kireevsky served as a bridge between the two camps.

Unlike previous writers, however, Müller emphasizes the coherence, the continuity, the consistency in Kireevsky's thinking. He relates him not merely to Herzen and Granovsky but to the entire intellectual life of Europe in the two decades before 1848. His book is a genuine contribution to European as well as to Russian intellectual history.

On the one hand, he points out the important differences between Kireevsky's early writings and those of Chaadaev, with which they have often been compared. On the other, he shows that Kireevsky's later writings (after 1838) by no means broke with the postulates of the earlier—with their Pan-Europeanism, the importance they assigned to education and social reform, their aversion to any exclusive or ethnic nationalism—but merely developed the notion that in the general European moral crisis, Russia, having become ineluctably a part of Europe, contained the physical-spiritual wherewithal to provide a new bloom to the old organism that might without its latest "member" merely wither and die.

The book displays a mastery of sources, both Russian and European, and an impressive knowledge of the secondary literature. It takes the trouble to unscramble much previous confusion with regard to Kireevsky's reading of Schelling and Hegel and provides us with evidence of his intimate intellectual relationship to Carlyle, Disraeli, Guizot, Thierry, Menzel, Saint-Simon, Baader, his kinship with Herzen, and his enormous debt to Pascal. It is an old-fashioned effort at intellectual history, with only a minimal interest in psychology, but it is an effort well made and indispensable.

University of Rochester SIDNEY MONAS

RUSSIA AND THE GREEK REVOLUTION OF 1843. By *Barbara Jelavich*. [Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, Number 65.] (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg. 1966. Pp. 124.)

THE Greek Revolution of 1843 has not been the subject of serious study by either Greek or Western historians. The internal factors underlying the military *coup d'état* of September 3, 1843, as well as the motivations and machinations of the external forces involved in Kallerghis' *coup* remain obscure.

In the light of traditional Russian diplomacy concerning the Eastern Question, Barbara Jelavich has attempted to clarify the part played by Russia in the events of 1843 and the specific political interests and actions of Nicholas I chiefly on the basis of documents contained in the Bavarian State Archives in Munich and in the Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna. This limited objective has been accomplished successfully. Jelavich provides a workmanlike summary of Russian policies toward Greece antedating the revolt of 1843 and a detailed description of Russia's participation in the crisis of that year. The evident contradictions between Nicholas' dedication to the principles of legitimacy and his condonement of alteration of the *status quo* by revolutionary action

are discussed with insight. To the Tsar, King Othon's promulgation of the Erastian Decree was apparently a crime severe enough to be punished by a conservative revolution and substitution of a constitutional monarchy for an absolute regime.

The documents used by Jelavich in her investigation of Russian policy toward Greece are insufficient for analysis in depth. The dispatches of Otto von Bray, the Bavarian representative in St. Petersburg, and of Anton von Prokesch-Osten, the Austrian minister in Athens—on which this study is largely based—and those contained in the appendixes of the present volume are informative but neither profound nor exhaustive. It would have been useful to consult comparable sources housed in French, British, and, of course, Russian archives. It is hoped that Jelavich will pursue her studies in nineteenth-century Russian-Greek relations in greater detail in order to elucidate more fully Russia's involvement in Greek affairs in 1843.

University of Colorado STEPHEN FISCHER-GALATI

NICHOLAS AND ALEXANDRA. By *Robert K. Massie.* (New York: Atheneum. 1967. Pp. xvii, 584. $10.00.)

THE author of this volume, trained in both academic history and journalism, has written a family-centered account of the last Emperor of Russia and his wife that deserves its commercial success. Even professional historians will be carried away by its skillful combination of human compassion, source-based historical method (no need to quibble about the absence of footnotes), and narrative power. Such an extensive and tidy historical panorama of the Russian court under the last Tsar certainly would never have been penned by one of them with their penchant for abstract analysis. The only protest that they have a right to advance stems from the fact that Mr. Massie also ventures into historical interpretation by touching upon the larger, impersonal crises enveloping the court and the country. In this respect he is quite unimaginative, never looking beyond the explanations proffered long ago by Bernard Pares. The tensions surrounding Stolypin, the unwillingness of Nicholas II to make the constitution of 1905 work, and his growing eagerness for a restoration are overlooked in favor of the pageantry of the Romanov tercentenary or the dazzle of a Fabergé Easter egg. It is unfortunate that the many readers of this book will carry away so limited or even distorted a comprehension of the great Russian tragedy of those years.

In one respect, however, the author has done even the professionals a service. As he states at the outset, he took up the story of Nicholas and Alexandra because of a hemophiliac son in his own family. Both as a parent and an educated layman he has introduced into his narrative the most recent medical information. At the heart of this book lies a sympathetic, sensitive, and always rational reconstruction of a family tragedy caused by a suffering child. His most moving chapter deals with the severest of the several crises in the life of the young Michael, at Spala in 1912. In this context even the role of Rasputin becomes intelligible. Massie cites recent medical experience to the effect that hypnosis and emotional soothing can reduce the flow of blood and

promote clotting. That Rasputin possessed such power to an unusual degree has been well testified and does not go beyond the range of common sense. There is no question, furthermore, that having once had this effect, this power could even be invoked *in absentia,* by a telegram sent from Siberia, as in 1912.

Clio's house has many mansions, and one of them is set aside, quite legitimately, as a home where the great actors become human to off-stage folk who like to read history. This is their book.

Washington University THEODORE H. VON LAUE

PUT' K SOTSIALIZMU V ROSSII: IZBRANNYE PROIZVEDENIIA [The Path to Socialism in Russia: Selected Works]. By *N. I. Bukharin.* Edited with an introduction by *Sidney Heitman.* Russian translation of introduction and notes by *Eugenia Zhiglevich.* (New York: Omicron Books; distrib. by Rausen Publishers, New York. 1967. Pp. 415.)

PROFESSOR Heitman has performed a valuable service for specialists in the Soviet field by presenting in the original Russian selections from the writings and speeches of Nikolai Bukharin, former Politburo member and leading theoretician of the Communist movement who was among those old Bolsheviks executed in the 1930's. Recently Western scholars, such as Heitman himself, have been publishing studies of Bukharin's views and his historical role, but most examinations of the early period of Soviet history have given only a few generalities about this important spokesman and economic organizer during the NEP period. Soviet scholars, not surprisingly, have neglected Bukharin, and it has been difficult to obtain the exact texts of his statements.

The essays and speeches here show Bukharin's agility in defending the position of the party during war Communism and the NEP. He is particularly aware of the problems faced by Soviet leadership in establishing socialism in a backward country. But he combines an insight into peasant psychology with a typical Bolshevik ability to twist both facts and Marxist dialectic to justify rigid party dictatorship. There is much that is sophistical; the peasants must, for example, fall under the influence either of the bourgeoisie or of the proletariat, and the proletariat is identified, of course, with the party. His arguments fortunately lack the insulting tone of Lenin's or the crudeness of Stalin's, but the reasoning is often as specious. Heitman is right in his able introduction to stress the significance of Bukharin as a Bolshevik thinker, but there is little evidence he had remarkable intellectual gifts. Besides a general introduction, Heitman has written in English a short introduction to each of the selections. These introductions are beautifully translated into Russian.

University of Windsor FRANKLIN A. WALKER

VNESHNIAIA POLITIKA VREMENNOGO PRAVITEL'STVA [The Foreign Policy of the Provisional Government]. By *V. S. Vasiukov.* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Mysl'." 1966. Pp. 494.)

POVOROT V POLITIKE KOMINTERNA (K 30-LETIIU VII KONGRESSA) [The Reversal in Comintern Policy (On the 30th Anniversary of the Seventh Congress)]. By *B. M. Leibzon* and *K. K. Shirinia.* [Akademiia Obshchestvennykh Nauk pri TsK KPSS.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Mysl'." 1965. Pp. 373.)

EASIER access to state archives and renewed Soviet interest in the non-Bolshevik aspects of the Russian Revolution combine to provide the stimulating thesis that the imperial and democratic governments were strongly committed to maintaining Russia as a full-fledged member of the European Great Power system. While noting, though surely underestimating, the nuances separating Nicholas II, Miliukov, and Kerensky-Tereshchenko, Vasiukov reveals their common fear that, in contrast to the British, German economic and military imperialism threatened to undermine Russia's political independence. The provisional government's efforts to secure this independence through a moderate peace policy were doomed by the fierce tug of war between the *Entente* and the revolutionary forces over war aims. Heavily dependent upon Allied supplies and credits, but not to the extent of becoming a "semicolony," the author argues in line with current Soviet historical thinking, the provisional government gave ground to the British, French, and Japanese in the Middle and Far East, but clung to some sort of guarantee of access to the Mediterranean. Thus the author uncovers the roots of intervention in 1917 and points up the contradictions in Allied policy toward Russia. To those not put off by Vasiukov's lack of discrimination in evaluating sources, his tendency to attribute the motivation of all non-Bolsheviks to cynicism and money, and the normal quota of Marxist clichés, the book offers new material and insights into the dilemma of the provisional government and the persistence of foreign policy problems which, it might be added, extended into the Soviet period.

The post-Khrushchev revisionist history of the origins of the popular front also relies on some new material and seeks to serve as a guide to contemporary political action. According to Leibzon and Shirinia, the credit for the Comintern's shift belongs to the spontaneous mass action led by the Czech and, especially, the French Communist parties in the face of Stalin's indifference and Left sectarianism within the Comintern Executive. The Spanish party followed more quickly than those in "more highly developed European countries" and in the colonial areas like China and India. Revelations of detail show, for example, Kun, Lozovskii, and Varga ranged against Dmitrov, Manuilskii, and Kuusinen on the issue of cooperation with the Social Democrats. Those skeptical of reading too much into Soviet documents would do well to study the heated debates over phraseology in the sessions of the Seventh Congress' preparatory commission. Popular democracy as a new form of transition to the proletarian dictatorship became possible because the earlier fears of the Social Democrats swallowing fledgling Communist parties had disappeared. Stalin's unresolved doubts about the shift showed up in the heavy-handed editing of the Congress'

stenographic reports. The general thesis that the Comintern and its policies reflected loose organization, local variations, and spontaneity ring false, but it is useful to have a corrective to the image of an unflawed monolith.

University of Pennsylvania ALFRED J. RIEBER

OKTIABR' I GRAZHDANSKAIA VOINA V SSSR [The November Revolution and the Civil War in the USSR]. [Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii. Sbornik Statei k 70-letiiu Akademika I. I. Mintsa.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1966. Pp. 525.)

ANTICIPATING the fiftieth anniversary of the November Revolution, the Division of Historical Science of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, acting upon "suggestions" made by party leaders at the All Union Conference of Historians in December 1962, established a council of scholars to research the Revolution under a "Coordinated Plan." In the March 1963 issue of *Voprosy istorii,* the "Plan," encompassing twenty pages of project titles in small print, is outlined by Isaak Israelevich Mints, dean of Soviet revolutionary historiography and the council's chairman. Teams of scholars fanning out over the USSR would study archival and other sources to fill the lacunae left in the Revolution's history by researchers, foreign and domestic. Their monographs and articles would treat the leading role of the proletariat and of the party in the Revolution, the significance of the Soviets, the peasant movement in 1917, the history of the struggle with petty bourgeois parties, among other subjects, repairing the damage done by bourgeois falsifiers and correcting the bourgeois objectivist interpretations.

The thirty-five articles that make up this *Festschrift,* honoring septuagenarian I. I. Mints, grew out of the "Plan." The writing is toneless and tendentious, archival and other materials being selected to achieve desired conclusions. Articles by A. P. Gritsenko, E. V. Illeritskaia, E. V. Ostrovskii, however, reflect the recently heightened historical sensitivity, yielding, if not truth, at least a much-improved quality of life and realism. The nature of Bolshevism, in particular, is revealed as only a native Bolshevik could do it. The marvelously continuing vitality of Lenin's militaristic principles in a society growing daily less Spartan seems explainable solely by the cold war, registered here in a number of Ententeophobic articles. If the cold war did not exist the party would surely have to invent it.

Hundreds of references to Lenin and dozens to Mints attest to the hardiness of personality cultism and to the ubiquity of Stalin's ghost, evident most ironically in that he is mentioned but once by name and then not in connection with the three articles on Transcaucasia or the one on the First Five-Year Plan. Trotsky is not mentioned at all despite two articles on the early years of the Red Army.

The anniversary celebration of the Revolution was prepared as a hymn to the success of Lenin's iron-disciplined centralistic party. Bolshevik historians were expected to do their duty, emphasizing the positive in the Soviet past and ignoring cumbersome facts and persons. Praise to centralism and, therefore,

the deliberate misuse of materials constitute the theme and technique of these essays.

City College of New York STANLEY W. PAGE

KORNILOVSHCHINA I EE RAZGROM: IZ ISTORII BOR'BY S KONTR-REVOLIUTSIEI V 1917 G. [The Kornilov Affair and Its Liquidation: The History of the Struggle by the Counterrevolutionaries in 1917]. By *N. Ia. Ivanov*. [Leningradskii Ordena Lenina Gosudarstvennyi Universitet Imeni A. A. Zhdanova.] ([Leningrad:] Izdatel'stvo Leningradskogo Universiteta. 1965. Pp. 238.)

GENERAL Kornilov's march on Petrograd in August 1917 marked a critical turning point in the Russian Revolution. Although it collapsed without a single shot being fired, the mutiny sealed the doom of the provisional government. Popular confidence in Kerenski, who was widely suspected of complicity in the affair, was fatally undermined, while the workers of the capital had been armed and were consolidated behind the leadership of the extreme Left. Kornilov's abortive *coup* thus set the stage for the Bolshevik seizure of power two months later.

An immense literature has accumulated on the subject, yet fifty years later the Kornilov affair remains beclouded by the contradictory testimony of its eyewitnesses and participants. Did Kornilov betray Kerenski, or was it the other way around? What, beyond the restoration of military and civil order, were the general's political objectives? How much support did he receive from the Allies? To what extent was V. N. Lvov—the self-appointed liaison between the Prime Minister and his commander in chief—personally responsible for precipitating the ill-fated revolt?

Although he has had access to archival materials, N. Ia. Ivanov fails to provide any satisfactory answers to these and a host of lesser enigmas that still enshroud the Kornilov affair. His intensely polemical book, indeed, only adds to the confusion by its unceasing vilification of the conspirators and their supporters. The latter, by Ivanov's reckoning, ranged from monarchists and Black Hundreds on the Right to Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries on the Left, aided and abetted by "the ruling circles of international imperialism." Working hand in glove with Kornilov, says the author, was a small army of Allied agents whose ranks included the venerable Populist leaders Chaikovski and Breshko-Breshkovskaya. Without citing any evidence Ivanov labels the American ambassador, David Francis, "one of the most active participants in the preparation of Kornilov's movement."

Against these formidable opponents, says Ivanov, the Bolsheviks alone rallied to the Revolution's defense, while the Mensheviks and SR's showed their true colors as "petty bourgeois reformists" by using the Committee for Defense against Counterrevolution to protect the "traitor" Kerenski. The fact that Lenin's party enjoyed equal representation on the committee is passed over in silence. Nor are we told that SR's, Mensheviks, and anarchists served alongside the Bolsheviks in the armed detachments organized to stop Kornilov. The truth was that Kornilov's threat, in the words of John Reed, "drew together

all the Socialist groups—'moderates' as well as revolutionists—in a passionate impulse of self-defense."

Columbia University PAUL AVRICH

VTORAIA MIROVAIA VOINA [World War II]. Volume I, OBSHCHIE PROBLEMY [General Problems]; Volume II, VOENNOE ISKUSSTVO [Military Leadership]; Volume III, DVIZHENIE SOPROTIVLENIIA V EVROPE [Resistance Movements in Europe]. Edited by *A. M. Samsonov et al.* [Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Marksizma-Leninizma pri TsK KPSS, Ministerstvo Oborony SSSR. Glavnoe Politicheskoe Upravlenie Sovetskoi Armii i Voenno-Morskogo Flota. Materialy Nauchnoi Konferentsii, Posviashchennoi 20–1 Godovshchine Pobedy nad Fashistskoi Germaniei.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1966. Pp. 438; 402; 338.)

THESE three volumes consist of reports presented in April 1965 at a conference convened in Moscow by the Institute of Science of the USSR and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the end of World War II. The conference was divided into three sections, the topic treated in each section becoming then the title of each of the three volumes.

The general nature of the reports published, aside from the political orientation, was not in the direction of what we call historical research. An idea of the general tenor of the volumes as a whole can be derived by noting that among the seven "knotty problems" listed as "standing in the center of attention of the conference" are the "decisive role of the Soviet Union in the smashing of Fascist Germany" and "the role of the Communist party and other democratic parties in the organization of the struggle with Fascism."

Volume I, therefore, beginning with its treatment of the "decisive role of the Soviet Union in the victory," has as its first of more than forty articles one entitled "The Military Organizational Activity of the Communist Party of the USSR in the Period of the Great Fatherland War." The next article draws a number of interesting statistical comparisons that differ from similar information in some works of German origin. Several of the conclusions also seem to be refuted by other sources. The author states, for example, that the "industry of the USSR until the attack of Fascist Germany had not been converted to military production" and consequently in 1941 "Germany turned out 11,000 first-class planes, more than five thousand tanks and armored vehicles . . . , whereas the Soviet air industry produced only 10,600 planes of which only a few dozen were of the new type." This seems to contradict the testimony of a Soviet pilot, Gallai, who, writing in *Novyi Mir* in September 1966, states that during the period of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, the Germans sold the USSR a number of their latest planes, including ME-109's, 110's, Heinkels, and Junkers. Gallai goes on to say that "we all flew in them" and that although some of their features were good, they were not superior to those planes which the Soviets were using. Again, in his evaluation of tank production and the fact that only 115 of the new T-34's had been produced in 1940, the author gives a different impression than does General Guderian in his memoirs.

The third volume is devoted to the resistance movements; here their origins

and developments in one region after another are discussed. Documentation, as we know it, is not provided, however.

Moreover, those places where the Western historian might look for more details and elucidation, especially in connection with the tragic Warsaw uprising of 1944 and the abortive rising in Slovakia, are pretty well passed over.

It is difficult to judge a work that contains about a hundred different articles, representing the contributions of an even greater number of authors. This can be left to the individual reader.

University of Iowa NORMAN LUXENBURG

VELIKAIA OTECHESTVENNAIA VOINA SOVETSKOGO SOIUZA, 1941–1945: KRATKAIA ISTORIIA [The Great Fatherland War of the Soviet Union, 1941–1945: A Concise History]. Edited by *P. I. Pospelov et al.* [Institut Marksizma-Leninizma pri TsK KPSS, Otdel Istorii Velikoi Otechestvennoi Voiny.] (Moscow: Voennoe Izdatel'stvo Ministerstva Oborony SSSR. 1965. Pp. 617.)

SINCE this is a one-volume condensation of the original six-volume *Istoriia,* is further a "scientific-popular" version of it, and, in addition, was produced by three teams of party representatives, editors, and writers, one could not reasonably expect an improvement over the original.

There is room for a manual on the experiences of the Soviet Union in the Second World War and on the literature respecting them. It is a disappointment to have instead a condensation that not only dispenses with footnotes, bibliography, and even index, but also preserves the political purpose and to this end retains the familiar serious distortions regarding the American and British roles in the war. Actual aid is just barely acknowledged. The term "sabotage," however, is used in respect to delays in the opening of the second front and, by juxtaposition, is implied in respect to the suspension of shipment of arms along the frightfully expensive Murmansk route in the spring of 1943. Further, it is stated, war in the Pacific developed despite the efforts of the "ruling circles" of the United States and England to promote Japanese aggression against the Soviet Union.

The over-all political lessons, internal and external, represent explicit and depersonalized commentaries on Leninist views of political development. Political figures are given somewhat more prominence than generals in the text and photographs, but the prevailing image is that of the masses and the Soviet socialist system as the true heroes. Also, as is to be expected, the war is treated as a product of imperialism and the calculations of its ruling classes, but is also treated as the progenitor of new revolutionary advantage. Thus, the period of the Second World War brought, according to the book, a doubling in the number of nations establishing relations with the USSR and a quadrupling in the number of members in the world's Communist parties; out of the war came the present "world socialist system" and unfolding of the wars and revolutions of national liberation.

The twelve-page chronology is of some help, as are the thirty maps of specifically Soviet operations against Germany. Three-fourths of the material deals with

these, but does not necessarily enlarge understanding of the military aspects of Soviet warfare.

Kent State University ALFRED A. SKERPAN

Near East

ARMENIA ON THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE, 1918. By *Richard G. Hovannisian.* [Published under the auspices of the Near Eastern Center, University of California, Los Angeles.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 364. $8.50.)

PROFESSOR Hovannisian has undertaken a difficult task in this account of the desperate struggle of the Armenian nation to create a political existence for itself under the buffeting of the First World War and in the face of abandonment by the Russian government. History can count few, if any, more tragic episodes; to tell such an emotionally charged story objectively is a formidable assignment. It is also a complicated story since Armenia was divided between the Turkish and Russian Empires. Armenian political ambitions therefore involved both Empires as well as their Transcaucasian neighbors, the Georgians and Azerbaijanis.

The challenge has been well met. The narrative, based on sources in six languages, makes demands on the reader's attention, but it is always comprehensible, and while there is no doubt where the author stands, he presents with understanding the positions of all involved. Perhaps what is most impressive, he does not obtrusively take sides within the Armenian community between the Dashnaktzutiun (revolutionary federation) and its opponents.

Following three introductory chapters on the background of Armenian nationalism, the author describes the massacres in Turkey; the Russian invasion of Anatolia, which raised hopes of uniting the two Armenias; the surge of enthusiasm that followed the March revolution with its promise of a liberal regime in Russia; the pall of the Bolshevik revolution; and the crushing blow of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. That document not only ended all Russian claims to Turkish Armenia, but actually surrendered half of Russian Armenia to the Turks and left the remainder wide open to Turkish invasion.

The account of the short-lived Federative Republic of Transcaucasia in which the three Transcaucasian peoples briefly united is the best I have seen. This is so not only because of Hovannisian's extensive use of archives, including the Armenian, but also because of his admirable objectivity. He is free of the frequent Armenian disposition to blame the failure of the republic on the perfidy of the Georgians and Azerbaijanis and equally free of the tendency of hostile writers to make a scapegoat of the Dashnakists.

Well handled too is the attempt of the Armenians to stand alone after the creation of their own republic in May 1918 "under conditions so tragic as to defy adequate description." With this makeshift they held out until the end of the war brought an opportunity to appeal to the Allies to put something behind their myriad expressions of sympathy and support. A second volume that will carry the story further, presumably to the Soviet conquest of 1920, is promised.

Kent State University JAMES B. GIDNEY

Africa

LAND POLICY IN COLONIAL ALGERIA: THE ORIGINS OF THE RURAL PUBLIC DOMAIN. By *John Ruedy*. [University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies, Number 10. Published under the auspices of the Near Eastern Center, University of California, Los Angeles.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 115. $3.50.)

GRADUALLY through four movements France conquered all of Algeria: Turko-Moorish or city conquests, 1830–1837; conquests of the Arab plains, 1839–1847; Kabylie Mountains acquisition, 1851–1871; conquest of the desert, 1870–1900. This study covers the first two conquests or the period 1830–1847. After describing the different types of Arab land tenure prior to 1830, the author systematically shows how France acquired the land and added it to the public domain to be transferred to the French *colons*. Although Marshal de Bourmont signed a treaty of capitulation with the dey of Algiers promising to respect the property rights of the defeated, his successor, General Clausel, on September 8, 1830, issued a decree that confiscated the property of the Turks who had left Algeria. This opened the door for a long series of laws allowing France to deprive the Arabs of their land. Although the inhabitants were to be compensated, bureaucratic delays and the difficulty of proving ownership deprived many of just compensation. Millions of francs of indebtedness were simply repudiated by France. In Algiers alone in order to make the city more habitable for Europeans, more than eight hundred houses, shops, and stores were demolished in the process of widening streets and making public squares large enough for marshaling troops. If the owners were compensated, it was often only at half the estimated value, and many never received payment. Certainly the most controversial policy was the French colonization of *habous* (property donated to a Muslim institution as a religious act); both Muslims and European sympathizers condemned this policy.

The study is well documented with primary sources. In several instances the quotations from the French would read better if they were more freely translated.

This is the only detailed study of the French land policy in colonial Algeria. It is a significant contribution to North African history. Scholars can hope that it will be followed someday by a similar study of the period 1847–1900.

DePauw University DWIGHT L. LING

FRENCH NORTH AFRICA: THE MAGHRIB BETWEEN TWO WORLD WARS. By *Jacques Berque*. Translated by *Jean Stewart*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. 422. $12.50.)

ORIGINALLY published in France (1962) under the title *Le Maghreb entre les deux guerres*, this study is the profound and sensitive work of a French sociologist who has devoted his adult life to the examination of the Islamic world of the Near East and North Africa. Divided into five parts ("Assessment of the Situation," "Fragments of Local History," "The Reckoning," "The Floating Island," and "The Maghrib: Past and Future") the book eschews political institutions and focuses upon the people and their nonpolitical behavior. Professor Berque

knows these people intimately, and he supplements the spotty sources with both personal recollection and experience.

The book has the quality in many sections of a beautiful Impressionistic painting. The author obviously cannot allow himself to be overwhelmed by the enormous variety of life nor by its complexity as it ranged from tribal organization to urban habitation and as it applied to Muslims and Europeans of all ranks. He nevertheless intelligently isolates the vital nuance and translates his keen perception into brilliant, general insight. One example, chosen without serious search, will help the potential reader understand this quality. "The North African village of the inter-war period—that fertile field of contact between Europeans and men of the Maghrib, even where statistics show one of these to be lacking; where the sedentary way of life has conquered the nomadic, and Cain has vanquished Abel—has stabilized discords without resolving them."

No overriding thesis is argued, but Berque in at least two passages pays homage to the well-known authoritative political analysis of Charles A. Julien. Berque believes, too, that "the Maghribi nation arose out of the colonial triumph." The idea that the seeds and flowers of Western imperialism contained their own destruction as the indigenous people imbibed their lessons from the West and then watched the Europeans tear themselves apart in two world wars is scarcely unique. Stéphane Bernard's *Le conflit franco-marocain, 1943–1956* (see *AHR*, LXX (Oct. 1964), 103), emphasized the same point. Berque's contribution rests upon the broad range of his sources and his talent in bringing the material into focus. He suggests that the years 1934–1935 mark the watershed, or as he states "the date of this reversal." After that time the same forces produced contrary results, and, he believes, the end of French political domination could be seen by clear minds. The colonial power mastered the state, but lost contact with the land—the influence of the clear minds proved weak. Berque promises a study on the Maghrib since independence. It will be challenging to see how he evaluates the continuing French cultural presence.

Oakland University RICHARD M. BRACE

MODERNIZATION AND BRITISH COLONIAL RULE IN EGYPT, 1882–1914. By *Robert L. Tignor*. [Princeton Studies on the Near East.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 417. $9.00.)

FOLLOWING in the wake of two most important general works on modernization by C. E. Black and Barrington Moore, Jr., Robert Tignor's study of British rule and Egyptian society gives specific insights into problems of equal concern to political scientists, economists, and historians. He deals with such issues as agriculture and irrigation, education and public health, agriculture and law; in a sense he stands at the interdisciplinary frontier. Basing his interpretation on one of the traditional sources of the historians of the expansion of Europe (notably the British Foreign Office documents at the Public Record Office), he also has much to say about Britain's occupation of Egypt in 1882. His conclusions support the contention of the Pooh-Bahs of the history of Africa's partition, Messrs. Robinson and Gallagher, that owing to the British occupation "The French were alienated because of their rival interests in Egypt and the forces of national im-

perialism were let loose on the African continent." So much for Professor Stengers.

The main point of the book is "the impact of British administration upon Egyptian society." In that regard Tignor contributes much that is new and important, not least in his discussion of the misconceptions of Lord Cromer and others concerning the nature of Egyptian society and the nationalist movement. His conclusion in this regard illustrates both the content and the high quality of scholarship of the entire work: the British "tended to regard Egyptian nationalism as the work of a few, discontented demagogues, not representative of the will of the people. For these reasons they did not prepare Egypt as thoroughly for its independence as they would have if their perception of the future of Egypt had been clearer."

Yale University WM. ROGER LOUIS

MODERN EGYPT. By *Tom Little.* [Nations of the Modern World.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. xiii, 300. $7.50.)

ALTHOUGH intended to be a history of modern Egypt, this work devotes nearly two-thirds of its space to Egypt since the army revolt and successful *coup d'état* of 1952. It is fortunate that the author has arranged his material this way, for he is obviously an extremely well-informed observer of the contemporary Egyptian political scene, the result, presumably, of his personal experiences in the Middle East. His efforts to reconstruct the earlier history of Egypt are less successful. A number of inaccurate statements appear. The Anglo-French dual control is said to have defended the rights of the Egyptian peasants when, in fact, the incessant demands for increased tax revenues certainly made it difficult to improve the lot of the peasantry. Much of the repressive legislation that Mr. Little attributes to Lord Kitchener, consul general in Egypt from 1911 to 1914, was actually the handiwork of his supposedly more liberal predecessor, Sir Eldon Gorst. Nor does lack of concrete information restrain the author from generalizing on the reputed happiness or misery of the peasantry at various junctures in Egyptian history.

The chapters dealing with Egypt since 1952 are much more rewarding. Little has more complete knowledge and a better feel for this period. His sympathy for President Nasser is apparent, but it does not inhibit him from making critical statements about Egypt's foreign policy adventures or its search for economic development. Let it be said, however, that the treatment of modern Egypt lacks the analytical depth of some of the best works on the Nasser period. The author is disappointing on Egyptian economics; the reader will have to go to works by Issawi, O'Brien, and others for more complete information. Indeed, one of the major weaknesses is that Little does not succeed in showing the connections between political and economic factors, domestic and foreign policy considerations. Each area of investigation tends to be treated as a discrete entity, but this approach is certainly faulty, especially for Egypt where the goals of economic advancement, Arab nationalism, anti-Zionism, and even ultimate democratic development intertwine. The best sections deal with foreign policy, and here we are indebted to the author for bringing together in a single book much diffuse material. Egypt's foreign policy ventures are traced from the opening negotiations

with the British over withdrawal from Egypt to the recent war with Israel. For this alone *Modern Egypt* will certainly be a useful reference work.

Princeton University ROBERT L. TIGNOR

THE ARABS AND THE SUDAN: FROM THE SEVENTH TO THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By *Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan.* (Edinburgh: University Press; distrib. by Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. 1967. Pp. x, 298. $8.95.)

THIS important book has a double significance: on the one hand it deals with a long-neglected period in the history of the Sudan; on the other it marks the emergence of a new generation of Sudanese historians. Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan, of the University of Khartoum, was trained at the University of London, where he received his doctorate. He has been able to combine his thorough knowledge of Arabic sources and the traditions, both oral and written, of the northern Sudanese with the rigorous historical analysis associated with Western historiography. Not since the earlier work of Mekki Shibeika, *British Policy in the Sudan, 1882–1902* (1952), has a Sudanese historian written so successfully in English and for the first time about the medieval Sudan.

Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan first analyzes the beginning of relations between the Nubians and the Arabs who penetrated beyond Aswan in the mid-seventh century. He discusses with great perception the controversial "treaty" between 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd and the Nubians, concluding that the "treaty" was really a *baqṭ,* a compact of mutual obligations and its connected payments and not the product of military victory or defeat. The legend that the *baqṭ* was a treaty was developed later by Muslim jurists to explain the anomaly of the *baqṭ* which was alien to Muslim international law. The Arab penetration of the Sudan was thus not begun by 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd's warriors, whom the Nubians repulsed, but by Arab merchants who traded in slaves, Arab miners who controlled the gold and emerald deposits in the desert east of the Nile, and the pilgrims who passed from Upper Egypt to Mecca through the strategic port of 'Aydhāb on the Red Sea. These contacts continued throughout the long life of Christian Nubia, acquainting the Arabs with the northern Sudan and in fact introducing an Arab element into the Nubian population.

The Fatimid and Ayyubid rulers of Egypt were content to leave the Christian kingdoms of the Sudan, Al-Muqurra and 'Alwa, alone so long as the *baqṭ* was forthcoming and the Arab traders, miners, and pilgrims could travel peacefully on the fringe of Nubia. The Mamluks, however, were not. They began to intervene directly in Nubian affairs and in an effort to control Al-Muqurra sent military expeditions that brought an end to Christian Nubia. In fact the Mamluks only delivered the final blow. For centuries small groups of Arab Bedouins, following in the footsteps of Arab merchants, miners, and pilgrims or fleeing before Mamluk exactions, settled along the Nile, intermarried with the Nubians, and by the Nubian custom of matrilinear succession, undermined the authority of the Christian rulers who then disappeared before the Muslim onslaught.

Although the outlines of Arab penetration into the Sudan have been previously presented by A. J. Arkell and H. A. MacMichael, neither had employed the

wealth of Arabic source materials nor the body of tradition available to Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan whose work will be welcomed by all scholars of the Middle East and Africa for its detailed narrative, dispassionate judgments, and clarity of presentation.

University of California, Santa Barbara ROBERT O. COLLINS

EDWARD WILMOT BLYDEN: PAN-NEGRO PATRIOT, 1832–1912. By *Hollis R. Lynch*. [West African History Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 272. $6.70.)

BLYDEN's life took him from a free childhood in Saint Thomas to the United States where, still a boy in 1850, he was fired by the idea of colonization. In succeeding years he became an outstanding agent, propagandist, and directing force in Liberia and a philosopher of Negro nationalism and capacities. His views were not, and are not, shared by all Negroes and explain why he is unlikely ever to be a universal symbol of their aspirations.

For example, most American Negroes viewed colonization, in the pre-Civil War years, as a tool of antagonistic whites for ridding the country of free Negroes. They also preserved a sense of secrecy and community to which Blyden did not subscribe. He honored "pure" blacks over mulattoes. His loyalty was to his program for Liberia more than, indiscriminately, to his fellow Negroes.

Blyden became a Liberian journalist and educator whose respect for indigenous Africans, among other factors, inspired in him Pan-Negro hopes. He wrote ardent defenses of Liberia, struggled to build up its immigration and to attract financial and intellectual aid, and made historical studies calculated to foster the pride of Negroes in their heritage. Blyden was also a politician and a diplomat, visited the United States many times, and carried out missions to England. He was involved in Liberia's many crises.

He left Negroes a mixed heritage. His wholehearted cooperation with imperialist agents was hardly likely to furnish inspiration to later Negro nationalists. Yet they seem to have recognized generally that his intentions were to serve their people. His influence on such colonizationists as Marcus Garvey and George Padmore is evident. His racial passion transcended his controversial views. He was a Presbyterian clergyman, yet he concluded that Christianity had stifled the "African personality," while Islam had developed it. His most notable writing was *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race* (1887). Whether it was well advised or ill advised, it is clear that his goal was Negro advancement.

Professor Lynch conscientiously records Blyden's weaknesses as an organizer and thinker, but concludes that his long service and dedication entitle him to be honored and remembered. Many of the events and personalities discussed are far from earth shaking; it would be a disservice to pretend that they are. But they constitute beginnings of Negro and African enterprise, and Lynch has given them clear and forthright treatment. They merit appreciation and integration with relevant studies at home and abroad.

Antioch College LOUIS FILLER

AUTORITÉS TRADITIONNELLES ET POUVOIRS EUROPÉENS EN AFRIQUE NOIRE: LE DÉCLIN D'UNE ARISTOCRATIE SOUS LE RÉGIME COLONIAL. By *Jacques Lombard.* [Cahiers de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, Number 152.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1967. Pp. 291.)

JACQUES Lombard has undertaken an ambitious and important task: to assess the postcolonial significance of traditional authority structures in sub-Saharan Africa. As the title suggests, his conclusion is that, with few exceptions, the corrosive effect of subordination to colonial tutelage voids traditional systems of their legitimacy. Lombard argues that, whether administration was "direct" or "indirect," colonial powers inevitably made chiefs responsible for tax collection, labor conscription, road building, and other invidious tasks that cast them in an oppressive role, unable to maintain their influence when challenged by a new elite.

The universe from which Lombard's observations are drawn is in fact considerably more restricted than the title suggests. He has given thorough coverage to most former French territories, especially the coastal states and above all Dahomey. There is some discussion of ex-British Africa, although it is mainly restricted to Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, and Tanganyika. The rest of tropical Africa is not treated. He relies primarily on anthropological monographs and administrative archives in Paris, Dakar, and Cotonou. Lombard does not make clear in his bibliography and footnotes to what extent he has supplemented these sources with his own field data; he has spent some years in Dahomey, and his observations on that country are particularly detailed and convincing.

The nature of the sources and the scope of his analysis determine his conclusions. As a contribution to the history of the relationships between traditional authority structures and colonial ruler in most of former French West Africa, the volume is highly rewarding. The key hypotheses, however, are not supported by broad enough data to be accepted on an Africa-wide scale. The anthropological studies and administrative archives describe the colonial situation. Verification of his hypotheses by empirical examination of postindependence outcomes has been done for only a handful of the thirty-three independent sub-Saharan states. Were Lombard to undertake this, surely he would be forced to adopt a much more nuanced position.

Although the author describes his study as a contribution to political science, he has almost entirely overlooked the work in this discipline, with the exception of that by David Apter and Gus Liebenow. Martin Kilson, William Foltz, Thomas Hodgkin, Ruth Schachter Morganthau, Richard Sklar, James Coleman, Dennis Austin, to mention but a few, have all made important contributions to this topic; several of them provide evidence that might suggest major modifications in the conclusions. Despite these objections, the book is valuable for what it does do well: it provides a detailed case study of the impact of French rule on traditional authority structures in West Africa.

University of Wisconsin M. CRAWFORD YOUNG

LESOTHO, BOTSWANA, & SWAZILAND: THE FORMER HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. By *Richard P. Stevens.* [The Praeger Library of African Affairs.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. 294. $7.50.)

THIS is a brief, straightforward account of British administration in the High Commission Territories. It is essentially three long, separate essays, one for each territory. The same format is used for each presentation. This includes the early history of the areas before British rule, administrative practices through the 1950's, the birth of political parties and constitution making through 1965, and a concluding section on economic factors. Dr. H. George Henry wrote the excellent short economic segments. The title is somewhat misleading since the narrative ends before Lesotho and Botswana became independent.

Mr. Stevens traces the political development of each territory after the reluctant British assumption of responsibility to the period of hasty constitution making of the 1960's that prefaced independence. Although not specifically stressed by the author, the British record of vacillation, half measures, and refusals to establish effective mechanisms for advance toward clearly defined goals show through the narrative.

South Africa's importance to each is shown in two ways. The first is the negative reaction in Britain and in the territories to the racialist native policy. This factor more than any other caused Britain's retention of the enclaves after 1910 and ultimately its agreement to their independence. Equally important is the economic dependence of the territories, particularly Basutoland, upon the republic. Therefore, the British had to foster constitutions and political parties for the new states that would continue good relations with the republic. This was important for Britain also, in order to balance its financial interests in the republic with its responsibilities toward the territories. The need for conservative, responsible governments led to anomalies such as the different constitutions for the Basuto and the Swazi. In the former case the paramount chief became a figurehead while the latest Swazi constitution recognizes the paramount chief's authoritarian position.

The book falls somewhere between a textbook approach and a detailed scholarly analysis. This is obvious by the author's attempt to survey in one short book three complicated, diverse groups of people over a long span of time, and the use of few primary sources. Stevens should not be criticized, however, for this approach. There is a need for books that attempt to synthesize complex African developments for nonspecialists, particularly students.

San Jose State College HARRY A. GAILEY, JR.

SOUTH AFRICA: AN IMPERIAL DILEMMA. NON-EUROPEANS AND THE BRITISH NATION, 1902–1914. By *Benjamin Sacks.* ([Albuquerque:] University of New Mexico Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 356. $8.95.)

THIS study describes the troubled conscience of the "British Nation" confronted with the dilemma: should Britain interfere to champion the nonwhites of South Africa at the risk of losing the imperial advantages of a loyal white Dominion?

Other books have touched upon the problem, but this one takes note of all significant incidents involving Africans, Cape Coloreds, and Indians during the critical formative years 1902–1914. The chapters on the Zulus in Natal and the Indian question are full and noteworthy. Official policy is delineated from the statements of ministers and official Blue Books, from private papers, from Colonial Office "Confidential Prints," and to some degree from minutes and correspondence found only in the Colonial Office archives. The last two sources were not available to most earlier commentators. The book's major contribution is intended, however, to be an analysis of British opinion. While the presentation is purely descriptive, the author's diligence in gathering and summarizing materials from a wide spectrum of sources of opinion is everywhere evident. What is more, he is careful to give the background required for understanding the incidents discussed and putting them into the context of South African history. These aspects of the book will make it useful for college and general library collections.

The presentation unfortunately plods along, and the author remains entirely aloof as narrator, giving almost no help to a reader's understanding by analysis and interpretation, although he is certainly well equipped to give such guidance. The design of the research is also unclear, a common failing of historical writing of this genre. In what way were the many available sources of opinion sampled and opinions selected for presentation? Did the author consider other categories than Conservative-Liberal-Labour for organizing his data? In defining the "opinion" of the "British Nation," what weight was given to sources and views independent of party conflict? Professor Sacks could no doubt have said much about the processes and agencies that formulate British opinion; an analysis of this sort would have added greatly to the book's value. Footnotes are at the end, with few exceptions. Old Colonial Office hands will miss C.O. 417 (High Commission) Series among the sources and will be a little unhappy with the mere citation of series and volume without further identification of papers or minutes.

California State College, Long Beach RICHARD H. WILDE

Asia and the East

SETTLEMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN ASIA. By *Wolfram Eberhard.* [Collected Papers, Volume I.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 492. $10.00.)

WITH this volume a distinguished sociologist inaugurates the publication of a series of seven volumes of collected papers, which represent well over thirty-five years of reading, research, and field work, covering various parts of Asia.

The contents are rich: twenty-four valuable essays, of which eight are published here for the first time, are divided into six parts. Parts I and II each contain a short general discussion of land tenure in the ancient Orient and the growth of Chinese civilization. Part III consists of three essays on family, city, and industry in traditional China. In Part IV are four studies on problems of settlement in medieval China: detailed work on the northwestern border prefecture Tunhuang, based mainly on Han documents on wood and T'ang documents on paper

found in that area. Part V consists of seven studies on settlement and development in modern south China and Korea, based chiefly on field work done in recent years. Part VI contains eight papers on settlement in the Near East, including southeastern and southern Turkey, West Pakistan, and Afghanistan, again based on recent studies and field work.

In these essays the author combines effectively a socioeconomic and historical and genealogical approach. His aim is to understand the formation and growth of culture and the dynamics of society. In the foreword he reminds the reader that "these papers do not always represent my present state of information, but show rather the stages in the development of efforts to see and study the data from fresh angles." Professor Eberhard is cautious in drawing definitive conclusions, but never fails to be stimulating. Some of his new findings, for instance, that "in medieval China parents started families at a later age than did the parents of the last 150 years," challenge further study.

Throughout the volume the reader is conveniently supplied with notes and references (with ample Chinese characters) and thirty-one plates. At the end are a bibliography of Eberhard's works (1931–1965) and two indexes. The veteran publisher Henri Vetch deserves applause for another fine job.

Harvard University LIEN-SHENG YANG

THE PRACTICE OF CHINESE BUDDHISM, 1900–1950. By *Holmes Welch*. [Harvard East Asian Studies, Number 26.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xxii, 568. $12.50.)

IN that the topic of this book is practice, not theory, and that its time focus is the twentieth rather than the fifth century, I am a bit out of my depth.

The preface indicates that the original intention was to deal with Buddhism in both republican and Communist China, but that ambition proved to be out of keeping with reality. As a consequence, the Communist period had to be postponed to a later volume. Also, the present work confines itself to current practice in the narrow sense of the word, excluding both nunneries and Lamaism and dealing only tangentially with Buddhism in Chinese communities elsewhere than on the mainland of China. In spite of this, the 408 pages of text and 116 pages of notes indicate the thoroughness of the work.

Since the space allotted for this review is slight, one cannot do much more than describe. The book consists of two parts: the first concerning institutions, the second dealing with individuals, the former being the personnel and buildings, "hereditary and branch temples," the economy, the abbot, and rites for the dead, the latter describing the monastic career, the Buddhist layman, and the "nature of the system." There are also nine appendixes containing detail on the abovementioned subjects, in addition to an extensive bibliography of works in English, French, German, and Japanese, as well as Chinese, and a combination "Glossary Index" containing, among other things, the Chinese characters corresponding to the names and terms used.

The quantity of fact, amassed from both personal interviews and written records, is fairly staggering and also well lined with sophisticated comment on many phases of the problem, not excluding similarities to and differences from

Christianity. Unhappily, while showing himself fully aware of the issues involved, Mr. Welch perpetuates the mistranslation of *tsung* as "sect," but this is a mere trifle in such an excellent context.

The book is rendered lively by a body of well-chosen photographs and, most of all, by Welch's wit: "There is the story of one old woman who left off reciting the Mantra of Great Compassion just long enough to remind her servant to kill a chicken for supper. But Chinese Buddhism surely has no monopoly on mechanical piety."

University of Washington LEON HURVITZ

WARLORD: YEN HSI-SHAN IN SHANSI PROVINCE, 1911–1949. By *Donald G. Gillin.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 334. $9.00.)

YEN Hsi-shan was civil and military ruler of the wealthy and strategically located province of Shansi from the collapse of the Chinese Empire in 1911 until the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. The inertia of millennial tradition in China was so powerful until the late nineteenth century that change seemed very slow compared with European history. Yet in the twentieth century an upheaval of unprecedented scope and fury has occurred within the span of a single human life: the last Emperor of China has just died in Peking, and Mao Tse-tung remembers a time when the central imperial power still controlled his native province of Hunan, eighteen days and eighteen hours distant from the capital by relays of mounted couriers.

The intervening era, essentially one of decentralized warlord government, has recently become the research focus of several young scholars who have broken away from earlier stereotypes to search the documentary record for what really happened and why. Professor Gillin's readable, thoughtful, and thoroughly documented biography of one of the major figures of the time, Marshal Yen, is an important contribution to our understanding of the transition from the most stable and long-lived centralized polity to a new centralizing polity that apparently cannot control the explosive forces on which it rode to power and whose announced goals make Trotsky's boldest visions seem almost mild.

Gillin has taken a large but still manageable section of the intervening period of disunion and subjected it to analysis as microscopic as the exceptionally rich available documentation permits. The result is a multifaceted regional history, clearly set in its general context and made both coherent and dramatic by its biographical focus. In the colorful figure that emerges, vestiges of tradition mingle, but fail to blend with a naïve search for new solutions to problems that had threatened China's very existence for nearly a century. As Gillin points out, Yen's "traditional" policies had been tried and found wanting decades earlier. In his "radical" policies—general education, reform of customs, wider popular participation in public affairs—he was halfhearted, and not part of the New China of the lively urban centers. Yet he went far enough to contribute to the undermining of the society he sought to preserve and reinvigorate.

The Japanese attack confirmed the power of the Communists in the villages of Yen's province of Shansi because the Communists were already winning the

kind of massive peasant support that a man like Yen could not understand, much less seek. In view of current interpretive controversies, it is important to note Gillin's evidence of Communist successes before the Japanese attack and in areas never subject to Japanese occupation.

Yale University MARY C. WRIGHT

PA CHIN AND HIS WRITINGS: CHINESE YOUTH BETWEEN THE TWO REVOLUTIONS. By *Olga Lang*. [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 28.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 402. $7.95.)

THERE is, in this work, a happy meeting of the empathy of Olga Lang, the writings of Pa Chin, and the outlook of modern Chinese youth. The result is historical sympathy.

Youth has nothing to do with age. It is a suspended state of mind, manifesting itself as a cultural phenomenon. Each society has its peculiar way of spanning the gap between childhood and maturity. At some historical junctures the span breaks down, however, and youth begins to define his own culture against the traditional value of maturity. Modern China, from 1919 to 1949, may be viewed as the vicissitudes of the Nationalists or the triumph of the Communists. But it is also *The Torrent* and *Love* of Chinese youth, as mirrored in the two trilogies of Pa Chin.

That suspension between childhood (already lost) and maturity (no longer possible) we can sense in both Pa Chin and his youthful readers. The compulsion was to commitment, and, for many, Communism was preferred over nationalism. But for those who would not or could not, Pa Chin's novels became their own mirror image. The rhythm of youth is intensity all at one level; it becomes difficult, therefore, to separate Pa Chin, his novels, and modern Chinese youth. They are all of one piece, wedged in between lost innocence and unrealized dream, between Nationalist conformity and Communist discipline. Self-recognition is obtained at the expense of structure and perspective.

If Pa Chin has a peculiar rapport with youths of his generation, then Lang has corresponding empathy for both Pa Chin and Chinese youth. This is the forte of her book, based on personal knowledge as well as extensive reading. Her narrative successfully blended the relevant background story of modern China, the career of Pa Chin, and certain revelatory passages from his writings. She has accomplished her announced objective of viewing "the actions and motivations of this romantic revolutionary as they were seen by his young readers who accepted them at face value."

New York City DONALD M. LOWE

CONTEST OVER JAPAN. By *Herbert Feis*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1967. Pp. 187. $5.00.)

BIT by bit the story of the Allied occupation of Japan is being pieced together. Since 1952 emphasis has been on Washington's policy, MacArthur's administration, and the impact of the occupation on Japan. With this brief but comprehen-

sive synthesis the spotlight shifts to the protracted tug of war between Moscow and Washington for control over Japan's future role in the Far East. "What . . . [the Soviet authorities] really disliked was the dominating presence in Japan of the United States. . . ." Actually, as events have proved, American policy was "directed toward the emergence of a democratized, peaceful, and independent Japan," never losing sight, however, of the fact that that country would constitute "the only strong barrier to Communist domination of the whole of Northeast Asia." At the London and Moscow Conferences of September and December 1945, Japan's fate hung on whether the American diplomats could hold their own against the stubborn Soviet negotiators. Secretary of State James F. Byrnes finally yielded to V. M. Molotov's demands for what became the Far Eastern Commission and the Allied Council, which were to determine occupation policy and to supervise its administration, but only after making certain that the wings of those Allied bodies had been effectively clipped. Except for Washington's intransigence at this stage, Moscow would have exerted strong influence on the direction and conduct of the political phase of the occupation. As it was, though not mentioned in this monograph, so much was conceded by the American side that MacArthur felt compelled to accelerate Washington's project for revising the Meiji Constitution in order to escape the Soviet veto that came into play upon activation of the Far Eastern Commission in late February 1946. With a Western-style democratic government thus assured, Soviet maneuvers to disrupt the American political reform program for Japan were henceforth checked by the US representative on the Far Eastern Commission in Washington, by MacArthur in his confrontations with the Allied Council in Tokyo, and by United Nations arms on the battlefields of Korea.

This volume makes good reading. Students in particular will welcome it not because it adds much that is new but because it places in proper perspective, from the American point of view, the postwar power struggle for hegemony over a highly strategic area of the Far East. Most of the account has to do with the diplomacy of W. Averell Harriman, Byrnes, and Harry S. Truman in 1945, about which Dr. Feis is very well informed. He is on somewhat less familiar ground when dealing with American occupation policy and the work of MacArthur.

The appendixes consist of all or pertinent parts of seven agreements, orders, and proposals bearing on postwar Japan.

Washington, D. C. JUSTIN WILLIAMS

MALABAR IN ASIAN TRADE, 1740–1800. By *Ashin Das Gupta.* [Cambridge South Asian Studies.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 204. $10.50.)

ASHIN Das Gupta has written a first-rate study of the transformation of commercial and political life of the Malabar Coast during the eighteenth century. The book is of more than provincial interest because Malabar was changing in response to some of the same forces affecting other parts of Asia. With the Afghan occupation of Persia in 1722, traders from Sind, Cambay, Cutch, and Muscat came south to Malabar looking for new markets and stimulated a commercial

revival among the petty coastal kingdoms of Malabar. The "turning of the Northern Trade," in fact, brought new wealth to the independent Malabar merchants, including Haji Yusuf and the Jewish Surgun family of Calicut and the Konkani Brahman Prabhu family, the Jewish Rahabi family, and the Bania Chettys of Cochin. However, both "the medieval merchant" and the Dutch at Cochin were threatened by the expansion of Travancore from the south during the 1730's and 1740's. Until the rise of Travancore, the local rajas and merchants had depended upon each other, one supplying toll revenue and the other protection. Travancore under Raja Martanda Varma upset this traditional system by creating a pepper monopoly to finance its growing army and bureaucracy. During the second half of the century Travancore's monopoly, Batavia's policy of restricting sugar exports to Cochin, Mysore's invasion of the Malabar Coast, the spread of "the contagion of royal trade" to Calicut and Cochin, and the intrusion of English power combined to bring about the withdrawal of the Dutch in 1795 and the bankruptcy of many medieval merchants.

Das Gupta has described the complicated interplay of these developments in graceful English. Although there is much to praise in this slim volume, the chapter on "The Medieval Merchant" will, for comparative purposes, be especially useful to students interested in the decline of Indian merchants in other regions at this time. While his main sources were the Dutch and English company records, his concern is as much indigenous commerce, production, and state building. Any scholar who wishes to follow him into the records of eighteenth-century Malabar should find the lengthy bibliographical notes indispensable.

Northwestern University JOHN R. MCLANE

BRITISH BAPTIST MISSIONARIES IN INDIA, 1793–1837: THE HISTORY OF SERAMPORE AND ITS MISSIONS. By *E. Daniel Potts*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. 276. $10.00.)

THERE is no doubt that Christian missionaries were, after the East India Company, the most important European influence in India in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. (One should keep in mind that the influence of Christian teaching was much greater than the missionaries' ability to convert.) In this study Dr. Potts has cultivated intensively a small section of the wide field surveyed by Kenneth Ingham in his *Reformers in India, 1793–1833* (1956). Like Ingham, Potts has made good use of rich missionary archives that have been otherwise relatively neglected, especially by American scholars.

The author looks at the background of missionary activity in India, the Baptist literary effort, their role in social reform, their relationship with the government, and the Indian response. To a great extent the discussion inevitably focuses on the great Serampore trio—William Carey, Joshua Marshman, and William Ward. Of the three, Marshman was perhaps the most intelligent, Carey the most creative, and Ward the most technically skilled; all were brimming over with puritan zeal. Among the dissenting Protestant missionaries, they particularly brought a seminal idealism to Indian social reform.

The chapter called "Translation, Literature, Journalism, and Printing" is academic history near its best. It was in these endeavors, not in the management of

schools nor in the humanitarian attacks on infanticide, self-torture, "ghat murder," or widow burning that the Serampore brotherhood was most effective. Potts plainly states that this achievement was heavily indebted to the work of native translators. But, like Dr. Johnson's lady who preached in public, the wonder was that it was done at all, not that it was done imperfectly. In one Pashto version of the New Testament, "Judge not, that ye be not judged" appeared as "Do not practise equity, lest equity be practised towards you." The Baptists printed the first vernacular newspaper, established presses, manufactured paper, and provided a significant influence in the birth of a Bengali vernacular prose.

The sole objection one might make to this excellent comment is the excessive evidence presented; the author seems loath to allow one single pertinent fact to go unmentioned. Within the confines of a small book this results in a highly compressed text and some awkward sentences. But, on balance, this is a minor fault. Every scholar in the field will experience the pleasure of recognizing a first-class work as he reads these pages.

Los Angeles Valley College MARK NAIDIS

THE WAHABI MOVEMENT IN INDIA. By *Qeyamuddin Ahmad.* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. 1966. Pp. xxvi, 391. Rs. 25.)

THE eighteenth-century Arabian Wahhabiyah advocated a return to the fundamental principles of early Islamic society as a solution to the decadence of the modern Muslim world. The Wahabi leadership stressed a simple obedience to the law of the Koran and a rejection of theological argument and religious ritual. The movement was puritanical and vigorous. It carried enormous appeal for those Muslims everywhere who were disillusioned with the failure of Islam to realize fully its historic mission. Nowhere was the ground more suitable for such an outlook than in India, where the collapse of the Mogul Empire had left Muslims under the rule of British, Sikh, and Hindu powers. Although the author of the present study uses the terms "Wahabi" and "Wahabism" for the nineteenth-century Indian movement, he is unhappy with the appellation. It was used by some English writers to stigmatize Muslim rebels as extremists to be identified with the more fanatical Arabian Wahabis. He looks upon the Indian reforms of Waliyullah and Syed Ahmad Barelvi rather as responses to circumstances similar to those in eighteenth-century Arabia. Indian "Wahabi" developments owed something to the Arabian experience, but differed from the latter, chiefly in the great emphasis upon political emancipation.

The Wahabi Movement in India helps fill the need for modern comprehensive studies of this neglected subject. The only previous single work is Sir William Hunter's *Our Indian Mussalmans* (1871). Qeyamuddin Ahmad has brought together many scattered sources, including private family papers and correspondence, but he has relied chiefly on the contemporary official records of the governments of India and Bengal. The book describes the genesis of the movement and its doctrines and organization. It traces the careers of Syed Ahmad Barelvi and Wilayat and Enayat Ali, together with the intrigues and issues of the frontier campaigns and the Indian Mutiny. The author stresses the anti-British character of the Wahabi throughout, and, though his documentation is quite thorough, he

leaves little doubt as to his sympathies toward the Indian Muslims. This well-written study is important reading for those who seek to understand the Islamic view of history and the state, and for those who would appreciate the forces at work in modern India and Pakistan.

Prescott College D. MACKENZIE BROWN

CONGRESS AND CONGRESSMEN IN THE PRE-GANDHIAN ERA, 1885–1917. By *Bimanbehari Majumdar* and *Bhakat Prasad Mazumdar*. (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. 1967. Pp. ii, 527. Rs. 35.)

THIS is a self-styled "full-fledged objective history" of the Indian National Congress during its first thirty-three years before Mahatma Gandhi assumed leadership. There may be some question about using "Pre-Gandhian Era" in referring to the period 1885–1917 inasmuch as Gandhi was actively on the scene after 1901.

The father has written the text of the book, including the conclusion, and the son has composed an alphabetic list of 781 persons who delivered speeches in Congress during the period, along with the dates and subjects of their speeches and supplemented by the classified account of original resolutions alphabetically arranged. The objectivity claimed for the book is that it was written from the annual reports of Congress, memoirs, contemporary anti-Congress propaganda literature, journals, newspapers, and unpublished diaries. Thus, the book offers an encyclopedic approach to its subject rather than presenting a biased point of view.

The period 1889–1904 is entitled "The Era of Faith, Prayer and Uniformity" and the latter half, 1905–1917, is called "The Era of Discord and Disillusion." There are fourteen chapters ranging from Congress' genesis and evolution, the Muslims, the party's inner circle, intellectuals in Congress, Presidents, the British Committee of Congress, public services, education, economic questions, judicial reforms, and freedom of the press.

The book is a storehouse of data, including statistics about Congress, which gives it more scholarly value, if not readability, in places.

Old Dominion College ROBERT L. BOCK

INDIA'S QUEST FOR SECURITY: DEFENCE POLICIES, 1947–1965. By *Lorne J. Kavic*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. 263. $7.95.)

INDIA'S defense policies have been conditioned by the legacies of the preindependence period, the subordination of defense considerations to political, economic, and ideological objectives, the implications of a policy of socialism at home and nonalignment abroad, the orientation and preoccupations of Jawaharlal Nehru, tensions with Pakistan, and the emergence of a major threat from Communist China. The nationalist leaders of India were strongly opposed to Britain's " 'forward policy' of projecting defence strategy beyond India's natural frontiers." Nehru "envisaged a free India secure against attacks either by its geo-strategic position, its size, or the balance of power." He was inclined to minimize the danger of any threat from outside India's borders, especially from Communist

China. His general complacency regarding problems of defense was shared by most of the other top leaders of independent India, at least until the sudden turn for the worse in Sino-Indian relations in 1959; and more than three years later, when the Chinese attack came, India was still militarily, politically, and psychologically unprepared. Since late 1962, according to Mr. Kavic, "the creation and maintenance of an imposing military establishment has become an obsession in India"; but the post-Nehru political leadership has proved to be hardly more security-minded than was Nehru himself, and India's limited resources and unlimited needs for development impose serious limitations on its defense capabilities.

All of these matters are touched upon in Kavic's brief study. Particular attention is given to India's "Himalayan policy" during the period 1947–1962 and to the organization of the Indian armed forces during the same period. There are interesting comments on India's relations with the Himalayan border states of Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim, on defense production, and on civilian-military relations, especially during the years from 1957 to 1962, when V. K. Krishna Menon was Defense Minister. Curiously enough, except for a summary of early defense plans against Pakistan, the central theme of Indo-Pakistan relations is almost wholly neglected, perhaps because the author considers Communist China to be "the only real military threat to India." Except for very brief references to the "new" Indian defense program, made public in early 1964, the Indo-Pakistan War of September 1965, and the currently pressing question of developing an independent nuclear capability (on which Kavic holds a strongly negative view), the discussion is confined largely to developments prior to 1963.

While they are no credit to the cartographer's art, the seven maps are helpful guides to the descriptions of military dispositions and operations. The eleven appendixes contain useful, but outdated, information. Since there are few citations in footnotes or bibliography to any publications since 1963, it seems that Kavic confined his research largely to materials issued before or during the period with which he was primarily concerned, namely the first fifteen years of India's independence.

University of Pennsylvania NORMAN D. PALMER

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LAW OF NATIONS IN THE EAST INDIES (16TH, 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES). By *C. H. Alexandrowicz.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 259. $7.70.)

THIS is an interesting study of the treaty and diplomatic arrangements established prior to the nineteenth century by the European nations or their trading companies with the Asian rulers within whose jurisdiction they sought to trade. The author is concerned to show that in this early phase of European-Asian relations the Stoic-Roman tradition of a universal law of nations with its spirit of accommodation and compromise, if not of real equality, still prevailed on the European side in theory and to a considerable extent in practice. Thus international law as it evolved up to the end of the eighteenth century was prepared to embrace where necessary certain non-European legal concepts; *pace* Pannikar, this was an era in which Western influence was not dominant but restricted and marginal. It was

not until the nineteenth century and the coming of full colonialism-imperialism that international law, paradoxically, began to lose its universality of outlook and to become a Europe-centered and European-dominated system.

In a wide-ranging discussion of the theory and practice of interstate treaty relationships, the author examines the contrasting European and Asian concepts of sovereignty as reflected in a variety of treaty arrangements. Full use has been made of the main printed collections of treaties. Special kinds of agreements such as those concerning jurisdiction, safe-conducts, monopolies, and most-favored-nation treatment are considered. Two chapters are devoted to a discussion of the opposing Dutch and Portuguese points of view as represented in the seventeenth century by Grotius and De Freitas.

Students of Asian history must surely welcome almost any fresh approach to the subject. A book such as this, which brings together a large amount of related information under a general heading, is bound to suggest interesting new points of comparison and contrast. But to me the approach here adopted seems too narrowly legal and diplomatic to be really fruitful, while at the same time the geographical field of inquiry seems too wide to permit useful generalizations concerning matters of international law. It turns out that the "East Indies" of the title are stretched to include not only the present Indonesian islands but also Burma, Siam, India, and Ceylon, and even Persia.

University of British Columbia BRIAN HARRISON

FRANCISCO VIEIRA DE FIGUEIREDO: A PORTUGUESE MERCHANT-ADVENTURER IN SOUTH EAST ASIA, 1624–1667. By *C. R. Boxer.* [Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Number 52.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1967. Pp. 117, 3 plates. 12 gls.)

MUCH has been written about the role of Portuguese soldiers, administrators, and missionaries in the rise and decline of the *Estado da India,* but we still know little about the activities of Lusitanian merchants there. In 1940 Professor Charles R. Boxer, one of the foremost authorities on the Portuguese Empire from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, published an article in a relatively obscure journal concerning the career of one such seventeenth-century merchant-adventurer. It has now been considerably expanded and enriched by the results of additional research, and it appears for the first time in English.

Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo (c. 1600–c. 1667) left his Estremaduran birthplace in his early twenties presumably for military service in the Far East; while there he became a wealthy, influential, and inevitably controversial merchant, shipowner, and sometime diplomatic agent. Vieira performed a variety of delicate diplomatic missions for Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, and Indonesian governments, and he possessed skills that were so esteemed by one Portuguese viceroy that he refused to allow him to return to Portugal. But Vieira was primarily a commercial entrepreneur who traded in Indian textiles, Chinese gold, musk, and silks, as well as in Indonesian spices, sandalwood, and tortoise shell. At one time or another his partners included Jesuit fathers, sultans, officials of the Dutch East India Company, and English and Muslim traders.

In spite of Boxer's admirable investigations in Portuguese and Dutch manuscript and printed materials, Vieira remains a shadowy figure. We know nothing about his physical appearance, the number of his progeny, if any, or the extent of his gains and losses from his bewildering number of complex commercial ventures. Any future investigator of Vieira will greatly profit from the sketch that Boxer has prepared, as well as from the lengthy documentary appendixes that comprise about half of this slender volume, and from the helpful glossary and bibliography, but he will have to supply his own map, for Boxer has lamentably failed to include one. Students of Dutch, Portuguese, and Indonesian history will find this volume very detailed but lucidly written, sensibly organized, and, as with all of Boxer's contributions, a pleasant reading experience.

University of Washington DAURIL ALDEN

L'ÉVOLUTION DE LA THAÏLANDE CONTEMPORAINE. By *Pierre Fistié.* [Cahiers de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, Relations internationales, Number 156.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1967. Pp. 389.)

IT is refreshing to read a study of a Southeast Asian country that is wholly devoted to internal development phenomena. Foreign relations in general and international Communism in particular are touched upon in this book only in so far as they have affected the evolution of Thailand's government and economy and not in terms of the world power struggle. Pierre Fistié is concerned with the causes of the failure of democracy to take root among the Thais, the weakness of their economy, and the shifts in their foreign policy and forms of government. In this context he takes up the influence on Thai traditional society of the physical environment, Buddhism, the advent of a money economy and alien ideologies, and the role of Chinese, Lao, and Malay minorities. The net result of Thailand's perennial political independence is that it is governed by a conservative and opportunistic oligarchy made up of changing cliques of military officers and civil servants.

Fistié's book expands research begun in 1960 as a case study forming part of a project undertaken by the international relations section of the *Fondation nationale des sciences politiques.* Unfortunately, the two years that elapsed between its completion and publication are not adequately bridged by a seven-page postscript written in 1966. There is no evidence, moreover, that the author has ever visited Thailand. This is, nevertheless, an outstanding example of ivory tower academic scholarship by a very competent analyst, and it is thoroughly documented from a wide variety of secondary sources. Fistié makes a worthwhile contribution to the existing literature in presenting data rarely used by English-language scholars on Thailand, such as dissertations written in French by Thai doctoral candidates, and in indicating, on the basis of French sources, the relationship of developments in Thailand during the 1940's to the events of that period in Indochina. Above all, this volume makes available to the French-reading public one of the few scholarly studies in that language of the interrelationships between the political, economic, and social currents in contemporary Thailand.

University of California, Berkeley VIRGINIA THOMPSON

AUSTRALIAN DICTIONARY OF BIOGRAPHY. General Editor, *Douglas Pike*. Volume II, 1788–1850, I–Z. Section Editors, *A. G. L. Shaw*, 1788–1825; *C. M. H. Clark*, 1826–1850. ([Carlton:] Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xx, 634. $23.50.)

THIS volume of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* is the second of two planned to cover the period 1788–1850. The next four will deal with the years 1851–1890; the remaining six of the total of twelve projected volumes will cover 1891–1939. Individuals are allocated to the various periods on the basis of editorial judgment as to the time of their most important work, though with an acknowledged bias toward getting as many as possible into the earlier period covered by this and the previous volume. Obviously this *floruit* dating creates problems, and not everyone would agree with the inclusion of some of the names in the present volume; there are several instances in which the subjects seem most precocious, making their contributions to Australian history while still amazingly youthful. But such oddities are comparatively rare among the more than five hundred names in this volume.

The essays are in nearly all instances short and to the point, allowing little scope for literary grace or for the extensive listing of sources. More extended treatment is naturally given to such names as Captain Arthur Phillip, J. D. Lang, Lachlan Macquarie, John Macarthur, W. C. Wentworth, and others of like rank. But the greater number of pages is given over to essential facts about the host of lesser government administrators, military and naval officers, pastoralists, merchants, clergy, journalists, and the occasional scientists or artists who managed to make some mark on their time. Approximately 10 per cent of the subjects were dispatched to Australia as convicts. Any extensive reading of the varied essays gives a panoramic view of Australian interests and activities during the first sixty years of Australian history. The individual lives are the pieces from which the mosaic of Australian history emerges.

There is some lack of consistency regarding the inclusion of British officials in the volume. Why is Lord John Russell included, and Sir Robert Peel omitted? Sir George Murray is mentioned as a Secretary for War and Colonies; T. Spring Rice and Lord Normanby are not. And the essay on Wakefield seems deliberately to underplay the influence of his ideas on Australian history. For those interested in collecting errors this volume seems to offer little scope. But American Civil War buffs would be startled to read that Thomas Francis Meagher, the Irish nationalist who came to the United States after serving a penal term in Australia, raised an Irish brigade that fought on the Confederate side. Such lapses, however, are rare, and the work will be a solid and substantial aid to students of Australian and imperial history.

University of Maryland DONALD C. GORDON

Americas

FLESH OF STEEL: LITERATURE AND THE MACHINE IN AMERICAN CULTURE. By *Thomas Reed West.* ([Nashville, Tenn.:] Vanderbilt University Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 155. $4.50.)

FROM the time that Adam delved and Eve span, mankind has feared the machines he devised "to subdue" the earth, as the King James Version has it. This fear derives partly from a sense of guilt because he has misused them and partly from the threat that he may become the used rather than the user. But basically he is afraid because he views himself as an organism and his tools as mechanisms, limited extensions of his body, and while he must control the machines that "subdue" his natural environment he must also adapt to them.

We have had recently a number of perceptive studies of the impact of technology on society, and they have been written with the hindsight that is possible when one epoch is ending and another beginning. They have been particularly provocative when they focused on the United States, the oldest of the "neotechnic" societies, and, despite a certain poetic imprecision, when they used literary works—their themes, styles, motifs, myths, and metaphors—as historical evidence. Most of these studies, like the literary works, are either laments for lost Edens; briefs for ways of life that are organic, mechanistic, and sometimes a happy blend of the two; or descriptions of elements that cluster about organic and mechanistic poles as they clash, fuse, and shift in relationships to each other.

Mr. West contributes to this genre. For his polar clusters he uses the metaphors "energy" and "discipline." The energy of the industrial society is manifest in its titanic power and productivity, and, like the Titan, is a primordial natural force. Its discipline, exemplified in the assembly line or the metropolis, establishes rhythms and patterns and integrates complex entities, human and inanimate. West deals mainly with responses to industrialism in the United States between World War I and the Great Depression, the stage in technological development that preceded nuclear power and automation. After providing European and nineteenth-century backgrounds, he has chapters on Sherwood Anderson, Waldo Frank, John Dos Passos, Thorstein Veblen and Carl Sandburg, Harold Stearns and Lewis Mumford, and Sinclair Lewis. The progression is toward an affirmation of the machine and its system, and the emphasis is on resolution, though misgivings are duly recorded. Thus Lewis' scientist-hero, Arrowsmith, is a good workman in Veblen's sense, but he works at an organically determined, not a mechanistic, pace. The businessman, Babbitt, fails because he is a bad workman, but the entrepreneur, Dodsworth, succeeds because he unites business responsibility and technological skill.

West deserves praise for sensitive insights, for calling attention to writers like Waldo Frank and Harold Stearns who merit more consideration than they have received, and for pioneering exploration into important territory. The complexity of the subject is such, however, that his book is better in its parts than as a whole.

University of Pennsylvania HENNIG COHEN

GENESIS OF AMERICAN PATENT AND COPYRIGHT LAW. By *Bruce W. Bugbee.* (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1967. Pp. vi, 208. $6.00.)

IN tracing the European, and particularly the early American ancestry of the United States patent and copyright systems, this work demonstrates how profitably the development of legal phenomena may be investigated by historians. This is not a legal treatise on patent or copyright law, although the concluding chapter does outline the existing laws enacted pursuant to the powers given Congress by the first article in the Constitution, and although, as the author observes, "the American law of intellectual property can be fully understood only if its roots are known, and court decisions in this field have examined these roots again and again for guidance."

The author observes strictly a conceptual distinction between a monopoly or exclusive grant, and a true patent of invention which rewards the creator of something not previously available to the public, and an "importation franchise" (unknown in American law) which grants an exclusive right to practice a process which the grantee did not himself invent but which had not previously been known in the particular state granting the privilege. This type of franchise, which historically has often been recognized and which from the standpoint of a particular state's economy might well be as beneficial to the public as a true invention, reminds one of the definition of research as the process of learning something already known by other scholars.

The origin of legal protection of intellectual property is traced to Renaissance Italy. Disregarding instances that in the author's view may involve "importation franchises" not disclosing the requisite originality or inventiveness, he finds that the world's earliest true patent of invention was granted by the republic of Florence on June 19, 1421, to Filippo Brunelleschi, the architect, for a method of loading merchandise on ships on the Arno River. In Venice on March 19, 1474, a general system was established protecting the rights of "every person who shall build any new and ingenious device . . . not previously made in our Commonwealth." In England an Italian, Aconcio, applied in 1558 for a patent issued on September 7, 1565, for a dredging device. The foundation of the present English patent system was the basic statute of monopolies enacted in 1624. The rights of inventors were thus recognized as a legitimate exception to the general prohibition of monopolies as odious restrictions upon trade. Copyright likewise originated in Venice on September 1, 1486, and was definitively recognized in England in 1710.

In the American colonial period the first patent was issued in Massachusetts on June 2, 1641, for a method of producing salt. That colony also adopted the first colonial copyright law on May 15, 1672. The first general patent system in America was created by the South Carolina law of March 26, 1784. After independence but before the Constitution, many states adopted copyright laws, as urged by the Continental Congress on May 2, 1783, under the influence of the natural law doctrine that, as expressed in the Massachusetts law of March 17, 1783, security of the fruits of their study and industry "is one of the natural Rights of all Men, there being no Property more peculiarly a Man's own than that which is pro-

duced by the Labour of his Mind." James Madison was concerned in the adoption of similar legislation in Virginia on January 7, 1786. It was therefore natural that in the Constitutional Convention Madison should make the proposal that appeared in the first article of the Constitution, following which Congress passed a patent law signed by George Washington on April 10, 1790, and a copyright law on May 31, 1790. The South Carolina law of March 26, 1784, united both species of intellectual property in language that may have been a precedent for the provision in the Constitution. Later patent legislation was enacted in 1793, 1836, 1870, and 1952. Later copyright legislation was adopted in 1802, 1831, 1846, 1865, 1870, and 1909. Revision of both patent and copyright laws in the light of modern technology is now under consideration by Congress.

Uniontown, Pennsylvania EDWARD DUMBAULD

MEDICAL LICENSING IN AMERICA, 1650–1965. By *Richard Harrison Shryock*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 124. $5.00.)

THE author's apologies for his occasional diffuseness and interest in tangential issues reflect only the fact that he and his readers would have found it most unsatisfactory had he kept narrowly within the framework of his title. Instead the history of licensure is developed within the contexts of the development of medical education and the problems that faced, and face, the profession qua profession.

The small book deals with the American scene, enhanced by comparisons both with developments in medical licensure abroad and with developments in the legal profession in the United States.

Medical licensure reflects the major forces at work in American society, and Dr. Shryock, social historian and medical historian, makes the story clear and interesting. The sporadic attempts at licensing in the colonies reflected the frontier conditions. An early spurt of licensure occurred from 1790 to 1820, as physicians identified professional advance with national progress. From 1820 to 1850, however, restrictions on the practicing of medicine were removed, offering the historian a concrete illustration of the impact of Jacksonian democracy. Equalitarian sentiments, a dislike for privilege, objection to monopoly, and even anti-intellectualism (Shryock makes the interesting point, however, that few doctors were intellectuals), as well as medical ineffectiveness, led to the proliferation of sects and quackery, and to the repeal of restrictive legislation. Sometimes the "regular" practitioners acquiesced, in a display of acceptance of laissez faire and liberal doctrine.

Licensure in the early national period had been mainly in the hands of state boards or medical societies, or under some combination of state and organizational control. In the Jacksonian period and until about 1875, the repeal of state laws left licensing virtually in the hands of medical schools, whose mushrooming was itself a reflection of the times. But improvements in medical science, medical education, and the status of the physicians led to the revival of state boards, a process especially rapid in the first two decades of this century. Much of this of course was a reflection of the American federal system; the establishment of national specialty boards and, especially the National Board of Medical Examiners, is an obvious reflection of both centralizing tendencies in American life and the

tenacity of states' rights. The National Board is essentially a voluntary organization deriving its energy from the colleges, but its power rests in the acceptance of its "licensing" by state boards.

There have been studies of medical licensure in particular jurisdictions, but this is the first published synthesis of the whole. It is a masterful work that displays a catholicity of interest, wide knowledge, thorough scholarship, and sound judgment. Except that it might be noted that Shryock's chronology does not stay firm, there is little room for criticism. One caveat might be entered, however. The juxtaposition of the American Medical Association's interest in quackery and the passage of the 1961 drug act should not leave the impression that the AMA consistently favored that legislation, lest the repose of Senator Kefauver be disturbed.

Rutgers University DAVID L. COWEN

CHARITY AND CORRECTION IN NEW JERSEY: A HISTORY OF STATE WELFARE INSTITUTIONS. By *James Leiby*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 500. $17.50.)

FEW professional historians have examined the evolution of American public welfare institutions. Leiby's study is a welcome addition to the sparse literature of the field, and it is the most comprehensive history of a single state's public welfare system ever published. It is actually half a dozen books in one. Extending from the colonial era to the present, and organized topically, it covers corrections, child welfare, the handicapped, mental illness and defect, state supervision and administration, at different periods of time.

It is important to emphasize that this is not a history of social welfare in New Jersey. Although Leiby touches upon voluntary and local welfare organization, his primary concern is the development of institutions for various groups of dependents established and maintained by the state. Since state welfare institutions before the Civil War were limited largely to the insane and criminals, Leiby necessarily devotes most of the book to the years after 1866. No controlling theme emerges, either on the nature of the American welfare system or on New Jersey welfare in particular. Leiby is content to explore, in profuse detail, the personalities, theories, and interest group conflicts that determined the establishment and administration of the specialized state welfare agencies.

A theme, perhaps, does emerge from the encyclopedic data unfurled by the author. There seems to have been a generally sporadic and inefficient pattern of evolution. The historic American commitment to private and local autonomy in the welfare field until the 1930's limited the state mainly to a custodial role, one that it often performed badly for lack of resources and trained personnel. There was, furthermore, no coherent plan or policy to determine priorities; the state assumed welfare functions in a mindless fashion and in response to a variety of political and interest group pressures. Equally unfortunate, a no man's land existed in the area of direct economic assistance. Neither the federal nor the state governments assumed responsibility for direct relief before the 1930's, yet voluntary and local agencies were unable to cope with mass economic deprivations. The New Jersey experience suggests, in short, that the state accommodated a limited range of dependents, never provided services equal to the need, lacked any co-

herent policy for determining priorities, and contributed little to ameliorating poverty through economic relief.

University of Pittsburgh ROY LUBOVE

ISAAC BACKUS AND THE AMERICAN PIETISTIC TRADITION. By *William G. McLoughlin.* [The Library of American Biography.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1967. Pp. xii, 252. $5.00.)

IN this authoritative biography of the foremost Baptist preacher and writer in eighteenth-century New England, Professor McLoughlin sympathetically evokes Isaac Backus' evangelical, volatile, unsophisticated brand of pietism. Backus (1724–1806) was caught up by the Great Awakening as a Connecticut farm boy, and, like thousands of other New England converts, he joined the Separate movement and then shifted into the Baptist camp. He was very successful at imparting a minimum measure of cohesion and respectability to the New England Baptist Church, while preserving its enthusiastic, anti-institutional character. He traveled 67,000 miles on horseback as an itinerant preacher, delivered nearly 10,000 sermons, and wrote numerous tracts. McLoughlin thinks that Backus is best remembered as a champion of religious liberty. Before, during, and after the American Revolution he tried to persuade the New England Congregationalists to exempt Baptists from compulsory religious taxation, and he tried also to insert the principle of separation of church and state into the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780. To be sure, Backus had a very limited concept of liberty of conscience: he wanted to keep New England's compulsory public worship, the Calvinist catechism in the schools, and state enforcement of the Puritan blue laws. Yet McLoughlin argues persuasively that Backus' pietistic definition of church-state relations in a pluralistic society was closer to the mainstream of nineteenth-century American opinion than Jefferson's secular rationale for the separation of church and state. Certainly Backus has been undeservedly neglected by historians.

McLoughlin knows his subject well, and his book is full of insight and interest. Its only real fault is its excessive brevity. Isaac Backus emerges as a latter-day Roger Williams, a self-righteous polemicist in constant battle against everyone whose religious experience differed in any detail from his own variety of Calvinism, yet willing to let the Old Lights, Unitarians, Universalists, Methodists, and Shakers go to hell in their own way. Compared with Williams, however, Backus had a very humdrum vision of the good society. For all the inherent energy and individualism of his credo, he had a distressingly myopic, conformist outlook, and if, as McLoughlin thinks, he helped to liberate the American common man, he did not liberate him very far.

University of Pennsylvania RICHARD S. DUNN

THE INDIAN BOUNDARY IN THE SOUTHERN COLONIES, 1763–1775. By *Louis De Vorsey, Jr.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1966. Pp. xii, 267. $7.50.)

EVEN before the Peace of Paris ended the French threat to the interior in 1763, British officials had begun to form a scheme for separating the Indians and white

settlers south of the Ohio. This scheme took certain form during the years afterward in the drawing of a remarkably detailed boundary line from the mouth of the Kentucky River, through the rough country of the southern Appalachians, down around the tidal line of the Florida Peninsula, and then west to the Mississippi. For more than ten years an immense amount of intricate negotiation and actual surveying attracted the attention of colonial officials, ambitious planters, and apprehensive Indians. It has now drawn the attention of a historical geographer, and his account is arresting.

Besides seeking to establish an accurate rendering on a modern map of the many segments of this boundary, Professor De Vorsey was interested in the general process involved when leaders of two cultures tried to settle upon a peaceful mode of resolving their conflicts. A passion for accuracy in topographical details is thus wedded to a reflective temperament. The British Record Office yielded an impressive quantity of relevant papers and drawings that the author added to abundant materials existing elsewhere in Great Britain and in this country.

Satisfied that we now have a carefully drawn boundary line, I became interested in the array of materials bearing upon the Indian view of his world. De Vorsey points up vividly, for example, how readily the Indian became hopelessly dependent upon trade with the European, a trade he wished to continue in spite of the fact that it seemed always to be the harbinger of land encroachment. In several cases the Indian was brought to negotiation by a threat to cut off trade. Beyond welcoming the general idea of drawing a boundary, the Indian showed an astonishing understanding of the abstract notion of geographical limits and an ability to mark out on the ground before him an excellent version of a survey line many miles long.

University of Michigan SHAW LIVERMORE, JR.

THE REVOLUTIONARY FRONTIER, 1763–1783. By *Jack M. Sosin.* [Histories of the American Frontier.] (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1967. Pp. xiv, 241. Cloth $7.95, paper $2.95.)

PROFESSOR Sosin's volume on the frontier in the revolutionary period examines two important subjects, but in doing so it suffers a mild case of organizational schizophrenia. First, the author presents his work as a confrontation with Turner's thesis of the frontier's influence upon American institutions. His argument that, in social life and government, the frontier made few modifications in the forms brought from the seaboard is somewhat halfhearted and not entirely new. His case for continuity in forms is based on a wide body of literature, but the general nature of his book prevents the kind of detailed examination of local government undertaken by Sumner Powell that is necessary to prove this point conclusively.

Sosin seems to be more interested in his other subject: the role of land speculation in western expansion. He emphasizes the importance of large-scale speculators and developers in opening the West, and thereby modifies the romantic picture of the lone hunter and humble yeoman on the frontier. He provides an excellent, succinct summary of British and American land policies, the activities

of land companies, and some of the prominent efforts to found colonies beyond the mountains.

In denying the old thesis of an East-West struggle, Sosin suggests that there were few substantial western grievances and implies that the American frontiersman was neither very individualistic and inventive nor particularly democratic. He argues these points very neatly in some places, as in his critique of Crèvecœur's description of a social and religious "melting pot" on the frontier. At times, however, he beats some very dead horses, as when he argues that the mass of men elected their "betters" to political office. He fails to confront some of the more interesting questions raised by intellectual historians, such as the relationship of the frontier experience to violence in American society.

The Revolutionary Frontier is a good synthesis of a many-faceted subject, the individual aspects of which are more definitely treated in some of the works cited in Sosin's excellent bibliography.

Cleveland State University JOHN CARY

THE FIRST EMANCIPATION: THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE NORTH. By *Arthur Zilversmit.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1967. Pp. x, 262. $6.95.)

NEGRO slavery and the slave trade took deep root in England's northern colonies as well as in the South. Why, then, did the North, from Pennsylvania to Vermont and New Hampshire, unlike the South, come to renounce the slave system in the years of the Revolution and after? The answer, according to this fresh study of the abolition of slavery in the North, is not found in economics but ideology. I should call it idealism.

The author has made a thorough review of the pertinent sources on slavery and abolition in the North. His work in the records of the abolition societies and the state legislatures is more thorough than anything that has been done before, and it enables him to speak with authority on the difficulties of the struggle for abolition, particularly in states with large slave populations such as New York and New Jersey. His special studies of slave prices in those states and in Pennsylvania show that the price of slaves held high to the very end and that slavery remained valuable to individual owners even if it became repugnant to the community as a whole.

To a few sensitive people, mostly Quakers, in the seventeenth century, slavery seemed evil and un-Christian. This feeling grew until by the middle of the eighteenth century the Quakers as a group had renounced the slave trade, and by the Revolution they had emancipated their slaves. By then the libertarian ideas of the times brought them many allies, and these abolitionists, old and new, eventually persuaded the people of the northern states that the personal liberty for which they had fought should be extended to Negroes as well as whites. But it took years to convince the state legislatures that property rights, for which Americans had also fought, should give way to the right of freedom of persons. Even then they granted freedom only gradually, except in Vermont and Massachusetts, to be reserved for Negroes born subsequent to the passage of the emancipation laws, and only after an apprenticeship lasting many years. Slaveholders, particularly

the Dutch farmers in the Hudson River counties of New York and New Jersey, bitterly contested this invasion of their right to hold men as property.

Idealism finally prevailed over economic interest. But it seems certain that gradual abolition would have failed in the North as it did in the South if slaveholders had not been in a minority and slavery relatively less important to the economic and social system than it was in the plantation South. Compensation to slaveholders proved too costly to carry out in the North, and would have been out of the question in the South. Northern whites feared a large population of free Negroes, only to a somewhat lesser degree than southerners did. The victory of Christian ideals and liberal political philosophy was a narrow one.

The abolition of Negro slavery was as difficult a task as the problems of racial accommodation that we now face. Abolition did not automatically solve the problems of race, segregation, poverty, bad housing, lack of education, and smoldering resentment that existed then and that plague us today. But freedom was the first, necessary step toward solutions, and *The First Emancipation* tells in full detail the story of its slow, patient, and nonviolent achievement in the North.

Haverford College THOMAS E. DRAKE

PRESIDENTIAL VETOES, 1792–1945. By *Carlton Jackson*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1967. Pp. x, 254. $8.00.)

CARLTON Jackson has written a chronological history of presidential vetoes, presenting a paraphrase of each major veto message, a judgment of the underlying and the immediate reasons for it, a brief narrative of the congressional response, and a glance at public opinion on the controversy as reflected in the press. He has performed his task with evident craftsmanship, telling the story of the major vetoes in a clear, narrative style that gives the book continuity and readability and prevents it from being merely a compendium. The author divides his work into two parts, devoting nine chapters to the years 1792–1869, and six to the period 1869–1945. He discusses several administrations in most chapters, but allots three chapters to Andrew Jackson, two to John Tyler, and one each to James K. Polk and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The book rests on the obvious sources: the veto messages, standard biographies and articles about the Presidents, the records of congressional debate, and the newspapers most deeply involved in the veto at issue. But the accessibility of the sources should not obscure the author's difficult task of explaining the complex factors that underlay the decisions of successive Presidents to veto 1,762 bills passed by Congress between 1792 and 1945. The author has maintained impartiality in handling material frequently charged with high emotion and has given the reader a fair though abbreviated statement of the position of the contesting parties in every important veto controversy.

The presidential veto as a weapon in the struggle between the executive and legislative branches of the government has received less attention than it deserves. As the present volume shows, the vetoes of a President often bring as much definition to his policy as his calls for legislative action. A study of vetoes over many administrations provides a valuable tool to measure the responsiveness of both lawmakers and Presidents to public opinion. Jackson's book brings into

sharper focus through the lens of the presidential veto such prolonged controversies as federal aid to internal improvements, a federally chartered bank, land grants, pensions, immigration rules, and federal spending. It also illuminates many political and constitutional questions that have arisen over the mechanics of using the veto. The book contains endnotes, a select bibliography, and a good index. Its major flaw lies in too little use of the applicable literature of political science; its major service will be to provide a handy and readable reference book on an important aspect of the national government.

Pennsylvania State University PHILIP S. KLEIN

SOCIAL REFORM IN THE UNITED STATES NAVY, 1798–1862. By *Harold D. Langley.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1967. Pp. x, 309. $8.50.)

STUDENTS of naval history have long been familiar with certain facts concerning the enlisted men who served during the early decades of the United States Navy's existence: they were likely to be recruited from the dregs of society and, in spite of regulations to the contrary, were often foreigners; they were disciplined by flogging; and one of their most cherished perquisites was the grog ration. It is also fairly common knowledge that the use of the cat-o'-nine-tails was abolished by congressional action in 1850 and that the grog ration was discontinued twelve years later.

Why these conditions prevailed and how the reforms were brought about are Langley's topics. After a brief account of the navy's history to 1862, he describes the attempts to improve the sailors' moral character and the efforts to attract better men to the service. Reformers, both within and without the navy, argued that the practice of flogging was a deterrent to recruiting and that the punishment would be unnecessary were the grog ration, which was supposed to lead men to drunkenness, abolished. Thus, the final portion of the book logically is devoted to the persistent efforts of the reformers to move the Congress to end the use of the lash and the grog ration.

Langley has performed a very useful service in showing the influence of the nineteenth-century humanitarians on naval reform and in exposing a number of myths that too long have been accepted as fact. His account is based on an impressive array of sources. Yet the informed reader will soon recognize that the book is more satisfactory as a study of one or two facets of the social reform movement than as naval history. The author's knowledge of naval technicalities leaves something to be desired, and careless errors in other matters are simply exasperating. The topical organization of the book, moreover, results in considerable repetition.

Perhaps Langley is correct in concluding that, with the abolition of the lash and grog, long steps had been taken toward making a naval career attactive to young Americans. If so, however, it was not immediately apparent, for derelicts and foreigners seem to have made up a greater proportion of the enlisted personnel of the United States Navy during the 1870's and 1880's than at any other time.

University of Alabama ROBERT ERWIN JOHNSON

AMERICAN DISCIPLES OF MARX: FROM THE AGE OF JACKSON TO THE PROGRESSIVE ERA. By *David Herreshoff*. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1967. Pp. 215. $7.95.)

Mr. Herreshoff's essay on aspects of radical thought in nineteenth-century America is spirited, incisive, and suggestive. It suffers, however, from a certain confusion or obscurity of purpose. The title promises a book about American Marxists, but the book itself includes Orestes Brownson, whose radicalism predated Marx, and omits, except for passing mention, Laurence Gronlund, who, if not a Marxist, certainly saw himself as in some sense a disciple of Marx. Internal evidence leaves the impression that the author was writing less about American Marxism than what he calls "labor radicalism"—a strain of thought not precisely defined but one that would include the men with whom he deals, though it would also include a good many people with whom he does not deal.

In any case, what emerges is a commentary on Brownson, Herman Kriege, Joseph Weydemeyer, Friedrich A. Sorge, the International in America, and Daniel De Leon, with side glances at a number of others from Emerson to Debs. In spite of this incomplete and somewhat perplexing selection of dramatis personae, Herreshoff provides many interesting and valuable insights into the predicaments of nineteenth-century American radicalism. His reading of Emerson's social thought, for example, is fresh and perceptive, though he strains a little perhaps in claiming parallels with Marx. His account of the struggle between Sections One and Twelve of the International in the 1870's is particularly lucid and convincing. He has a good eye for persisting dilemmas in the American radical experience, and he views that experience against a generally informed understanding of the evolution of European socialist thought, even if he does omit Lenin's remark to John Reed that De Leon was the only thinker to add anything to Marx.

The book is abominably proofread. Millerand's first name was Alexandre, not Étienne, and poor old Adolf Strasser at one point is given the first name of Otto—a lapse that would dismay equally the trade-unionist and the Nazi. With all its limitations and defects, however, *American Disciples of Marx* has a genuine astuteness and thoughtfulness of analysis that should attract scholars concerned with the intellectual history of American politics.

City College of New York Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

WILLIAM ANDERSON SCOTT: "NO ORDINARY MAN." By *Clifford Merrill Drury*. (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1967. Pp. 352. $6.50.)

William Anderson Scott was probably the leading Presbyterian preacher and churchman of his generation (1813–1885) in early California. Yet his life was not as firmly rooted in the history of the Far West as this highly detailed biography would imply.

Professor Drury, well known for his several books on Protestant missions in the West, first became interested in Scott in 1919, when he entered San Francisco Theological Seminary. Scott had founded the seminary nearly fifty years before. But Drury did not begin work on the extremely rich source materials for a life of Scott until the 1930's.

The work, now printed, is filiopietistic in the better sense of that word. The author documents Scott's every gesture with sympathy and understanding. It is a religious biography of the old school, half monument and half reference book on denominational history. Indefatigably the author piles up a vast amount of detail on matters often peripheral to an understanding of the man or his denominational significance: church buildings, minor presbyters, local politics, Scott's brief acquaintance with Andrew Jackson, a pipe-by-pipe description of a new church organ, and even a calculation of the number of eggs eaten by Scott's party on a tour of the Nile River in 1851.

For historians of Presbyterianism on the frontier there is some interesting information on Scott's early career in the old Southwest: he held pastorates from Nashville to New Orleans. Indeed, most of his religious career was spent not in California but in the old Southwest, in New York City, and in Europe.

For a work whose chief value will be for reference this book deserved a better index, especially since there are no footnotes and only two pages describing the extensive material examined. The book is profusely illustrated.

University of Massachusetts, Amherst MARIO S. DE PILLIS

CHANNING OF CONCORD: A LIFE OF WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING II. By *Frederick T. McGill, Jr.* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 219. $7.50.)

STUDY of the minor transcendentalists drawn to Concord in the times of Emerson and Thoreau (1835–1855) is both enlightening and disillusioning. There were the other two Emerson brothers and John Thoreau, all of whom died before fulfillment, the Fuller sisters, Margaret and Ellen (Channing), Christopher Cranch, the insane Jones Very, the morbid Charles Newcomb; then there were Hedge, Ward, the magnetic Caroline Sturgis, the orphic Alcott, and the social revolutionist Ripley. One could go on and on to test the Emersonian: "Trust thyself: every heart vibrates to that iron string."

The heart of William Ellery Channing II, nephew of the great Unitarian minister and son of Dr. Walter Channing of the Harvard Medical School, vibrated for a lifetime to the iron string of a failure that was so close to success that every turn in the road promised reconciliation of a life of personal achievement with one of social irresponsibility. Probably the most gifted poet of the group, he wrote nothing memorable because of carelessness and basic flaws in the texture of his work. A lifetime friend of Emerson and Thoreau, his loyalty probably had much to do with their success; their faith in him in spite of obvious weaknesses of character, much to do with his self-indulgent failure in marriage and in art.

Mr. McGill had courage in undertaking to tell his story. His research is impeccable, his understanding far beyond the call of duty, even though not always sympathetic. This is the accurate account of an overprivileged and brilliant scion of a great family, whose failure is more revealing than the story of many a successful career, even though it should not be allowed to obscure, as it very nearly does in this book, the great importance of the transcendental movement to American intellectual history as a whole.

The modern existentialist revolt against suppression of the individual has much to learn from the final realization of a full personality by Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman, as well as from the failures that line the road to that goal. Human nature is weak, and great efforts toward fulfillment of the individual's potential inevitably attract the weak as well as the strong. Channing came very near to that goal. His life story is that of many near great, and McGill has told it well.

University of Pennsylvania ROBERT E. SPILLER

JONES VERY: THE EFFECTIVE YEARS, 1833–1840. By *Edwin Gittleman.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1967. Pp. xx, 436. $12.50.)

UNDER the tutelage of the late Ralph Rusk, indefatigable dean of Emerson studies for a generation, Mr. Gittleman has given us another valuable contribution to the history of American transcendentalism. From the bottomless resources of New England archives he has brought to his account of a minor poet a great deal of unused or half-used materials. The result is the most thorough study we have of the crucial years in Jones Very's strange career. It ended in 1840, at the age of twenty-seven, though he lived on until 1880.

The first third of Gittleman's history of an intellect is dull going, and his commentaries on the poetry, throughout the study, are hopelessly old-fashioned. But beginning in 1837, when Very's lectures at the Salem and Concord lyceums establish his contacts with the Peabody sisters, Emerson, Alcott, Hawthorne, and others, Very comes alive; so does the New England mind; and, best of all, so does Gittleman. The balance of the book gives a fascinating, significant, and ingeniously constructed account of Very's year of "insanity," seen through its enormous impact on his Harvard students, and on the leading religious intellectuals and writers of the day, especially Emerson.

Very's "insanity"—an intense and of course humorless conviction that the Second Coming was in him, that he was infallible, and that a divine voice spoke through his sudden outpouring of sonnets—appalled conservatives like Dana and Ware, who saw it as an inevitable result of Emerson's recent "Divinity School Address." President Quincy quickly dismissed him from his Harvard tutorship in Greek, and the Reverend Charles Upham, an embarrassed Unitarian in Very's home town of Salem, saw to it that Very was carted off to McLean Hospital for one month (perhaps enabling Upham to get a feeling for his future study of Salem witchcraft). Hawthorne tried to avoid Very's messianic visits. The Peabody sisters vacillated and filled their letters with speculations. Alcott, Margaret Fuller, James Freeman Clarke, the Channings—each had his own complex or brutal response. Emerson suffered most, learned most, did most: he took Very in as a house guest; he encouraged and edited *Essays and Poems by Jones Very* (1839).

Was Very a saint, a genius, or a madman? Gittleman's careful and restrained documentation of how Very's contemporaries responded to this question suggests, though he might not agree, that Very's major contribution to New England culture was not his writings, but the ambiguities his life exposed.

Rutgers University WALTER E. BEZANSON

THE PAPERS OF ULYSSES S. GRANT. Volume I, 1837–1861. Edited by *John Y. Simon.* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1967. Pp. xxxix, 458. $15.00.)

THIS impressive volume initiates the publication of the collected works of Grant under the sponsorship of the Ulysses S. Grant Association, with the support of Southern Illinois University and its press and the National Historical Publications Commission. Formed in 1962 by the state Civil War centennial commissions of Ohio, Illinois, and New York, the association made Ralph G. Newman its president, selected an editorial board headed by Allan Nevins, employed John Y. Simon as editor, and with the cooperation of Major General Ulysses S. Grant III and other members of the Grant family, gathered, as Simon reports, "photoduplicates of anything in Grant's hand, addressed to him, or containing significant information about him." It now has "material for at least a dozen volumes," to be published in five series: "(1) the prewar period (1837–1861); (2) the Civil War and Reconstruction (1861–1868); (3) the political years (1868–1880); (4) the last years (1880–1885); (5) additional volumes containing Grant interviews and an annotated edition of the *Memoirs*."

Documents on Grant's early life are scarce, and the present volume completes the first series. Beginning at West Point, it moves through the Mexican War and the lean years of peacetime army and civilian life to the eve of the Civil War. "At least 80 per cent of the text has never before been printed and most has been unavailable in any form," writes Simon. The editing is clear, informative, and unpedantic. Significant Grant documents are printed in full, chronologically; others are calendared at the back of the volume. Most of the Grant letters are to Julia Dent Grant, who crossed out certain passages involving anti-Mexican remarks and, to quote Simon, "minor personal matters." Simon states that Mrs. Grant's deletions are not extensive and that "it is the wish of her descendants that this material remain unprinted." Inserted superior figures mark these omissions, and the number of deleted words or lines is noted. It is to be hoped that Mrs. Grant's descendants will reconsider this policy.

Originals are lacking for some half dozen of Grant's Mexican War letters that were published in the *Midland Monthly* of 1897 in a series of articles, "Grant's Life in the West . . . ," by John W. Emerson. Faultless in spelling, flowery in style, these letters seem unlike Grant. If he wrote them, did someone else revise them? Lloyd Lewis quotes from them very circumspectly in his *Captain Sam Grant.* Perhaps an editorial note is needed on this question.

The documents in this volume do not materially alter the Lewis portrait, and they are silent on the question of Grant's drinking. But historians will welcome them as indispensable to the full Grant story, will approve the intelligent editing, will profit from the two prefaces by Bruce Catton and Nevins, respectively, will appreciate the handsome illustrations and format, and will say "well begun" to all concerned with this fine project.

University of California, Riverside HAL BRIDGES

THE DIARY OF JAMES A. GARFIELD. Volume I, 1848–1871; Volume II, 1872–1874. Edited with an introduction by *Harry James Brown* and *Frederick D. Williams.* ([East Lansing:] Michigan State University Press. 1967. Pp. lxx, 496; 450. $30.00 the set.)

THE first two volumes of Garfield's *Diary* are a major source for American historians. They not only reveal the thoughts and acts of an important political figure but also Western Reserve life in the 1850's and Washington life in the 1870's. They contain much on religion and education in the Midwest and delineate in detail the rigorous schedule of a congressman. Because of gaps, particularly during the 1860's, two Garfields emerge from the *Diary:* the man of religion and the man of politics. A passionately religious young man, Garfield was a serious, introspective, guilt-ridden zealot who doubted the morality of attending theaters and of reading novels. Ironically, the future general had pacifist learnings, and the future President abhorred politics. Garfield believed Christians "had no right to engage in politics" and should not even vote.

Garfield's views, however, were not final. To liberalize his mind, he completed his education at Williams College. There he discovered and loved Shakespeare and became concerned over the outrages in Kansas, which led him to oppose slavery extension. Already an effective teacher and a forceful Disciples of Christ preacher, Garfield took to the stump for Frémont in 1856 and in 1859 successfully ran for the Ohio senate. During the Civil War he raised and commanded the Forty-second Ohio Infantry, served at Shiloh and Chickamauga, and emerged a major general and a member of Congress.

Congressman Garfield grasped many of the postwar problems the nation faced, yet as a fundamental conservative he did little to meet them. He recognized and feared the growing power of railroads and other great corporations and hated their lobbyists, yet he also feared the Granger movement to regulate railroads because "it may be communism in disguise." He was hostile to organized labor and opposed the eight-hour movement as a "blunder" and an "unwarrantable interference with the rights of the laborers." Though he lacked conviction, he consistently voted for protective tariffs, and while he recognized that Grant did "much to show with how little personal attention the Government can be run" he unenthusiastically supported him for re-election. An unequivocal hard money man and an equivocal civil service reformer, Garfield contributed most to Congress as the hard-working, knowledgeable, efficient chairman of the Appropriations Committee.

The *Diary* reveals that Garfield was "fickle, unstable, . . . timid and hesitating" not because of cowardice, as many political friends and foes supposed, but because he indulged in self-doubt far more than the average politician. A soul-searching young man who time and again convicted himself of mistakes and sins, Garfield, despite years of political activity, never lost his youthful habit of self-examination.

In some respects the *Diary* is disappointing. Garfield was less reticent as a young man than in the 1870's when his amanuensis recorded actions far more than thoughts. The *Diary* analyzes many sermons, but evaluates few politicians. It is sparing in anecdotes and is more restrained than Garfield's correspondence.

Nevertheless, the *Diary* is an outstanding source of political and social history, and the editors are to be commended for making the work readily available and for their excellent biographical introduction, illuminating notes, and useful index.

Pennsylvania State University ARI HOOGENBOOM

COLONEL FRANCIS W. PARKER: THE CHILDREN'S CRUSADER. By *Jack K. Campbell.* [Studies in Education.] (New York: Teachers College Press, Teachers College, Columbia University. 1967. Pp. vi, 283. $5.00.)

THIS biography of one of America's most controversial educators tells of Parker's experiences as teacher and supervisor in New Hampshire, Illinois, Ohio, and Massachusetts and as a teacher educator in Cook County and Chicago. It gives some attention to his childhood and includes a chapter on his Civil War participation.

Colonel Parker was progressive in most senses of the word. Well known for his support of "manual training," he advocated broader practical education than that term connotes. He favored inductive teaching and opposed any rigid curriculum organization. In the quarrel between subjects and children, he was on the side of children. He believed that the school could be effective in preparing children for life in a democracy only if it was itself democratic. He advocated financial support of public schools by the federal government.

Parker was not altogether consistent. His great cause was freedom and democracy for children, but his teachers often stood in awe of his domination. He did not endorse the Chicago Teachers Federation, and he opposed collective bargaining by teachers. He condemned the teaching of "word knowledge," but "Before dismissing students from their morning exercises at the Normal School, he would always ask them for the one great word. The children would instantly shout back, 'Responsibility!' "

Professor Campbell ably pictures the struggle that is the lot of a real educational reformer. Parker was almost always in trouble with parents, teachers, administrators, school boards, intellectual elite, labor unions, politicians, and other professional educators. Sometimes he lost; more often he won. But Campbell's judgment is that "Parker was a dominant influence only in life." Small wonder that few school administrators seem to consider effort toward genuine reform worth the cost.

Campbell is familiar with the field in which he writes and exploited a mass of original sources: Parker's few publications and unpublished manuscripts, letters, persons who knew Parker, newspapers and other periodicals, and institutional and public records. One wishes that he had told more of the actual operation of Parker's methods, had omitted some interesting but irrelevant details, and had either speculated less on others or supported his speculations better. But reading this book will prove rewarding to all who are interested in vital issues in education and in educational reform.

Duke University WILLIAM H. CARTWRIGHT

FRANCIS MORA: LAST OF THE CATALANS. By *Francis J. Weber.* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 62. $6.00.)

In recent years three Catholic clerical historians, Maynard Geiger, John B. McGloin, and Francis J. Weber, have been at work writing various lives of the successors to California's celebrated pioneer prelate, Junípero Serra. Those clerics who followed Serra—among them Bishops Alemany, Amat, and Mora—consolidated the gains established during the province's mission period. This slight book, limited to 250 copies, focuses upon the career of Mora. As bishop of Monterey-Los Angeles after 1878, he governed a diocese more than 75,000 square miles in size. An unpretentious man of moderate abilities, his record was not as brilliant as it was unifying. Mora propped up sagging finances, helped establish a new cathedral at Los Angeles, and founded asylums and schools as well as various diocesan publications. He returned to his native Spain in 1896 and died there nine years later.

Like Alemany and Amat, Mora was a Catalonian. Weber has done a workmanlike job of research with pontifical and diocesan archival sources in order to reconstruct his story, albeit in brief format. The book ends on a unique necrological note. Only with great difficulty did the author establish the fact that Mora was buried in Spain, not California. He also discovered that it had been the bishop's wish to be buried at Los Angeles. In 1962, therefore, he succeeded in having Mora's body disinterred at Sarria and reburied at Los Angeles.

The book, regrettably, has no bibliography or index; notes are printed at the end of the book.

Occidental College Andrew Rolle

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE SOUTH, 1875–1922. [East Carolina College Publications in History, Volume III.] (Greenville, N. C.: Department of History, the College. 1966. Pp. vii, 242. $2.50.)

This third publication of the history faculty of East Carolina College consists of seven essays, or articles, on the history of the South, 1875–1922. The authors and their subjects are: Lawrence F. Brewster, "Alfred Augustin Watson"; Walter T. Calhoun, "The Danville Riot and Its Repercussions on the Virginia Election of 1883"; Lala Carr Steelman, "Mary Clare de Graffenried"; Howard B. Clay, "Daniel Augustus Tompkins"; Joseph F. Steelman, "Republican Party Politics in North Carolina, 1902"; George-Anne Willard, "Charles Lee Coon"; and Henry C. Ferrell, Jr., "Prohibition, Reform, and Politics in Virginia, 1895–1916."

It would seem to me that such articles would find a better vehicle of publication in state or regional journals, that the East Carolina College history department would be making a better contribution to scholarship by devoting its series to longer monographic studies, rather than to short articles and essays. The departmental chairman, Herbert R. Paschal, is satisfied, nevertheless, that the series "has begun to fulfill those needs which first brought the publication into being." One is left to assume that "those needs" is the singular "need" for a departmental organ for publication.

University of Arkansas Walter L. Brown

TOUGH TRIP THROUGH PARADISE, 1878–1879. By *Andrew Garcia.* Edited by *Bennett H. Stein.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1967. Pp. xviii, 446. $6.95.)

NEARLY twenty years ago Montanan Bennett Stein found several thousand pages of manuscript stored away in old dynamite boxes, wrapped in waxed paper that once contained powder, and after he had gone through those legal-sized sheets, some handwritten, some typed, he evolved the story as we now have it in book form. Although Stein did some pruning and rearranging of material, as well as supplying punctuation that made the work more readable, he preserved the flavor of Garcia's writing, grammatical mistakes and all.

Andrew Garcia, who called himself the "Squaw Kid," went to Montana from the Rio Grande country in 1876, and after a brief stint as an army packer, he agreed to go trapping with an old alcoholic known as "Beaver Tom." The pair headed north from Bozeman, into the Judith Gap country, where they separated after a number of disagreements arising out of Tom's propensity to drink up all their stock in trade. Having discovered that trapping was a poor thing in central Montana, Garcia concentrated his efforts on trading, mostly with the Pend d'Oreilles, and sometimes with the Blackfeet, although the Pend d'Oreilles voiced strong objections to commerce with the Blackfeet.

Most of Garcia's narrative concerns his life with the Pend d'Oreilles during 1878 and 1879. It was here that he met and married "In-who-lise," a young Nez Percé girl who had survived the march through Montana with her people, a flight that ended in defeat in the Bear Paw Mountains of north central Montana. One night, after a barbecue, she recounted the long trek out of Idaho, the Battle of the Big Hole in which her father was killed and where she lost part of a tooth when one of the soldiers struck her with a rifle butt, and finally the desperate effort to reach Canada in that cold autumn of 1877. Her story has interest principally because it assigns to "White Bird" and "Looking Glass" a more important place in the events and puts Nez Percé Joseph in what was perhaps a more realistic role as one of the leaders. The story is secondhand, passed on years later by Garcia who tried to recall the details of his first wife's account since she died in 1879, and statements attributed to various Nez Percé Indians at the time of the flight rest only on memory.

Of considerable interest, and probably most significant to the historian, is Garcia's detailed portrayal of life among the Indians. In the role of "squaw man," to use his own definition, he learned much about native customs that he related in an engrossing style. In many ways the book is just an absorbing story, but interwoven into it is a wealth of useful information about the northern Plains Indians.

University of Colorado ROBERT G. ATHEARN

INSTITUTIONS IN MODERN AMERICA: INNOVATION IN STRUCTURE AND PROCESS. Edited by *Stephen E. Ambrose.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1967. Pp. vii, 145. $5.95.)

THE four lectures that comprise this book were given at the Johns Hopkins Center for the Study of Recent American History in the spring of 1966. The

institutions discussed are: organized labor, by David Brody; national politics, by William E. Leuchtenburg; the large corporation, by Alfred D. Chandler, Jr.; and the military establishment, by Theodore Ropp. The general time period is from the late nineteenth century to the present. There is a thoughtful introduction by the editor, who promises somewhat more than the book delivers.

The editor says: "The retention of democracy within a society of gigantic organizations is the real American success story. How it was done is a primary concern of these essays." I was unable to relate most of the writing to this primary concern. The various subjects are treated in narrative form, which emphasizes certain aspects of "process," but tends, with some notable exceptions, to neglect innovations or changes in institutional "structure." Hence the behavior of the institutions in performing their major roles receives considerably more attention than do innovations caused by the pressures of the institutions on each other, such as the interaction of government and business or the military and government.

As narrative history the essays are excellent summaries of important developments of the last three-quarters of a century, written with much insight and some contributions to new interpretation: for example, Brody's emphasis on protection of the United Mine Workers as the basic reason for John L. Lewis taking a leading part in forming the CIO; or Chandler's discussion of the part played by World War II in diversification of products and better control of materials in large manufacturing corporations. Perhaps one should not be too critical of the upshot of the difficult task of choosing a fitting title for diverse individual essays.

University of Pennsylvania THOMAS C. COCHRAN

THE SEARCH FOR ORDER, 1877–1920. By *Robert H. Wiebe*. [The Making of America.] (New York: Hill and Wang. 1967. Pp. xiv, 333. $5.75.)

MR. Wiebe's book provides the outlines of a simple but potentially extensive conceptual framework that will have a major impact on the context of American history between 1877 and 1920. Many will recognize his views as a variation of the community-society or local-cosmopolitan typology, well known in sociology but clearly applicable to historical description. Preurban, industrial social organization, so Wiebe's argument goes, rested on community, in which the focal point was a set of face-to-face primary group relationships through which life was understood, values generated, and economic and political institutions developed. But urban, industrial society created a new set of relationships, above and beyond community, linking people over far broader geographical areas. The scope of human thought expanded, understanding of reality came through impersonal media rather than personal contact, and organized group action joined specialists over wide areas rather than only those within a limited geographical community.

Social change in modern America, Wiebe argues, involved the decline of community and the rise of society. The protest movements of the late nineteenth century, for example, were rooted in the defense of community, and the reform movements of the early twentieth century involved attempts to work out the new forms of more cosmopolitan social organization. As implied in the book's title,

the forces of modern society eroded community, setting loose human relationships from older roots and creating an often disorderly, mobile, undirected set of social forces, while the drive to shape new social forces constituted an attempt to bring order and direction into this chaos through organization and system.

The strongest part of the work lies in the author's description of the new, more cosmopolitan human relationships that grew with urban industrialism. He provides, for example, striking illustrations of the process of rationalization on linkages among people. But most important is his description of the "new middle class" as the root of reform movements in the early twentieth century. Convincingly he argues that this source was not the "old middle class," the independent proprietor of the past, but the new group of professionals and organizational representatives who were constructing new systems, ordering life with large, rather than parochial, perspectives, and seeking to manipulate factors beyond community. In this context, reform was not the irrational expression of an attempt to regain a lost status, but a conscious and reasoned effort to shape institutions according to the values of the new social order.

Wiebe has difficulty with the ethnocultural components of community, which generate one form of expression of defense; he stresses only the evangelical Protestant values of community and the links between these and agrarian protest. Yet the small community of the German and the Irish, of the Catholic and the Lutheran, highly antievangelical, intensely antiprohibitionist, and anti-Sabbatarian were as much an expression of the values of the small community as were those in the evangelical Protestant tradition. The ethnocultural conflicts of the last three decades of the nineteenth century were, in fact, conflicts between two sets of tradition-oriented systems of value, each rooted in the personal relationships of community. Moreover, he misses entirely the powerful force of community within the city, the decentralization of urban life in the last half of the nineteenth century into an ever-increasing number of subunits, each with relatively autonomous institutions and each with a separate political voice in urban government. These prevailed until the reform movements of the twentieth century.

Wiebe's argument is often only partially developed, often tentative and incomplete. Facts covered in conventional treatments are artificially squeezed into the pages of the book, often quite removed from the general argument, and give rise to a disjoined flow of thought. The writing is, moreover, often kaleidoscopic and impressionistic rather than systematic. Despite all this, the outlines of the major argument come through clearly, to provide one of the freshest forms of conceptual reorientation to appear on the modern American history scene in many years.

University of Pittsburgh SAMUEL P. HAYS

RAILROAD LABOR DISPUTES: THE BEGINNINGS OF FEDERAL STRIKE POLICY. By *Gerald G. Eggert.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 313. $6.95.)

BEFORE 1878 the federal government had no policy for dealing with strikes. Economic matters of this kind were considered none of Uncle Sam's business.

The railroad strikes of that year, and others that followed, affected the public interest so seriously that federal power was called upon to suppress them. The culmination of this period was the Pullman strike of 1894 and its aftermath. Eggert has written a full and scholarly history of these conflicts and the government's reactions. His presentation seems generally objective and impartial.

The best-known acts of the federal executive, the use of the army to surpress disorders accompanying strikes by Hayes in 1877 and by Cleveland in 1894, were part of the two strikes that Eggert equates with more recent national emergency strikes. He has added some new details. He feels that these *ad hoc* measures adopted in the heat of crises strengthened employers and weakened labor, and that others, which he suggests, should have been adopted to restore the balance. New information is provided concerning the efforts of post-office officials to keep the mails moving during strikes and concerning the reasons why Chairman Cooley of the Interstate Commerce Commission failed in his effort to have the commission investigate the Burlington strike.

Throughout this period the federal judiciary played the most continuous and active part in devising means of suppressing railroad strikes, its decisions in effect making new labor law. The most significant outcome was the development of the modern labor injunction. When the Pullman strike began, precedents had been set for almost everything in the famous blanket injunctions issued in that strike. Eggert's detailed treatment of this and other legal and constitutional matters connected with these strikes is comprehensive and very competently done.

The legislative branch of the government did least, usually confining itself to oratory during a crisis and inaction when the crisis had passed. The principal exceptions were the two Arbitration Acts of 1888 and 1898.

By 1898 precedents had been set for preventing or suppressing strikes by injunctions, backed by federal force if needed. Congress had accepted voluntary arbitration for peaceful settlement of labor disputes, but its legislation produced no arbitration before 1906. At least the beginning of a federal strike policy had been made, however.

This book can be read profitably by anyone interested in the subject.

Ithaca, New York DONALD L. MCMURRY

PULLMAN: AN EXPERIMENT IN INDUSTRIAL ORDER AND COMMUNITY PLANNING, 1880–1930. By *Stanley Buder*. [The Urban Life in America Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 263. $7.50.)

STANLEY Buder's book is many things, most of them excellent. It includes the best biographical sketch of George M. Pullman (1831–1897) in print and an encapsulated company history of Pullman's business enterprises. And, in seventy-five deft pages, it summarizes the context and the conduct of the Pullman strike. These topics, however, are ancillary to the author's major interest: the life cycle of a model town, "from its conception to its transformation into an ordinary urban neighborhood."

Pullman, Illinois, was also many things. It was the most elaborate attempt

ever made by an American businessman to centralize, motivate, and control his work force. It was George M. Pullman's response to social disintegration and moral decay, yet it was an $8,000,000 investment that he expected to pay a 6 per cent per annum return. It was also a notable, if not lasting, experiment in urban planning.

Buder's best writing and analysis are devoted to the value system that Pullman sought to express in his town and to engender in his workers; to the planning process and physical appearance of the town; to the social characteristics of workers and residents; and to Pullman's gradual loss of "community identity." The watershed in the life of Pullman and in the image of his town, of course, was the strike. The author summarizes quite well the proximate causes: an organization grown too large for personal supervision by top management and a lack of managerial sureness at lower levels; a complex system of piecework and inplant transfer pricing that often discriminated among workers by factors other than skill or performance; layoffs and wage reductions in response to declining orders, with a refusal to reduce rents or costs of living in the town; and Pullman's conviction that management, not unions, had his employees' best interests at heart.

Following the strike, public criticism and internal dissent eroded the town's original concept and destroyed the credibility of George Pullman's previously humanitarian image; neither was ever the same again. The suburban expansion of Chicago interdicted and then subsumed the town. This fascinating story of lingering urban death is well told.

Buder is surer with his urban than with his industrial history. Space was certainly a constraint, but some additional paragraphs would have made an excellent book better still. Reference to the works of Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., Joseph A. Litterer, and Stanley Lebergott would have improved the author's grasp of nineteenth-century norms concerning management, wage rates, employment levels, and living costs and would have set his Pullman data off to better advantage.

These are minor points, however. It is to be hoped that Buder may now extend his considerable contributions by synthesizing them with the work of Constance M. Green on Holyoke, Vera Shlakman on Chicopee, Blake McKelvey on Rochester, Margaret T. Parker on Lowell, and Donald B. Cole on Lawrence. The time seems ripe for a comparative study of those industrial towns that just grew and those that were planned.

Harvard University JAMES P. BAUGHMAN

MONTAGUE OF VIRGINIA: THE MAKING OF A SOUTHERN PROGRESSIVE. By *William Larsen.* [Southern Biography Series.] ([Baton Rouge:] Louisiana State University Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 314. $7.50.)

MONTAGUE's public career spans the half century preceding his death in 1937. During these years he held local, state, and national office and represented the United States at numerous international legal and parliamentary conferences. Mr. Larsen chooses to emphasize Montague's role as governor of Virginia, 1902–1906. In chronicling the rise of Montague to the highest office in the state and the decade of national prominence that followed, the author has produced a

well-balanced narrative that is exhaustively researched and provides a detailed history of Virginia politics from the 1880's to World War I.

While this is hardly a by-product, the primary aim of the author is to deal with the phenomenon of southern progressivism. Larsen's *Montague* now takes its place with Grantham's *Hoke Smith,* Cotner's *Hogg,* and Orr's *Aycock* in the slowly growing literature on the progressive movement in the South.

Measured in terms of immediate achievement, the "progressive" record of Montague is, as Larsen clearly perceives, pathetically meager. Yet when one considers the protean nature of progressivism, and about the only thing we all agree on is the rough chronology of the movement, it would seem unwise to deny Montague that label. Indeed, the paucity of accomplishment has been pointed up in the case of far more famous progressives than Montague. Larsen makes a sound case for his subject, in terms of ideology and aspiration, which fits the "progressive profile."

The dominant theme that runs through Montague's public life and is perceptively dealt with by his biographer is frustration. Ever since C. Vann Woodward called our attention to the existence of a southern progressive movement, we have been aware that it was "Progressivism with a difference." Woodward called it "Progressivism for White Only." Certainly this cannot be denied, but it is insufficient to explain the difference. One very real value of Larsen's study is his close examinations of the reasons for the brief season and meager results of Virginia progressivism. Giving due weight to Montague's lack of organizing ability, the virulence of the machine he opposed, and the very considerable apathy of the Virginia electorate, there remains a residue. In simplest terms this represented the very long way that Virginia had to come just to catch up in the early years of the twentieth century. His close investigation of conditions in Virginia makes it possible to understand how such elementary problems as good roads and good schools could absorb so much of the energy of the progressive fight, limit greatly its achievement, and even bring defeat while the vastly more prosperous areas of the nation engaged in far more sophisticated social experiment.

Tulane University W. Burlie Brown

SPEARHEADS FOR REFORM: THE SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS AND THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT, 1890–1914. By *Allen F. Davis.* [The Urban Life in America Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xviii, 322. $7.50.)

This substantial contribution is well organized and clearly written. It rests upon a decade's research into the voluminous publications of the settlement movement and into more than a score of manuscript collections, some located and saved by Professor Davis. He believes that historians have neglected his subject, but it has received more attention than other aspects of the history of social welfare for the very reason that drew him to it: its relation to political agitations. The general connections are that the settlers promoted activities for social reform that others would take up later and that many residents became famous spokesmen and workers for social justice.

Davis is well informed about current historiography and relates his findings to its concerns. Specialized scholars who may find here food for thought and leads for research include historians of urban life, education, housing, planning, immigration, Negro affairs, labor, municipal politics and reform, and even art and mass culture. The main theme is how events led the settlers from neighborhood service to politics, and how their political frustrations at the ward level led them to engage in city-wide and finally national contests. There are instructive chapters on each of these phases; it is curious that the connection with state politics receives no emphasis. An epilogue describes the decline of the reform spirit during World War I and the 1920's.

A sturdy foe of "sweeping generalizations," Davis finds that the settlers, at least, were not so paternalistic, opposed to organized labor, hostile to the city, or "reform Darwinist" as some have described the progressives; nor were they simply products of a status revolution. He himself carefully qualifies his claims for the leadership and effectiveness of his protagonists. And yet his focus on politics, as distinct from "an internal analysis" of the movement, introduces a bias in his interpretation. He omits much that is really comic and sad in the story: the pathos of those idealists who, in the effort to reconstruct the neighborhood, stood boldly on its quicksand, made headlines for a time, then lost their audience in a struggle to discover a foothold in unromantically modest services. It is ironic, in view of the frustrations he records, that Davis seems to find their "crusading zeal" more admirable than their quest for technical competence; unfortunately, this good book may reinforce the notion that the most worthy avatars of the heritage of social work are auxiliaries of partisan politics.

University of California, Berkeley JAMES LEIBY

TRINITY AND DUKE, 1892–1924: FOUNDATIONS OF DUKE UNIVERSITY. By *Earl W. Porter.* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 274. $7.50.)

Trinity and Duke, 1892–1924, presents a typical segment in the history of American colleges in a very forceful fashion. Feeling no obligation to include all the minutiae of student statistics, curricular details, or organizational changes, or to load his narrative with human-interest stories or swatches of collegiate color, Earl W. Porter has concerned himself with the big questions. He has tried, with marked success, to show what Trinity College meant and what it passed on by way of heritage to Duke University.

The modest beginnings that trace through Brown's Schoolhouse, Union Institute, and the Normal College to Trinity are barely suggested. The narrative really begins with the days of President Crowell, 1887–1892, where the basic elements of the college's later concerns already appear. When the age of Old Trinity ends and the seat of the institution is moved to Durham, the stage is set. A church-related college, never embarrassed by overwhelming largess from the church, strives to hold the church's esteem and at the same time to maintain its independence; tries to retain and cultivate the interest and support of the Durham constituency and yet to speak its message in its own way; struggles in spite of its poverty and meager resources to achieve and maintain academic integrity; and,

finally, educates a favorably inclined family, rapidly achieving great wealth, to continue and increase its benefactions until they produce a princely endowment.

The celebrated Bassett affair, so fully discussed and thoroughly documented, was not only significant for Trinity; it affords a major case history in the whole struggle for academic freedom in the American college. John Spencer Bassett was one of Trinity's own men. On the faculty his thorough training and passion for scholarly research made him something of a symbol of academic excellence. When his fearlessness in espousing liberal causes through his speeches and his writings, particularly in the *South Atlantic Quarterly,* brought him into conflict with staid conservatism in the church and throughout the state, he eventually found himself face to face with Josephus Daniels of the Raleigh *News and Observer* as his most vocal antagonist. Bassett's support by the trustees in their refusal to accept his proffered resignation "permitted the erection of a platform upon which all might stand." Porter's analysis of the victory points out objectively the manifold and, in places, almost contradictory conditions that made a favorable outcome possible.

The account of the relations between Trinity's presidents and the Dukes will make many college presidents envious; few have had so pleasurable and profitable an experience. There could be no room for resentment when the college became a university and its name became Duke. Porter has written an eloquent and factual appraisal of Trinity's heritage to the university that is a substantial and scholarly contribution to the history of higher education in this country.

George Washington University ELMER LOUIS KAYSER

THE HISTORY OF THE LABORATORY SCHOOLS, THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, 1896–1965. By *Ida B. DePencier.* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1967. Pp. 207. $4.95.)

AMONG the many campus schools established on the initiative of university departments of education, none has been more famous than the elementary and secondary schools at the University of Chicago. John Dewey founded the University Elementary School in 1896 to demonstrate how his reform ideas could be put into practice; in 1901 he became the first director of the University High School, an amalgam of existing private schools less concerned with promoting reform than with supplying students to the university. The "Dewey years" at Chicago have been studied extensively by recent historians, and a full description of the elementary school was provided in 1936 by two former teachers. Mrs. DePencier's volume, however, is the first attempt to study the whole development of the laboratory schools, particularly in the years after 1904 when Dewey left for New York.

Her book is a gentle and generous celebration of the schools' considerable achievements over the years, and it should find a responsive audience among parents and alumni. As history it is, unfortunately, not successful. The author taught in the elementary laboratory school for thirty-three years, and she is more interested in recounting interesting incidents in the life of the schools than in reflecting on the meaning of the significant data she often presents.

The most useful chapters are the earlier ones, which show how the schools

were affected by different conceptions of both education and the function of campus schools held by several powerful figures in their history. Dewey used the elementary school to see what happened when a particular approach to education was embodied in a real school. He hired teachers who were dedicated to his principles, but gave them considerable freedom to experiment with different ways to effect those principles. Under Charles H. Judd, who went to Chicago in 1909 as director of the laboratory schools and head of the department of education, the schools became less a working example of what progressive education might mean and more a convenient setting for the experimentation and testing that marked Judd's effort to create a genuine science of education. Judd's successor as director of the schools, Henry Clinton Morrison, enlarged the creed of science and efficiency to embrace not only a method of educational inquiry but a system of teaching as well. He invented and institutionalized the "unit" system of instruction that broke subjects up into small parts; teachers then helped pupils achieve "mastery" over each unit by a series of formal pedagogical steps reminiscent of Herbart. The schools' more recent history does not reveal similarly coherent themes such as these; the most significant development appears to have been the gradual absorption of the schools into the university system of education, as both recruiters of prospective college students and as a service to faculty parents.

The book's data continually raise significant questions, but they never really confront them. To what extent, for example, did the educational scientists' need for precise, measurable objectives inhibit or destroy the more messy, relaxed, but still unique style of the early Dewey school and pave the way for the orderly, efficient, and rather mechanical curriculum of Morrison? Were Dewey's ideals threatened more by the scientific wing within the education profession than by the later activity of conservative laymen? And to what can be attributed the clear loss of a sense of special purpose which, in the past three decades, made the laboratory schools not very distinguishable from other elite, private, urban schools? The absence of notes and bibliography will make it more difficult for other scholars, as they grapple with these questions, to build on this work.

Harvard Graduate School of Education ARTHUR G. POWELL

BEFORE AND AFTER: *OR* THE RELATIONS OF THE RACES AT THE SOUTH. By *Isaac DuBose Seabrook*. Edited with an introduction by *John Hammond Moore*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1967. Pp. vii, 157. $5.50.)

ISAAC DuBose Seabrook, an aristocratic Charlestonian down on his luck, wrote this essay on race relations in 1895 while he was earning his living as a hotel clerk. Unpublished until this edition, these reflections clearly bear the mark of both the time and circumstance of their origins. In 1895 the Tillmanites disfranchised the Negroes of South Carolina and launched the movement for rigid, universal segregation. Seabrook, reacting against the movement from the upper-class position of racial conservatism, opposed segregation on the ground that it would remove the Negro from the civilizing influence of the whites and maintained that the true policy was to elevate the blacks to the level of the whites gradually by education and economic opportunity. He also echoes, though he does

ıt mention, the views that Booker T. Washington voiced in his Atlanta address 1895, contending that the way up for the Negro lies through economic self-lp rather than through political action.

While he rejects the doctrines of the extreme racists, Seabrook retains the ıstalgic picture of race relations in the old regime and most of the corresponding :reotypes regarding "the character of the African race." Racial inferiorities are e root of all the trouble, and improvement is "the work of a long period of ne." Seabrook dismisses the liberal program for racial justice put forward by eorge W. Cable as impractical. He apparently never read the demand for full egro equality published by his fellow aristocrat Lewis H. Blair in 1889.

The Seabrook essay is ably edited by John Hammond Moore, who writes ı informative introduction on the life of the author and the emergence of im Crowism" in South Carolina. The editor has misread me as picturing "a ight time—a 'Camelot,' " a period of "halcyon days" following Reconstruction. ıt this is a common and apparently irremediable misapprehension; otherwise, s scholarship is quite unexceptionable.

ıle University C. VANN WOODWARD

HE ADMIRALS LOBBY. By *Vincent Davis.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 329. $7.50.)

r the first chapter the author, a behavioral scientist, posed these questions: Vhat are the old and new factors after 1900 that resulted in changes in the ıval officers' attitudes toward political activity on behalf of Navy programs?" nd, "What precisely were the consequences of these factors in . . . the officers' ɔlitical behaviour?" He then replied with: "One important part of the answer these questions is the naval officers' traditional repugnance towards any form political activity which has by no means been wholly overcome even at present. n the contrary, much of it remains, which means that in one sense this book ay be viewed as a study of the tensions resulting from the interactions of the d factors that discouraged political involvement and the new factors that omote it."

The book is a comprehensive review of the political, organizational, and ad-inistrative history of the navy from 1900 to 1967. Although generally accurate, me of the author's conclusions seem colored by the need to find supporting data r his hypotheses. He has used secondary and primary sources, including many terviews with naval officers, to demonstrate his proposition that naval officers e a subculture within the broad American culture, that they are isolated, and at they have often felt alienated from civilian society.

Mr. Davis shows that the officers were slow to learn and loath to use the chniques of the lobbyist. Their best tutors, Admiral Moffett and Mr. Forrestal, ught them some of the fundamentals, while the continual battle to prevent the r force from absorbing naval aviation forced them to learn to defend their rvice by lobbying and by the adoption of modern public relations techniques.

Some of the author's contentions are unacceptable: that the navy was in-fferent to technological advances, unprepared for war in 1941, and wedded to e doctrine that "Navies were only meant to fight other navies." A different

study might show that naval officers were more progressive in technology than most civilians; that considering congressional niggardliness with money and authority the navy was markedly better prepared to fight than the army or most American industrial corporations; and, finally, that basic naval doctrine derived from Mahan was "to exercise control of the seas" by whatever means.

As a sociological analysis of the naval officer this book joins the growing number of volumes devoted to studies of American institutions. A broad, if somewhat repetitious, work, it is worthy of careful attention by students and serious readers, naval officers, and others in the armed services. It is a valuable contribution to scholarship and to the understanding of our widely misunderstood naval officers.

Columbia University.. BEN SCOTT CUSTER

WILLIAM C. BULLITT AND THE SOVIET UNION. By *Beatrice Farnsworth*. [Indiana University International Studies.] (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 244. $7.50.)

THIS is a well-researched and lucidly written account of a controversial American diplomatist who played a significant role in American-Soviet relations during the administrations of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt. It is an important work that is disturbing and, to some extent, frustrating. Frustrating, no doubt, owing to the very character and personality of the subject. William Bullitt had all of the advantages and many of the qualities—exuberant, egocentric, gushy, dramatic, romantic, vindictive, quick to make decisions and quick to change them, quick to embark on crusades and quick to abandon them—that come from a wealthy, secure, and prominent American family bacgkround, but few requisites for a successful diplomatic career. And yet Bullitt was an unusually able man who could not fulfill the promise expected by both Wilson and Roosevelt.

Drawing on hitherto unavailable private papers, Dr. Farnsworth traces the stormy career of Bullitt: first exposure to diplomacy at the Peace Conference, enchantment with the Bolshevik revolution, attempts to influence Wilson's and the Allies' policies toward the Soviet Union, secret negotiation with Lenin, disenchantment with Wilson, and public denunciation of the Versailles Treaty ending the first phase of his diplomatic career.

Bullitt reappeared in 1933 as a key decision maker in Roosevelt's entourage, which brought about recognition of the Soviet Union. To FDR he seemed a good choice as first ambassador to Moscow! The description and analysis of his tour of duty there are perceptive and well drawn. Bullitt arrived in the Soviet capital full of optimism, most of it colored by his earlier experience in 1919. His attempts to establish rapport with Russian leaders, which at first seemed so easy and pleasant, soon worsened. Undaunted, Bullitt sought to "build a backfire in the Kremlin" by teaching Russian generals to play polo, giving lavish balls, and so forth. By mid-1935 Bullitt opposed the Russian leaders. To him their intransigence was a personal affront. He forsook the Soviet Union with the same crusading zeal with which he had adopted it. Having failed in Moscow, he was appointed ambassador to France; he did not

distinguish himself there, either. Bullitt's diplomatic career ended with the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union. The ambassador's warnings about Stalin's designs and policies did not fit in with FDR's optimistic belief that he could get along with "Uncle Joe." What an ironic twist!

This book not only enlightens the bizarre career of William Bullitt; it adds much to our understanding of the way FDR formulated his foreign policies.

University of Connecticut LOUIS L. GERSON

BABBITS AND BOHEMIANS: THE AMERICAN 1920s. By *Elizabeth Stevenson.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. xiv, 300. $6.95.)

"'Culture' was an outlaw in the twenties, and so was 'art,'" Elizabeth Stevenson writes. "Therefore, the twenties remained adolescent." The body of her book discusses that adolescence. America was glittery and faddish, prone to evasion and illusion, energetic and egoistic, insouciant, insensitive, and irresponsible. Henry Ford was the nation's prophet, Calvin Coolidge its conscience, and the *Saturday Evening Post* its chorus. Beneath the tinsel lived coal miners, sharecroppers, and many more in a layer of poverty comfortable citizens refused to notice, and across the Atlantic a civilization continued to crumble as Americans tended their gadgets and ticker tape. Only a handful of creative men—painters like John Marin and Stuart Davis, poets like Robert Frost and William Carlos Williams, scientists like Robert Goddard and Arthur Compton —whose subterranean culture was acquiring depth and strength by the end of the decade, relieved a dismal record of failure and promised "a richer maturity" to follow.

With more than customary emphasis upon the arts, Stevenson has told a familiar story in a familiar manner. She offers a pastiche of anecdotes. Beyond what integration the term "adolescence" can provide, the book remains a scattering of episodes, vignettes, and allusions. A few of these are noteworthy: the brief, intriguing description of how the image of the flapper evolved, for example, and the discussion of a ritualistic pseudo solution as the accepted style in statesmanship. But no basic questions undergird the narrative, despite occasional hints to the contrary. Why culture was outlawed and poverty ignored; how popular values and public policy related; what drew Ford, Coolidge, and the *Saturday Evening Post* into a singular American package; why, for that matter, the rare dissenter dissented are apparently self-evident propositions. As long as the reader accepts the stereotype of the twenties as a self-contained aberration and finds immaturity a satisfactory source of understanding, he may then enjoy a pleasantly written book of impressions about "this flimsy, juvenile, and doomed age."

Northwestern University ROBERT WIEBE

AS WE SAW THE THIRTIES: ESSAYS ON SOCIAL AND POLITICAL MOVEMENTS OF A DECADE. By *Max Shachtman et al.* Edited by *Rita James Simon.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1967. Pp. 253. $6.50.)

THIS series of lectures, originally given at the University of Illinois in 1965

and 1966 and then entitled "Leaders of Social and Political Movements of the 1930's," was designed to give "first person, eyewitness accounts" to the generation of the 1960's. The participants were Max Shachtman, representing the "Trotskyist view"; Gerald L. K. Smith, the Huey Long movement; Granville Hicks, the writers; Norman Thomas, the Socialists; A. J. Muste, radical labor activities; Hal Draper, youth movements; Earl Browder, the Communists; and former US Senator Burton J. Wheeler. Rita James Simon contributes a brief introduction.

Although the essays offer little that is new to the specialist, they are informative, and undoubtedly each lecturer had more to offer his listeners than actually appears in print. Norman Thomas at eighty-two, for example, probably had more than enough fire to demonstrate the reason for his perennial candidacy for the presidency.

The chapters by Shachtman, Thomas, Hicks, Muste, Draper, and Browder have similar themes. All describe the continual factionalism of groups and parties of the Left and the efforts to overcome this factionalism. It would appear that the relative success of American Communism during the thirties can be explained partly by the dynamic quality of its program and partly by the party's tactics in 1934 and 1935 of promoting the popular front and in actually allying itself with the New Deal. Browder's chapter is one of the most thought-provoking and best-organized of the series. Equally significant are the contributions of Hicks and Draper. In a skillful survey Hicks discusses the effects of Communism and the depression on the writers and concludes that Faulkner, although writing the best novels of the decade, was not appreciated at the time because his themes were not considered properly social or political. Draper concludes that the student movements of the thirties received their energy from the Socialists and Communists, and that these movements were more ideological and just as activist as the student movements of the 1960's.

Perhaps least satisfactory are the chapters by Wheeler and Smith. Wheeler does little more than tell a few anecdotes about FDR. Smith sees Long as battling for good against evil, and adopts as a kind of thesis the idea that Long was no "demagogic buffoon." Few who have studied Long's career would deny him constructive accomplishments or write him off simply as a buffoon or a demagogue. Smith, however, partly refutes his own thesis by admitting that "Mr. Long's definition of practical statesmanship was: 'The ability to campaign as convincingly as a demagogue with much of the drama of a demagogue while possessing an inner self-respect dedicated to Constitutional procedures and a high regard for the national tradition.'"

Duke University RICHARD L. WATSON, JR.

POLITICHESKAIA BOR'BA V SSHA V SEREDINE 30-KH GODOV XX VEKA [The Political Struggle in the USA in the Middle of the 1930's]. By *N. V. Sivachev*. ([Moscow:] Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta. 1966. Pp. 284.)

NIKOLAI Sivachev, a young professor of American history at Moscow University, has written an honest, detailed discussion of the American political scene

leading to the Roosevelt victory of 1936. He contends that there were three major political trends at this time: reactionary, moderate-liberal, and radical-progressive. The reactionaries included Herbert Hoover and the Liberty League and stood for "rugged individualism." The victorious moderate-liberals, such as the capitalists of the South and West, FDR, and some labor leaders, represented the wave of the future, with "state monopoly capitalism," meaning ever-growing monopolies regulated by the state in a view somewhat similar to Galbraith's new industrial state. The radical-progressives (the LaFollettes, the farmer-labor parties, and other workers) were largely beyond the established parties and pressed for more drastic reforms, many of which ultimately were enacted into law. Both major political parties were bourgeois groups, and none of the three trends threatened the established order, a role perhaps reserved for the sectarian, doctrinaire Communist party.

Sivachev's thesis is that FDR was pushed into the Second New Deal by the strikes and demonstrations of the working class. He successfully describes the reasons for the failure of a Leftist revolution to occur and the absence of a strong Left third party, but he is weaker when discussing the reasons behind the failure of various far Right-wing ideologies (especially fascism) to gain greater support in the 1930's. The author regularly and intelligently challenges both major and minor assumptions (faithfully reported) of American historiography.

The book relies heavily on works by Tugwell and Schlesinger, Jr., but also makes extensive use of other American secondary works and primary materials he gathered while an exchange student for a year at Columbia University. Sivachev is very familiar with American political life, traditions, and lore, and the book is filled with much information that the Russian reader could not possibly obtain anywhere else. It is unfortunate that only twelve hundred copies of this highly readable and informative book were published.

University of Chicago RICHARD HELLIE

AMERICAN CIVIL–MILITARY DECISIONS: A BOOK OF CASE STUDIES. Edited by *Harold Stein*. [A Twentieth Century Fund Study.] ([University:] University of Alabama Press in cooperation with the Inter-University Case Program. 1963. Pp. 705. $9.50.)

HISTORICAL case studies that are bound together in a book carry an implied warranty that they will yield the reader recognizable principles or lessons or at least a set of controlling ideas. The eleven case studies here are detailed explications of decisions, both civil and military, made in the thirty years from 1932 to 1962. But they must be read and admired for their own sakes, for each, as the editor writes, "is a self-contained whole." Moreover, they are regrettably uneven in texture because "[t]he limits of each study have been set not by the events themselves but by the author and, to some extent, the editor."

The decisions dealt with are major ones: the Far Eastern crisis of 1931–1932 and the helium controversy (both by Michael D. Reagan), the history of the

M day plan (by Albert A. Blum), arranging for aid to Russia (by Marvin D. Bernstein and Francis L. Loewenheim), United States naval strategy and the signing of the armistice with Italy (both by Robert J. Quinlan), the occupation of Germany and offensive air strategy (both by Paul Y. Hammond), examination of the dispute over crossing the Yalu (by Martin Lichterman), the resolve to rearm Germany (by Lawrence W. Martin), and the building of bases in Spain (by Theodore J. Lowi).

Historians will find many of these essays full of new material and offering choice examples of the differences in style of the successive presidential administrations involved in them. Yet the inescapable conclusion is that to study "decision-making" is to describe a political science invention aimed at clarifying a governmental process and that although such study aims to take into account all the operative variables, it patently cannot. Nor can the written evidence contain all that is required in order to understand the making of a decision. The relative political strength of the participants, the interaction of their personalities, the scope of their persuasiveness, and even their technical knowledge are indispensable and often unassessable factors that are not usually recorded or described, and they may combine in ways that do not lead to ready conclusions as to how decisions are reached. Facing this fact is made all the more necessary by the growing number of civil-military decisions of consequence being made each year and by the need to conduct international diplomacy in the glare of public arenas, which give a deceptive appearance of being truly "open."

Columbia University HENRY F. GRAFF

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1944. Volume VI, CHINA. [Department of State Publication 8229.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1967. Pp. vi, 1206. $4.25.)

SELECTED documents bearing on Sino-American relations in 1944 were published from American archives almost twenty years ago. The Department of State in 1949 released its "China White Paper" (*United States Relations with China with Special Reference to the Period 1944–1949*), an interpretive history buttressed with items from official files. Shortly thereafter two Senate investigations—hearings on State Department loyalty and the activities of the Institute of Pacific Relations—revealed some of the substance as well as the text of a few reports written by John S. Service from Communist-controlled China. The tumult that prompted these earlier revelations is mirrored in the present volume, though the editing and compilation appear in every respect to be in accord with principles that are standard for the *Foreign Relations* series. Inserted in the record, for example, is a heated rejoinder written by John Service in 1949 to former Ambassador Patrick Hurley's alleged distortions.

The present volume fails to resolve all of the mysteries created by the earlier hasty and piecemeal publications from the record. The texts of an important dispatch from Yenan are rendered differently in the "White Paper"

and the Senate *Hearings on State Department Loyalty Investigations;* it will evidently be necessary to go to the archives to determine the correct version. The over-all value of the volume, however, will be readily apparent to regular users of *Foreign Relations.* Not only are the activities of individual officials generously documented, but the materials also range broadly over the complex facets of Sino-American relations: the special missions of Vice-President Henry Wallace and General (later Ambassador) Hurley to Chungking; Sino-Soviet relations; China's tangled politics and flagging war effort; American aid; and a multiplicity of minor topics such as the annual American complaints about the marauding of Chinese bandits and discussions concerning China's assumption of control over the "Diplomatic Quarter" in Peking. In compiling the present volume the duplication of documents printed in the "White Paper" has been avoided. Occasionally, however, passages excised in the earlier publication have been printed. Thus, even though a play upon Anglo-Chinese differences was part of President Roosevelt's tactics in dealing with Chiang Kai-shek, it was inexpedient in 1949 to print the President's observation to Chiang that, "Churchill is old. A new British Government will give Hongkong to China and the next day China will make it a free port." The editing linking various sources is excellent.

North Carolina State University BURTON F. BEERS

THE INTELLECTUALS AND McCARTHY: THE RADICAL SPECTER. By *Michael Paul Rogin.* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1967. Pp. xi, 366. $12.50.)

IN recent years, C. Vann Woodward, Norman Pollack, David Shannon, and Nelson Polsby have chipped pieces from the framework shared by Richard Hofstadter's *The Age of Reform* and *The New American Right,* edited by Daniel Bell, with its emphasis on social tensions and particularly upon status politics as explanations of reform movements and cranky protests; its charges that the Populists were racist, nativist, and anti-Semitic; and its linking of the Populists, and less frequently the midwestern progressives, with McCarthyism. This "loosely coherent social theory" (pluralism), which connected agrarian radicalism and the "new American right," is now the subject of a penetrating book by Michael Rogin, who concludes that the theory failed to explain McCarthyism, distorted the liberal tradition, and refracted "American history through the myopia of a traumatized intelligentsia."

Pluralism expressed a "particular view of politics—one involving suspicion of the people, fear of radicalism, friendliness to established institutions. . . ." Cherishing the values of rationality and order in industrial society, the pluralists, explains Rogin, stress that *groups* permit individual self-advancement while also restraining extreme action. Without *groups,* argue the pluralists, individuals would be alienated from society, and in their frustration and isolation they would be likely to succumb to *mass movements,* that would mobilize accumulated resentment and might threaten constitutional order. In this view, *group* politics (or what Hofstadter and Seymour Lipset mean by class politics) is rational and

produces orderly conflict. Status politics, in contrast, is *mass* politics, rooted in irrationality and threatening disorder.

In practice it is often difficult to distinguish *mass movements* from *groups,* and, as Rogin explains, pluralists sometimes use as their measure "the degree of commitment to constitutional values" and the acceptance of the social consensus. As a result, those seeking to retard industrialization as well as those seeking to end capitalism but preserve industrialism are likely to be lumped together as *mass movements* and then to be characterized (sometimes by the "logic" of theory rather than by evidence) by similarities in style, methods, demands, and constituency. *Mass movements,* for example, are more moralistic and general in their political demands while *groups* seek narrow, economic programs. In *The Age of Reform,* accordingly, Populism and progressivism were characterized as moralistic, seeking to restore vanishing values, resisting the growth of industrial society, and opposing the industrial elite. McCarthyism, too, according to the pluralists, emphasized moralistic appeals, assaulted industrial elites, and expressed anti-industrial attitudes.

In disputing the pluralist theory and its applications, Rogin concludes: moral indignation was not "peculiar to pre-New Deal reform . . . but rather an essential element of American politics in general and traditional conservatism in particular"; following Pollack, he feels Populism was democratic and not anti-industrial; McCarthy did not significantly draw upon the constituency that had supported agrarian radicalism; McCarthyism attracted some who opposed an industrial, cosmopolitan society, but they were members of the senator's elite and indicate McCarthyite roots in traditional conservatism; McCarthy had little impact at the mass level, and his influence was more the product of the cold war and the Korean War than of anti-intellectual or authoritarian attitudes.

Combining political theory and behavioral analysis to criticize pluralism and emphasize its conservative implications, *The Intellectuals and McCarthy* should significantly advance the dialogue between liberal and radical social analysts. Presumably historians will not allow such minor flaws as nearly useless appendixes on statistical analysis, occasional errors in citations, some omissions in research or in the listing of bibliography, and a few careless statements to influence their judgment of this very important and temperate book.

Stanford University BARTON J. BERNSTEIN

WARREN: THE MAN, THE COURT, THE ERA. By *John D. Weaver.* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1967. Pp. 406. $7.95.)

POPULAR interest in the US Supreme Court centers around its titular head. The Court is often referred to in the name of the man who occupies the center chair, implying that the Chief Justice gives his peculiar stamp to the judicial output. Yet Charles Evans Hughes tells us that Chief Justices, being merely *primus inter pares,* gain nothing "by virtue of their headship of the Court." "The position of Chief Justice," Holmes wrote, "differs from that of other judges only on the administrative side."

These pronouncements are too sweeping. John Quincy Adams declared that,

during John Marshall's regime, "the office of Chief Justice was more important than that of President of the United States." Chief Justice Taney spoke in 1857 for a Court that precipitated the Civil War. William Howard Taft rated the chief-justiceship above the presidency. Charles Evans Hughes, head of a Court bent on slaying the New Deal, carried judicial power to unprecedented heights, fulfilling his prediction of 1928: "If our dual system with its recognition of local authority is worth maintaining, judicial review is likely to be of increasing importance." Until 1937, the important effect, under his leadership, was to defeat the national will voiced by the President, in Congress, and at the ballot box. In 1954, Earl Warren, taking a positive view of the judicial function, stepped into a power vacuum, launching a revolution in race relations, representation, and rules of criminal procedure. Not since John Marshall has the Court been such a creative force in American politics.

Admirers and critics alike attribute this transformation to Warren. He is praised as the leader of "a revolution in the field of human rights," and blamed for "defiling our jurisprudence," for having "sinned too grandly for impeachment." Mr. Weaver, standing apart from the fray, paints a sympathetic portrait. Based on exhaustive research, including interviews and the published record, meticulously documented and engagingly written, his pages are packed with illuminating detail about the man, his family, and his varied career. It seems unlikely that the ground Weaver covers will need to be retraced. Yet his book is not completely satisfying.

My quarrel concerns what the author leaves out. One looks in vain for any systematic discussion of the forces motivating the Chief Justice. Is the Court, under his leadership, properly labeled "the Warren Court"? Why, when crucial issues come before his Court, does he choose to take positive action instead of allowing things to go on as usual? Is the Chief Justice's passionate activism on behalf of human rights any more securely anchored in the Constitution and in our tradition than was Chief Justice Taft's guardianship of property, lest the "Bolsheviki take over"? The Hughes Court's decisions (1935–1936), stalling social and economic experimentation amid economic crisis, are now recognized as indefensible and self-defeating. Is the Warren Court's continuing crusade, its concern for civil liberties, more defensible?

The author's failure to consider such matters may rest in part with the Chief Justice himself. Warren's approach is pragmatic, inspired by the gnawing conviction that the Court can and should be used to advance human needs. "The Judiciary," he observes, "is an intrinsic part of this fast-moving world, and like all of the other parts, must be properly geared and attuned to the realities of our time." Barring John Marshall, no other Chief Justice has felt his positive responsibility so keenly.

Certain justices and commentators hold that the judiciary should stand aloof. "Courts are not designed," Justice Frankfurter observed, "to be a good reflex of democratic society." Judicial activists make mistakes, as in Dred Scott. Certain scholars contend that, whether right or wrong, judges should shun politics. "Leadership in constitutional development," Carl Swisher writes, "must come through the legislative and executive branches. In the decision of cases, the Judiciary must refine, restrain and harmonize, but it cannot safely take

over the task of leadership without the threat of disaster both for itself and for the country."

If this is the measure of judicial statesmanship, Warren's place in the roster of Chief Justices is not high. If, on the other hand, a more positive conception of the Chief Justice's role is recognized and accepted, he may rank at the top.

"I have thought for some years," United States District Court Judge Charles E. Wyzanski, Jr., writes, "that Chief Justice Warren will go down in history second only to Chief Justice Marshall. I am not referring to Chief Justice Warren's intellect, legal acumen, style, or personal ascendency, but to his insight as to the central purposes and potentialities of the society in which he functioned and his capacity to make judicial power a chief instrument for their realization."

Judge Wyzanski withholds from Warren the qualities of leadership generally accorded Marshall, and yet, because of the present incumbent's creative genius, he ranks him next to "the great Chief Justice." To challenge or support this appraisal, one needs to explore the Chief Justice's peculiar prerogatives—his role as presiding officer in open court, in the Judicial Conference, and as administrative head of the judicial system—and to probe the essentials of his constitutional jurisprudence. This task remains to be done. It is important, too. As we see it now, Warren's appointment as Chief Justice was President Eisenhower's most crucial decision.

Princeton University ALPHEUS THOMAS MASON

THE OXFORD COMPANION TO CANADIAN HISTORY AND LITERATURE. By *Norah Story*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 935. $15.00.)

THIS book is an engaging historical and literary showcase, an "Expo" between hard covers, published fittingly enough in the year of Canada's centennial celebrations. The reader can ramble through this sprawling enterprise and savor all manner of diverting exhibits, ranging from a colorful reference in a long-forgotten poem by Rudyard Kipling to an informative capsule account of John A. Macdonald. Entertaining though such a tour may be, it betrays one of the weaknesses of the book. By mixing historical with purely literary entries, justice in some cases does not seem to have been done the former. Occasionally it means that relatively obscure littérateurs receive almost as much space (as if to justify the title of the volume) as comparatively eminent historical figures. Had some of the peripheral literary references been discarded, this sort of imbalance could easily have been avoided and room found for other forms of relevant literature. The section devoted to Indian affairs could have been enhanced by including more contributions from anthropologists and by noting Edmund Wilson's writings on the Iroquois. (His *O Canada,* an assessment of the Dominion's "culture," does, to be sure, achieve honorable mention elsewhere in the book.)

The selection and treatment of some of the entries appear questionable. For example, Laura Secord (her commercial counterpart on candy boxes in the

United States is Fanny Farmer), who is more folklore than history, is honored with as much attention as the Statute of Westminster (1931), which is clearly more history than folklore, or at the very least a little more monumental than the alleged patriotic activities of an Upper Canadian farm girl during the War of 1812. Again, sheepskin coats, garments favored by Eastern European immigrants to the Canadian West at the turn of the century, are carefully accorded their place in the nation's annals, while M. J. Coldwell, a stalwart of the old CCF party who in recent years clothed Canadian politics with considerable respectability, is ignored.

It should also be said, however, that within limits this volume does achieve the object set for it: "to provide a single source in which anyone reading a Canadian book in English or French can find an explanation of references that would otherwise be obscure." The bicultural approach, before which every right-thinking Canadian is expected nowadays to genuflect, is commendable. So are the frequently illuminating commentaries on the major contributors to the growth of Canadian letters and historiography. Though undue emphasis seems to be placed upon early Canadiana (will it ever be possible to cut the explorers down to size?) this *Companion* should provide the student and the interested layman with a handy reference work and hours of absorbing reading. The author, who approached the project after many years spent presiding over the manuscripts section of the Public Archives of Canada, should be heartily congratulated for undertaking it.

McMaster University C. M. JOHNSTON

NEWFOUNDLAND: ISLAND INTO PROVINCE. By *St John Chadwick*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 268. $9.50.)

SIR JOHN CHADWICK acted as an adviser to the National Convention that prepared the way for Newfoundland's shift from government by commission to provincial government. From this perspective he has attempted to write "a modern history of Newfoundland from discovery to federation" woven around a constitutional theme. Most of the volume is devoted to the events of the twentieth century. The contribution to the published history of Newfoundland lies in the final chapters concerning federation with Canada in 1949. Still, the discussion is a reflection of official documents rather than an analysis of the political forces involved, even though this "illustrative" history is intended to explain Newfoundland to natives.

Briefly, from sedentary fishery to responsible government the traditional story unfolds. Chadwick believes that Newfoundland's rejection of Confederation in the 1860's committed it "to a form of economic, financial and political autonomy which, through suffering alone, the Island eventually learnt that she could not endlessly sustain." The remainder of the book drives home this point. The usual discussion of corrupt politics, the banking crisis of 1894, the Reid railway contracts, and the mounting governmental debt all make an appearance. New economic developments followed the settlement of the French Shore question, but by the 1920's "the Island's financial core was rotting slowly . . . away." Even the lure of Labrador's wealth contributed to the financial

calamity of the 1930's. Money poured into an expensive but unremunerative railway and an inefficient educational system as well as into badly needed social services, while new technological developments by-passed the fisheries, which were the main support of the population.

It is "overdependence" upon this "uneconomic" and "out-of-date" fishery that placed successive Newfoundland governments, including the authoritarian Commission of Government, at the mercy of adverse world economic conditions. Yet, as the author stresses, Newfoundland's politicians were improvident, and it was they who, after contracting huge debts, freely relinquished responsible government in 1934. Having learned, by 1949, the necessary lesson through suffering, most Newfoundlanders were ready to accept Confederation. In Chadwick's eyes, the anticonfederates of the Responsible Government League "represented above all merchant opinion. It was a self-protective society . . . ." Thus it was that the villain of Newfoundland's history—the merchant—was vanquished at last.

Memorial University of Newfoundland GERALD PANTING

IN DEFENSE OF NEUTRAL RIGHTS: THE UNITED STATES NAVY AND THE WARS OF INDEPENDENCE IN CHILE AND PERU. By *Edward Baxter Billingsley*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 266. $6.00.)

THIS book deals with the manifold activities of the United States Navy along the coasts of Chile and Peru from 1817 to 1825, during their successful struggle for independence from Spain. Though benevolent toward the national liberation movement, the United States remained neutral throughout, and its navy served as its chief instrument for the defense of its neutral rights and the protection of its citizens' growing commerce against Spaniards and Spanish Americans alike. The navy's task was complicated by many factors, including the presence of a British naval force, as well as Spanish and patriot warships and privateers, and clashes between the United States' own civilian agents and naval officers in the area.

The unfolding of this complex situation is related by the author in a largely biographical account focused on the four successive commanders of the United States naval forces: James Biddle, John Downes, Charles G. Ridgely, and Charles Stewart. Their few but active ships defended their country's neutral rights and commerce not only on the high seas but in ports as well; helped its merchantmen with labor and materials for repairs, medical aid, and force for disciplining their crews; made a big business of carrying specie for the merchants, including John Jacob Astor, and became in effect floating banks. In addition, the commanders sometimes performed quasi-diplomatic functions. In the course of all these activities they dealt with such notables in the history of Chile and Peru as the liberators San Martín and O'Higgins and the cashiered (but later rehabilitated) British admiral, Lord Cochrane, under whom the Chilean Navy won control of these waters from Spain. In a summary we are told that the United States naval forces were not instrumental in helping the patriots gain independence, that they provoked lasting anti-Americanism,

and that after the war they were cut back sharply on these coasts and "expanded to cover the entire eastern and central Pacific."

An exaggerated impression of the book's novelty is given by its preface; no manuscript sources outside of Washington, D.C., were consulted; and too little use was made of British sources and studies, and almost none of similar Spanish materials. On the other hand, the author has dug much new information out of the navy records in Washington, has combined this successfully with data drawn from works published in the United States and South America, and has told his story clearly, interestingly, and with the sureness of touch in naval matters that one would expect of a veteran naval officer (he retired in 1959 with the rank of rear admiral). So far as United States sources are concerned, this is likely to remain the definitive work on the subject for many years.

Madison, Wisconsin ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS. By *Henry Raup Wagner* with the collaboration of *Helen Rand Parish.* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1967. Pp. xxv, 310. $12.50.)

TEN years after the death of Henry Raup Wagner, perhaps his last work, on the life and writings of Bartolomé de las Casas, appears in handsome format. The initial parts of the volume are an especially warm and moving memoir of Wagner by George Hammond and what is in effect an apologia for publication of the volume by Helen Rand Parish, who served as editor and posthumous collaborator. One may question, in spite of the apologia, the publication of a work, the core of which must have been written at least fifteen years ago before some of the most important studies of Las Casas and his works were issued, most notably the work of Giménez Fernández that moves with terrifying patience and industry through Las Casas' life in ponderous and almost unreadable tomes, and the brilliant perceptive introduction by Pérez de Tudela for the five volumes of *Obras* in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles.* Yet on examination this new volume by Wagner deserves a very real place. It provides a short thoughtful biography in English of considerably greater depth than the saccharine one by MacNutt and is a welcome alternative to the overminute work of Giménez Fernández. Placed against the statement by Pérez de Tudela, it quickly becomes clear that the two strikingly complement each other in that Wagner concentrates upon life and writings and Pérez de Tudela upon the issues and problems that were under discussion. Wagner's volume further brings to bear badly needed close textual examination and comparison of Las Casas' writings to date them, discover the relation of drafts, and the incorporation of earlier drafts in later works. The results of this examination are embodied in an extraordinarily useful chronological and critical bibliography of the writings of Las Casas at the close of the volume. The major contribution of Wagner probably lies there.

Through his close textual reading Wagner comes to a number of conclusions, some worth noting here: He agrees thoroughly with those who ascribe the pro-Indian clauses in the New Laws of 1542–1543 in very large measure if not

in their entirety to Fray Bartolomé and thus implicitly rejects the contrary view perhaps best propounded by José Miranda in *Vitoria y los intereses de la conquista de América.* More novel is Wagner's probably accurate view that Las Casas' period of most concentrated and effective activity came after his relinquishment of his post as bishop of Chiapas and retirement to Spain, where, being a confidant of the Spanish court, he served as an unofficial but highly effective attorney for the Indians. This was also the period of the preparation of Las Casas' most important writings in final form.

University of California, Berkeley WOODROW BORAH

DIARIO Y DERROTERO (1777–1781). By *Fray Juan Agustín de Morfi.* Edited by *Eugenio del Hoyo* and *Malcolm D. McLean.* [Publicaciones del Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey. Series: Historia, Number 5. Noticias geográficas e históricas del noreste de México, Number 2.] (Monterrey: [the Instituto.] 1967. Pp. xix, 472, 14 maps.)

FRAY Juan Agustín de Morfi (Murphy) is known to students of Mexican history as the eighteenth-century author of a work called *Viaje de indios y diario de Nuevo México,* an account of a journey from central Mexico to Coahuila in late 1777 and early 1778. Despite the title it has nothing to do with New Mexico. Other Morfi manuscripts have been mentioned from time to time in various collections, but none has been published, and the total documentary history has remained unclear. In the present work Eugenio del Hoyo and Malcolm D. McLean assemble and publish the three original "volumes" of the diary, now the property of the University of Texas, and clarify the history of the text. Whereas the *Viaje de indios* is a work of polished literary style, obviously revised, the *Diario y derrotero* is the original manuscript, with daily annotations as they were first written. It covers not simply the trek northward from Mexico City to San Antonio but also the return journey across northern Mexico and down the West Coast, to 1781. Thus much more, and more primary, material is now available on Morfi's movements and on the eighteenth-century condition of the regions through which he passed. The daily record is stark and factual, concerned chiefly with comings and goings, procurement of mules, and personal details. But it includes also a large miscellany of notices on individuals, towns, missions, terrain, weather, and the Apaches, Pimas, and other Indians with whom Morfi came into contact.

The text is extremely well edited, with consistent modernization of spelling and punctuation, but without further changes. There are about a thousand editorial notes identifying persons and places, a series of very full indexes, and fourteen maps showing details of the route.

University of Michigan CHARLES GIBSON

ESTUDO DA NOBREZA BRASILEIRA. Volume I, CADETES. By *Rui Vieira da Cunha.* [Publicações do Arquivo Nacional, First Series, Volume LIX.] (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Justiça e Negócios Interiores, Arquivo Nacional. 1966. Pp. 130.)

WHEN I received a copy of this study on the privileges that certain young men in

Brazil enjoyed in the armed services during the period of the Empire (1822–1889) because of accidents of birth or loose interpretations of the law governing the aristocracy, I doubted that this book would have any significance for our egalitarian and socialistic times. But I read it anyway, and the more I read the more I realized that the subject was not frivolous; we do not yet know enough about what Mr. Cunha calls the "ossatura" of the Brazilian Empire. For if we are unaware, as everyone is, of its "bone structure," as he properly refers to the legally and traditionally privileged classes that were necessarily committed to the maintenance of the Empire, we shall not fully understand the political and sociological realities of the only bona fide resident monarchy, in the European manner, that ever flourished on the free soil of the New World.

Cunha leads us to believe that the study of aristocratic privilege in Brazil is vital to our understanding of a period of Brazilian history, and that its appeal is not mere snobbery. Some people may confuse the second estate with coats of arms, titles, pioneer stock, genealogies, and the like, but not Cunha. He would not understand, or care about, the Mormons who trace blood lines to assure their gentile ancestors a place of refreshment beyond the grave; or the white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant Daughters of the American Revolution; or the men who descend from officers of the Continental Army and call themselves the Society of the Cincinnati; or those who identify themselves as relatives of the barons of Runnymede. The fecundity of the generations, with its relentless insistence upon making us all as naked and unprotected as the recumbent figure of Francis I on the royal sarcophagus in the Church of St. Denis, is illustrated by David Starr Jordan's observation, to suggest that even royalty becomes cheap, that literally millions of people can claim Charlemagne as their progenitor.

No, the author is interested instead in the aristocratic state of life as a corporate phenomenon. His concerns are larger and more significant, and they deal ultimately with the role of aristocracy in helping to make of imperial Brazil the viable and workable society that it was. I say "ultimately" because the important implications of his subject are only touched upon. His little book is, as he says, the first step in the gathering of material that will make it possible to put together, at a later date, a "conceptual work" on the nobility of Brazil. The study is more legal than sociological, but this is a good way to begin.

Catholic University of America MANOEL CARDOZO

VARGAS OF BRAZIL: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY. By *John W. F. Dulles.* (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 395. $8.50.)

SURPRISINGLY enough, this is the first biography of Getúlio Vargas to appear in English. Until very recently there were virtually none in Portuguese. J. W. F. Dulles, author of a useful chronicle of the Mexican Revolution, has therefore performed an important service. The scope of his study is indicated by its subtitle: *A Political Biography.* It is "political" in the narrowest sense. Relying primarily on memoir literature and extensive personal interviews with principal political actors, Dulles has written a workmanlike narrative of the intriguing career of Brazil's most important twentieth-century figure. Vargas' rise from a competent provincial politician to provisional President (1930–1934), congres-

sionally elected President (1934–1937), dictator (1937–1945), and his final dramatic return as popularly elected President (1951–1954) is clearly told.

Perhaps conscious of the ambitious task he set himself—one that virtually no Brazilian historian has even attempted—the author has avoided analyzing the economic and social forces or the main political movements at work during the quarter century of Brazilian history so inextricably intertwined with Vargas' career. Aside from the modest "Résumé" at the end of this volume, there is almost no speculation about Vargas' personality, posing such questions, for example, as how he developed his extraordinary ability to play off groups and individuals against one another.

Dulles' biography of Vargas has appeared at the last moment appropriate for a study of this kind. A number of younger historians are now, or have recently been, at work in the unpublished documents in Brazil, including the all-important Vargas archive not consulted by Dulles, and they will soon begin to produce their monographs on special aspects of the Vargas era. Furthermore, we have recently been presented with important additions to the printed sources, especially the multivolume series by Hélio Silva that was evidently available to Dulles only in partial manuscript. In sum, Dulles has accomplished his modest but admirable purpose of providing a readable narrative of the central events in Brazilian political history from 1930 to 1954.

It is no small compliment to say that his political profile of Vargas will be revised as historians deepen our knowledge and understanding of the life and times of one of the twentieth century's most fascinating politicians.

University of Wisconsin THOMAS E. SKIDMORE

THE SANDINO AFFAIR. By *Neill Macaulay*. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1967. Pp. 319. $6.95.)

FEW have better credentials as an expert on Latin American guerrillas than author Macaulay who, after fighting as one under Castro, turned to studying them as a historian. He has put his *expertise* to good account in this volume.

Sandino won the war against US intervention (1928–1933) although he lost many engagements and his casualty rate was several times that of the enemy. His tactics were the hit-and-run attack and the *V* ambush. He seldom engaged in battle unless he enjoyed an overwhelming superiority in numbers. The principal innovation of the war was the US Marines' use of airplanes for tactical support: the first recorded dive-bombing in history took place in Nicaragua in 1927. In 1933 the last of the marines sailed away, and Sandino, more a nationalist than a reformer, came to terms with the government only to be killed by order of Somoza.

This is essentially a military history. Available sources permit the author to say much less about Sandino as social reformer than as guerrilla chief. An unlettered man who was fully occupied by the exigencies of battle, Sandino had a belief in communalism, but was not a Communist.

Macaulay briefly traces the present guerrilla tradition in the Caribbean and Central American countries back to Sandino, whose ideas influenced the Caribbean Legion of the 1940's and 1950's and were passed on to Castro in Mexico by

Bayó. Macaulay states that Sandino's failure to destroy the National Guard gave Castro an object lesson in the need to dismantle the Batista military machine. Undoubtedly Sandino's experience was a factor, but Castro said publicly in 1959 that the overthrow of Arbenz by the Guatemalan Army had convinced him of the need to act in Cuba. Macaulay correctly assesses Sandino's image as still important; a recent press report states that Turcios Lima, the now-deceased Guatemalan guerrilla commander, regarded Sandino rather than Castro as his alter ego.

Macaulay's study is based upon thorough research in largely unused sources. He explains clearly and in detail the development and nature of Sandino's techniques. Though lacking in polish in a few places, the book is well balanced and well written.

Indiana University DAVID D. BURKS

THE VENEZUELAN DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION: A PROFILE OF THE REGIME OF RÓMULO BETANCOURT. By *Robert J. Alexander.* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 345. $9.00.)

REVOLUTION in Latin America, maintains Professor Alexander, is inevitable. The basic question is that of its leadership: will it be Leftist, totalitarian, or democratic? Depending on the answer to that question would be the identity of its leader—Fidel Castro or, by implication, former President Rómulo Betancourt of Venezuela. This analysis somewhat oversimplifies the thesis of this highly useful book on recent Venezuelan politics, but the query and the answer provide the *raison d'être* for writing it in the first place.

Reviewing a book written four years previously presents elements of awkwardness. It is difficult for a reviewer to move himself back to a stance approximately simultaneous with that of the author of the book. Essentially, this volume ends with the close of Betancourt's administration. The natural, but unfair, reaction would be to view it in the light of what has happened since.

When it was written, this book presented the best factual account of the Betancourt administration and its antecedents. So far as the factual review is concerned, the verdict could still stand; interpretation and evaluation might, however, be slightly altered in the light of four years' perspective.

The author provides his stage setting rather briefly. Five short chapters deal with such matters as the country and its population, the first *Acción Democrática* administration (1945–1948), the Pérez Jiménez dictatorship, and the provisional regime following it. Most of the work is then devoted to a detailed discussion of the years of Betancourt's elected presidency: the interplay of political parties, civic liberties, economic problems and policies (including agrarian reform, industrialization, petroleum policy, and organized labor), education, and other social reforms and investments. Nothing of consequence is omitted, and the study contains a wealth of statistical material, perhaps almost too much. Two concluding chapters assess the revolution's significance.

Quite apart from a long and wide acquaintance with the whole of Latin America, Alexander based this study on a number of research visits to Venezuela, a thoroughgoing consultation of primary sources, interviews, and correspondence

with Betancourt, and other sources of information. The most obvious omission is the complete absence of any reference to the terroristic Armed Forces of Liberation (FALN) which tried in vain to disrupt the Betancourt administration.

Alexander writes as a great, though not an entirely uncritical, admirer of the Betancourt administration. The Venezuelan study adds another to his previously published full-dress studies of Argentina, Bolivia, and Latin American Communism, among others, and helps establish him still further as one of our most knowledgeable Latin Americanists. As for Betancourt, he assuredly will fully deserve the label of being one of the greatest of Latin America's contemporary statesmen; he is well served by the tribute this volume pays him.

University of California, Santa Barbara RUSSELL H. FITZGIBBON

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★ ★ ★ ★ *Association Notes* ★ ★ ★ ★

The Toronto Meeting, 1967*

RETROSPECT AND REVIEW

Only twice since its organization in 1884 has the American Historical Association met outside the United States, both times in Toronto. The first of these meetings was in 1932; the second was the recently concluded Eighty-second Annual Meeting held at the Royal York and King Edward Hotels, December 28–30, 1967. Reporting the 1932 meeting in the *American Historical Review*, "H. E. B." wrote that to go to Toronto "was not to visit a foreign country," for the Association "numbered among its members scores of Canadians," and several noted Canadian scholars had served on its Council.[1] In 1967 Toronto was even less "a foreign country" for the members of the Association than it had been thirty-five years before. The number of Canadian members, many of them trained in the United States, had increased from "scores" to 390, and many Americans were teaching and studying in Canadian universities and colleges.

The selection of Toronto as the site for the 1967 meeting marked the observance of the one hundredth anniversary of Canadian Confederation, and the occasion provided an opportunity for joint meetings with the Canadian Historical Association as well as the other groups that customarily meet with the AHA. Although attendance did not nearly match the mammoth meeting in New York City in 1966 (which set a record), it was about one thousand higher than the San Francisco meeting the year before and strained the convention facilities of Toronto. (See Table I.) But the complicated arrangements made by James B. Conacher and his Local Arrangements Committee to provide space for housing the members of the Association and scheduling the numerous activities for the three-day meeting proved more than equal to the demands, and there were only one or two minor problems. Despite storms along the eastern seaboard that, with an outbreak of the flu, prevented many from attending the meeting, the weather in Toronto was generally fair. But the low temperatures led many to wonder whether the Association could not observe some suitable occasion south of the border in one of its future meetings.

The Program Committee was larger and more widely scattered geographically than usual in order to ensure Canadian participation in planning the meeting and representation of as many major fields as possible. Chairman of the Committee was Louis Morton; members were Selig Adler, Jackson Bailey,

* The AHA *Annual Report*, Volume I, *Proceedings*, will have a complete list of sessions.

[1] *American Historical Review*, XXXVIII (Apr. 1933), 431. "H.E.B." presumably refers to Henry E. Bourne, Managing Editor of the *Review* during that period.

Robert F. Byrnes, Donald Kagan, Eric E. Lampard, K. A. MacKirdy, Richard M. Morse, Fritz Ringer, John C. Rule, William R. Taylor, Lawrence W. Towner, B. Wilkinson, and Perez Zagorin. A better-qualified or harder working group of scholars would have been difficult to assemble. Each made a major contribution to the program, not only in his own field but in other areas as well. Perhaps the most pleasant part of my assignment was my association with these men, and with the Local Arrangement Chairman, Professor Conacher.

The committee met four times, at different locations, to suit the convenience of the membership, first in New York during the 1966 meeting, in Washington at the AHA, in Chicago during the meeting of the Organization of American Historians, and finally in Toronto where it could inspect the meeting rooms. The presence of Mr. Conacher at these meetings proved most helpful in planning the sessions and in relating the program to the physical facilities. The Executive Secretary, Paul L. Ward, was generous in his support of the committee, and his office was always ready to provide assistance and information.

At its first meeting, the committee wrestled with the questions every Program Committee faces: Should the program be organized around a single theme? How many sessions should there be? What major sessions should be planned? How should the program be balanced with respect to fields, geographical areas, and periods? What professional problems and recent interpretations or developments needed to be discussed? The committee quickly concluded that, in view of the size of the meeting, the variety of interests represented, the number of groups meeting jointly with the Association, and the number of sessions, it would be impractical to construct a program around a single theme, except one so broad that it would have little meaning. But there were a number of historical events, in addition to the Canadian centennial, that had anniversaries in the year 1967: the fiftieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution and of US entry into World War I, the one hundredth anniversary of the purchase of Alaska, the Fenian invasion of Canada, and the establishment of the Grange. The committee felt that the meeting provided an opportunity to reappraise these events in terms of modern scholarship and decided to devote at least one session to each.

At a very early date the committee had to fix the number of sessions for the program. This decision was shaped not so much by intellectual and academic considerations as by physical factors—the number of meeting rooms available and the number of days of the meeting. But within these limitations, there were several options. The committee decided, perhaps unwisely, to opt for the maximum number of sessions in order to accommodate the widest range of interests and to offer as varied an intellectual fare as possible. Because almost half of the sessions went to groups meeting jointly with the Association, even with the maximum number of sessions the freedom of the committee to plan the program was limited. The committee was under constant pressure to add sessions. When the pressure became irresistible, Mr. Conacher was always able to find another meeting room.

The committee made every effort to develop a balanced program that would be as fairly representative of the various fields as possible and do justice to all the interests represented in the profession. An analysis was made of several previous programs, but it was no easy matter to agree on the relative weight

that should be accorded to the different fields and periods, while allowing for emphasis on new and significant developments and special problems that deserved consideration. We finally adopted a scheme that gave approximately equal weight to American and Canadian history and to modern European history. Ancient history was assigned three sessions; the medieval period, the Renaissance, and Reformation, eight sessions; non-Western areas (including Latin America), thirteen sessions; and general and professional problems, ten sessions. (See Table I.) In reaching this decision, we were under no delusion that we had arrived at any magic figure or resolved the problem. But the scheme we adopted provided a working basis for planning the program, and we did our best to adhere to it.

Each Program Committee is enjoined by the Council of the Association to organize several major sessions of general interest, to avoid "repeaters" and institutional overrepresentation, and to limit groups meeting jointly to one session. We took these injunctions seriously and organized at least one major session for the morning and afternoon of each day, and when possible, two such sessions, one at each of the hotels. Judging from attendance figures, these sessions attracted large audiences and were well received. In the matters of "repeaters," institutional overrepresentation, and joint meetings, the committee was no more successful than its predecessors. It did keep the number of joint sessions for each group down to one, but was forced to allot to several groups a luncheon session as well. The committee, however, could see no way to avoid institutional overrepresentation or "repeaters"; it is not certain that these practices are avoidable, or even undesirable, given the nature of graduate training and the size of the larger centers of graduate instruction in the United States.

Like other committees in the past, we sought to keep the number of participants on each session to a minimum, to ensure that papers were submitted on time to the chairmen and discussants, to arrange sessions at which the papers were distributed in advance, and to innovate in other ways—with indifferent success. To leave time for discussion, we adopted rules limiting the number of papers and critics, but as often as not were unable to enforce them. We issued strict injunctions to all participants on meeting the deadlines, but reports from chairmen indicate that these injunctions had no more effect this year than in earlier years; more than one chairman reported he had received the paper the day before the session or later. None of the participants approached showed any interest in having his paper mimeographed and distributed before the session and using the session for discussion rather than reading his paper. (Unknown to me, several of the participants did this entirely on their own, with apparent success, the chairman of one of the sessions remarking that "greater interest is aroused when the . . . paper is presented as in a 'talk' or lecture.")

There were, however, several innovations this year that were well received. Rather than canvassing every department in the country for suggestions and writing directly to each "joint" organization, the committee decided to use the *AHA Newsletter* for this purpose. On the whole, this device worked well; it not only saved time and mailing expense, but produced a larger number of suggestions from individuals than would otherwise have been the case. For the first time also the program was printed in a smaller, pocket-sized edition similar in all respects, except for advertisements, to the regular program, which all mem-

bers still received in advance. The new programs were distributed at the meeting, and almost everyone (except the advertisers) commented favorably.

In the belief that the program should include wherever possible foreign scholars of note who had a contribution to make and whom American members would wish to hear, the committee made a conscious effort to increase the number of these participants. It was clear also that the Canadian historical profession should be fully represented on the program. In these efforts, the committee did achieve some success, thanks to the wholehearted cooperation of its Canadian members and the chairmen of the individual sessions. Altogether, there were fifty-two foreign scholars on the program, forty-two of them from Canadian institutions, as compared to eight the previous year and seven the year before. (See Table I.) In addition, there were visitors from the Bulgarian and the Soviet Academies of Sciences.

The committee broke new ground in one other respect: by organizing for the first time in recent years a plenary session for the first evening of the meeting, at 8:30 p.m., as a forum for professional introspection. The only official evening function has been, traditionally, the general meeting at which the President delivers his address, and we had some real doubt about the wisdom of the decision. Much depended, of course, on the topic chosen, and it was finally decided that a discussion of the Annual Meeting itself, which the committee strongly felt was in need of a comprehensive review, was an appropriate subject for the plenary session. The evening proved to be a success, with more than three hundred in attendance and a lively discussion that lasted until about 10:30 p.m. On the basis of this experience, next year's committee may wish to organize another plenary session the first evening.

Every program encounters last-minute difficulties and changes when scheduled participants are unable, for one reason or another, to attend the meeting. Because of illness, bad weather, and, in one case, the unfortunate death of a member, it seems there were a greater number of such changes than usual. In some cases these emergencies were handled with dispatch and good judgment by the members of the session themselves; in others by the Program Committee. None of the sessions seem to have suffered greatly as a result of the substitutions—a commentary perhaps on the work of the Program Committee. For the record, those substitutions and changes known to me were as follows: Karel Hulicka for Keith D. Eagles and George F. Kennan for Robert P. Browder on the session "The Formative Period in U.S.-Soviet Relations, 1937–1941"; Richard Graham for the late George C. A. Boehrer as critic for "The Overthrow of the Brazilian Monarchy, 1889"; John Bowditch for David H. Pinkney as chairman for "Regional Revolutionary Tradition in Nineteenth-Century France"; Donald Treadgold for Otakar Odlozilik as chairman of the luncheon Conference on Slavic and East European History; William Weintraub for Donald Brittain on the session "The Enrichment of the Teaching of History through Films"; James W. Silver for Howard Zinn as chairman as well as critic for "Anti-Negro Thought in the Twentieth Century"; Henry L. Roberts for Crane Brinton as critic for "The Russian Revolution—Fiftieth Anniversary"; Raymond G. O'Connor for Charles A. Barker as chairman for "The Historian in Time of Crisis"; Arthur J. Waskow for Gunnar Myrdal on the luncheon Conference on Peace Research in History.

(This analysis is largely for purposes of comparison, and the figures are approximate.)

	1967 (Toronto)	1966 (New York)	1965 (San Francisco)	1932 (Toronto)	1931 (Minneapolis)
I. Number of Sessions	83	77	73	28	32
Presidential Address	1			1	1
Luncheon Sessions	10			4	5
Dinner Sessions	1			2	2
Evening Plenary	1				
Regular Sessions	70			21	24
Total	83			28	32
II. Groups Meeting Jointly	30	29	26	7	7
Number of Joint Sessions	35	33		9	10
II. Breakdown by Fields					
General and Professional	10	6	8	5	9
U. S. and Canada	23	28	26+	8	7
17–18th Century	3+				
19th Century	6+				
20th Century	10				
European	28	27	30	8	10
Ancient	3				
Medieval, Renaissance, Reformation	9				
Modern	16				
Non-Western (including Latin American)	11	13½	11	3	3
Cross Area	10	9		3	
V. Participants (Individual and Institutional)					
Total Number of Participants (including Repeats)	338	344	335	90	94
Number of Academic Institutions Represented	128	122	145	46	43
Nonacademic Representation	27	28	23	16	6
Foreign Representation	52	9	12	13	3
Canadian	40	8	7	13	3
Other	12	1	5		
V. Attendance (approximate)	4,000	6,000	3,000	420	440
VI. Distribution of Participants by Institution					
Number contributing one participant	79	58	72	29	33
Number contributing two participants	13	15	20	9	6
Number contributing three participants	4	18	2	6	1
Number contributing four participants	5	7	9		1
Number contributing five participants	4	5	4		
Number contributing more than five participants	14	11	10	2	2

VII. Institutions Contributing Five or More Participants												
	Harvard	17	Columbia	20	Berkeley	18	Harvard	6	Chicago	7
	Toronto	15	Harvard	17	UCLA	14	Chicago	6		
	Princeton	13	Illinois	11	Harvard	12				
	Yale	12	Wisconsin	11	Columbia	10				
	Berkeley	11	Berkeley	10	Stanford	10				
	Illinois	10	Yale	10	Washington	9				
	Chicago	9	UCLA	8	Yale	7				
	Rochester	8	Pennsylvania	7	Indiana	7				
	Pennsylvania	8	Rutgers	7	Chicago	7				
	Indiana	8	Chicago	7	Wisconsin	6				
	Columbia	7	Princeton	7	Princeton	5				
	Wisconsin	7	Michigan	5	Cornell	5				
	Johns Hopkins	6	Duke	5	Northwestern	5				
	Michigan	6	Ohio State	5	New York University	5				
	Washington	5	Stanford	5						
	UCLA	5	Davis	5						
	Michigan State	5								
	British Columbia	5								

Robert J. C. Butow's replacement as critic for "Origins of the Cold War in Asia" was grounded by bad weather, and there was no time to find another replacement. E. T. Williams was unable to appear for the session on "The British Commonwealth in the Twentieth Century" and rather than find a substitute at the last moment, A. P. Thornton enlarged the scope of his paper. Finally, in the session on "Urbanism in China," Mrs. Wilma Fairbank read Frederick W. Mote's paper in his absence.

In my efforts to describe the 1967 meeting in Toronto in some meaningful way, I turned to the 1932 meeting for inspiration, and perhaps guidance. The results of this comparison were not only interesting but also instructive. Thirteen of the men who read papers in 1932 subsequently became President of the Association, and two of them appeared also on the 1967 program. The 1932 meeting was held during the depths of the depression, a fact that was reflected in various ways in the program. Because of "salary cuts, failing dividends, and frozen bank deposits," attendance was expected to fall off, but to the satisfaction of the reporter, it rose to 423. Members were housed in the dormitories of the University of Toronto, a feature of the meeting, it was noted, that was not only "reminiscent of far away college days" but also "consoling to shrinking pocketbooks."[2] Total cost for the three-day meeting, including registration, meals, and room, was $12.50.

The university played host in 1932 in splendid fashion, with a banquet on the first evening at which "The roast, the pudding, and the great ram's head snuff box were brought in to the sound of the pipes and the drum." Toasts (liquid not specified) were drunk to the King, the President, the Association, and the Muse of History.[3] At a special convocation preceding the presidential address ("The Epic of Greater America") by Herbert E. Bolton, the leading Latin Americanist of the time, the university conferred on him the degree of doctor of laws, after which his former students presented him with a two-volume work prepared in his honor, *New Spain and the Anglo-American West.* Hospitality was also extended by the trustees of the Royal Ontario Museum and the Toronto Art Gallery.

By 1967 the meetings of the Association had become "big business," too large for any university campus or for any single hotel but the largest. The facilities of seven hotels had to be utilized to accommodate the Association: in addition to the two main hotels reserved for the meeting, the Local Arrangements Committee reserved rooms in various nearby hotels and placed the Professional Register in the Lord Simcoe and several groups meeting jointly with the AHA at the Westbury. Most of the activity, however, centered in the Royal York, the headquarters hotel, which, with its lobby and three mezzanine floors, provided more than adequate space for registration, exhibits, locator file (perhaps the most efficient in recent years), and enough seats for relaxed private conversations.

Registration for the 1967 meeting numbered about 3,500, with total attendance probably around 4,000, despite the cancellations on account of illness and bad weather. Meeting jointly with the Association in 1967 were thirty separate organizations, as compared to seven in 1932. Joint meetings in 1967 accounted for

[2] *Ibid.*, 431.
[3] *Ibid.*, 432.

thirty-five sessions, more than 40 per cent of the program—a measure of the growing complexity of the Annual Meeting and the problems faced by the Program and Local Arrangements Committees. The total number of sessions (including luncheons and dinners) had grown from twenty-eight in 1932 to eighty-three in 1967. (See Table I.) As a result, it was necessary to schedule twelve instead of four simultaneous sessions each morning and each afternoon of the meeting. Scheduling these sessions in two hotels a subway stop apart to make possible maximum attendance at the least inconvenience to the members proved one of our most difficult tasks.

Because of the size of the meeting, the ceremony and entertainment that made the 1932 meeting so pleasant an occasion had to be sharply curtailed or eliminated. The province of Ontario held a reception for the Association, but had to limit invitations to officers and participants on the program, a number almost as large as the total attendance thirty-five years earlier. Formal welcome to the membership was extended at the general meeting, held jointly with the Canadian Historical Association, by J. M. S. Careless of the University of Toronto. As in 1932, the President, Hajo Holborn, was presented with a volume in his honor by friends and former students before he delivered the presidential address, "The History of Ideas."[4]

The program of the 1932 meeting reflected to some degree, as does the program of most of the meetings, the temper of the times, contemporary attitudes and interests of the profession, prevailing trends in curriculums, and the location of the meeting.[5] Thus, nine of the papers dealt with Canadian history or with a subject related to Canadian history. Concern with the economic problems of the time found expression in a number of sessions in different fields with papers on international indebtedness, investment banking, British bondholders, Populist panaceas, and a round-table discussion on the economic history of the ancient world. Unlike more recent programs, there were few sessions on recent history such as the rise of fascism in Italy and Germany, and the modern European historians apparently expressed their dissatisfaction openly. The reporter of the meeting, reflecting perhaps his views about the "New History," regarded this development with approval, noting that "our interests are now slowly moving back once more to the study of earlier problems."[6] Examples of such interest were the three sessions (including a dinner meeting) devoted to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

American history was dealt with in one way or another in seven of the twenty-eight sessions. There was a session on the colonial period, a perennial favorite; one on "Economic Crisis and Panaceas"; and papers on various topics ranging from the Northwest fur trade to the Monroe Doctrine. Two of the more interesting and timely sessions were those on "The Idea of National Interest," with papers by Charles A. Beard and Ralph H. Gabriel, and "The Frontier,"

[4] The address is published in the February 1968 issue of the *Review*. The volume presented to Professor Holborn is *The Responsibilities of Power: Historical Essays in Honor of Hajo Holborn*, edited by Leonard Krieger and Fritz Stern (New York, 1967).

[5] The 1932 meeting, coming between the years of Carl L. Becker's and Charles A. Beard's presidencies, may well have been atypical in reflecting the mood of the profession.

[6] *American Historical Review*, XXXVIII (Apr. 1933), 438. The shift away from recent history in 1932 was probably not typical, judging from other AHA meetings of the 1930's. *The Journal of Modern History* had been established in 1929.

with a paper by Frederick L. Paxson and comment by C. H. Ambler and B. W. Wright. Turner had died earlier in the year, and he was mentioned on several occasions during the meeting. Constitutional history, which had been a strong field earlier in the century, had no place on the program; diplomatic history only one session, with papers by Samuel Flagg Bemis and Frederick Merk. Three of the sessions in 1932 were in "non-Western areas": two on Latin America (or Hispanic-America, as it was then called) and one on the Far East, a field then still in its infancy. Professional problems were discussed at four sessions, one dealing with teaching and curriculums; one with graduate training, then under review by the Association; one with archives; and one with the reproduction of research materials, made possible by the development of new film techniques for copying.

The 1967 program had sessions on most of the topics covered in 1932, but there were more of them, and the approach reflected the interests and methods of the period. What is more significant than the number of sessions devoted to similar or comparable subjects are the areas and topics that were not treated at the earlier meeting.[7] In 1932 there had been no sessions on Africa, the Middle East, South or Southeast Asia; none on urbanism, elites, modernization, science and technology, the problems of war and peace, or the application of psychological and sociological concepts and methods to history. Of the four sessions at the 1932 meetings devoted to modern Europe, almost all had dealt with one or another aspect of British history; Central and East Europe had been almost totally ignored.[8] Although Britain still maintained its lead thirty-five years later, there were six sessions on France and Italy, three on Germany and Austria, and four on Eastern Europe, including such major sessions as "The Formative Period in U.S.-Soviet Relations, 1937–1941," which drew an audience of more than two hundred; "The Rise of a Great Power: Austria in the Early Eighteenth Century"; "Social Change and Political Leadership in Nineteenth-Century Germany," with two hundred attending; and "The Russian Revolution—Fiftieth Anniversary," with an estimated audience of five hundred. Where in 1932 there had been no organization concerned with Eastern or Central Europe, there were in 1967 two such groups meeting jointly with the AHA.

The difference between the two meetings was evident not only in the areas of Europe covered, but also in the attention paid to the so-called non-Western and emerging areas of the world, encouraged and subsidized in large part by the federal government and the foundations. Latin America was almost as well represented in 1932 as in 1967, although the field has expanded greatly since the 1930's. There were four sessions on the Far East in 1967, two on the Middle East, two on South and Southwest Africa. In several of these areas the 1967 program represented a decline in the number of allotted sessions compared to the preceding years, but it seems evident that, as interest in such non-Western areas as India, Africa, and the Middle East increases, the attention devoted to them at the Annual Meetings will undoubtedly increase.

The emphasis given to American history at the 1967 meeting was about the

[7] For an account of the growth of the profession during these years, see John Higham *et al.*, *History* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1965), esp. 26–51, 268–87.

[8] The influx of European scholars fleeing dictatorship and racial persecution did not affect American scholarship until the mid- and late 1930's.

same as in 1932 (between 25 and 30 per cent of the total program), but somewhat less than in the preceding meeting. The ratio between the United States and modern Europe at the two meetings, however, was quite different. In 1932 there had been twice as many sessions in American as in modern European history; in 1967 the two fields received about the same weight. Alaska was allotted one session in 1967, but did not appear at all on the earlier program. Both meetings devoted considerable attention to subjects related to Canadian history, but the emphasis at the earlier meeting was relatively greater. Five of the sessions in 1967 dealt with Canada in one way or another, but only one of these, "Canada in the Twentieth Century," was on Canadian internal history. The others compared various aspects of Canadian history (education, religion, nationalism, colonial policy) with American or British history, and there was one session that viewed Latin America from the Canadian perspective.

It was not only in the geographic areas covered or the weight given to them that the two meetings differed, but also in the approach and treatment of these areas. Political and diplomatic history still had a large following in 1932, but the interest in economic and, to a lesser extent, social problems dating from the pre-World War I period was clearly evident in the program. By 1967 interest in these problems, approached now with greater sophistication and changed methods, had increased considerably. The number of sessions in social and economic history totaled almost 20 per cent of the program, while the proportion of sessions in political and diplomatic history had declined sharply. The interest in religious problems and church history had, if anything, increased over the years, with seven sessions dealing with that subject in one way or another, as compared to one in 1932. Three of the sessions were joint meetings with organizations that were either denominational or concerned primarily with the history of religion. Two of these groups, the American Catholic Historical Association and the American Society of Church History, held their own separate meetings in Toronto, simultaneously with the AHA. Finally, the 1967 program reflected the growing interest of historians in science and technology as a field for historical research and teaching. There were altogether five sessions in this area, three arranged by the Program Committee and two by the History of Science Society and the Society for the History of Technology. Like the denominational groups, these two organizations held additional sessions of their own.

Trends in the social sciences were reflected in the treatment of almost every aspect of history in 1967, in marked contrast to the 1932 meeting. There were papers on urbanism ("The Medieval Islamic City" and "Urbanism in China"); on elites in different countries and at different periods (medieval England, Renaissance republics, nineteenth-century Germany, and Africa); and on economic development and the processes of modernization ("Economic Development, Southeast Asia and West Africa," and "Modernization in Tokugawa Japan"). The impact of social science concepts and computer technology was evident throughout the program, reflecting the interest of the historian in applying developments from other disciplines to his own, "in fusing the new method of social and psychological analysis with his traditional story-telling function."[9] A session

[9] H. Stuart Hughes, *History as Art and Science* (New York, 1964), 77, quoted in Higham *et al.*, *History*, 138.

on "Bibliography and Technology," reporting the work of the Joint Committee on Bibliography, dealt with the potential use of computers as an aid in the development of bibliography; the session on "Psychology and History" offered a psychiatric interpretation of Roman history; "French Methods in Historical Sociology" were described in a session on the *Sixième Section* of the *École Pratique des Hautes Études,* with a case study on the demography of the Florentine patricians; the work of French and German sociologists was dealt with in "Classical European Sociology between Community and Society"; the relationship between science and political thought was discussed in "Science and Political Ideology." In addition, there were several papers in which these methods and concepts were applied to historical problems, with interesting results.

The comparative method, so much in vogue in the social sciences, is not new to the historian. There were several such sessions in 1932, sessions that combined papers on different periods or areas, but focused on a particular problem. Interest in this approach has increased, or perhaps revived, in recent years, witnessed by the establishment of the journal *Comparative Studies in Society and History* in 1958, and there were by a conservative count at least ten such sessions at the 1967 meeting. Among them were those comparing the role of the frontier in Argentina and Australia; exploring the origins of war through a study of the Peloponnesian War, the Hundred Years' War, and World War I; relating commercial policy and national interest to world peace through a discussion of the policies of Cobden and Hull. The separation of church and state in Canada and the United States was compared and contrasted in one session; labor and politics in Britain and America in another; British colonial policy in still another.

The historian's concern with professional problems—teaching, method, interpretation, archives, and the role of the historian—is evident in both the 1932 and 1967 meetings, and undoubtedly in the meetings of the intervening years. In 1932 there were four such sessions, a paper by G. M. Wrong on "The Historian's Duty to Society," and a luncheon of the editorial staffs of historical reviews, apparently an annual affair. By 1967 the editorial staff luncheon had disappeared from the program, but in its stead was a session in which the editors of three journals and two other historians discussed "The Changing Functions of Historical Journals." There were three sessions on teaching, one on the use of films, with an exhibit, one on religion and the public schools, and one on new developments in introductory history courses that drew an interested and lively audience of about three hundred. Interest in method, interpretation, and research problems found expression in a large number of sessions, some of which have already been noted. Among the sessions of this type were those on "The Uses and Limitations of Prosopography in Roman History," "The Reinterpretation of Reconstruction," "The Future of East Central and Southeast European Studies," and "On the Value of Asian Travel." The role of the historian both as a citizen and professional was the subject of two sessions: "The Historian in Time of Crisis" dealt with the issue in general terms (but with Vietnam clearly in view); "Historians and the Law" discussed a specific problem, the Frick case, in which historians had a professional stake. Interest in archival problems, which in 1932, when the National Archives was being established, had received considerable attention, was not high in 1967. In view of the recent report of the Joint Committee on the

Status of the National Archives, this question is likely to receive additional attention in the future.

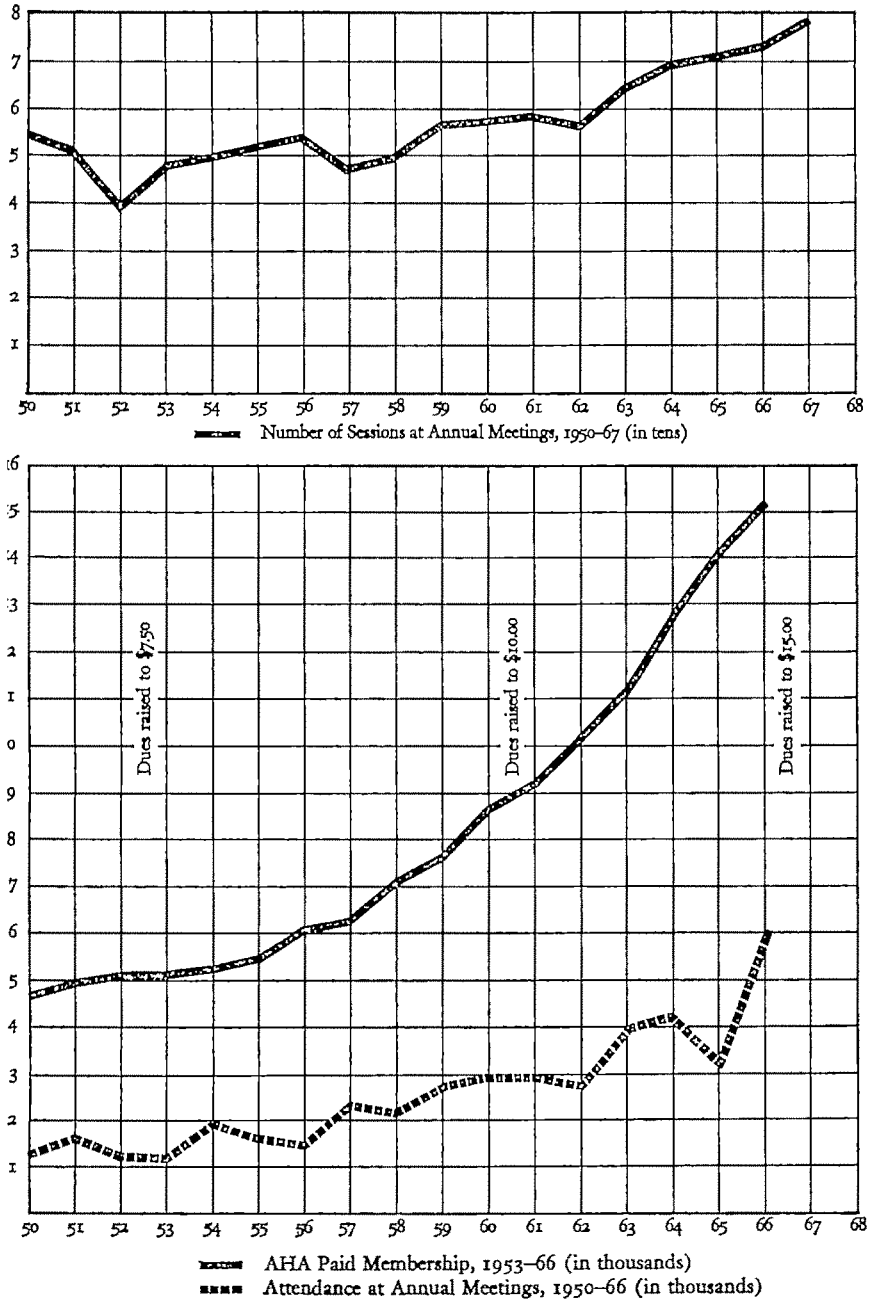
It may come as a surprise to most historians that the program of their Annual Meetings should constitute a social document as well as a record of their activities, interests, and research. But no one can review the record of past meetings as I have done without being struck by how quickly historians react to contemporary issues and problems, how faithfully their annual programs mirror the world about them. The 1932 meeting, both in content and local arrangements, clearly reflected the economic conditions of the time; the 1967 meeting reflected to an even greater degree the concern and involvement of the historian with the foreign and domestic policies that divided the nation. In the latter there were nine sessions comprising altogether twenty papers that dealt with the problems of war and peace, and with military history—a field that had received much attention in an earlier period but had been ignored in the 1932 program. These sessions ranged in time from the fifth century B. C. ("Peacemaking in Classical Greece") to a bold projection into the future ("Peace and War: The History of the United States, 1939–1999")[10] and dealt with such diverse topics as the military policies of Islamic states between 1400 and 1700, the French and Russian Revolutions, military factors in Anglo-American relations early in the twentieth century, the entry of the United States into World War I, the cold war in Asia, and the official history of the war in Vietnam. Interest in the subject was evidenced by the large audiences these sessions drew, ranging from 250 for the World War I session to 500 for the session on "Origins of the Cold War in Asia" and 600 for "The Historian in Time of Crisis," the largest for any single session except the general meeting.

Contemporary concern with domestic problems arising from the growing complexity of urban life, the rights of Negroes and other minority groups, and the impact of technology was reflected in the program in a variety of ways, but not in so striking a manner as the issues of foreign policy. In addition to the sessions on urbanism, elites, and technology, already noted, there were several sessions on minority groups: "Anti-Negro Thought in the Twentieth Century," "Anti-Semitism in Western Europe, 1000–1500," and "The Role of Ethnic, Religious, and Minority Historical Societies in the United States." Social problems and the relationship of the individual to society were discussed in different settings in the sessions on "Nineteenth-Century Patterns of Reform in the United States"; "Changes in American Manners and Morals," which dealt with divorce and the changing role of women in American society; "The English Penal Laws: Persecution or Precaution?"; "The Child and the State," which included a paper on the Negro child; "Family and Family Solidarity in Italian History," with papers on the medieval and modern periods; and "Society and the Individual" in the medieval period and the Renaissance.

Only two prizes were awarded in 1967. One of these, the Albert B. Corey Prize, is new; it is awarded jointly by the American and Canadian Historical Associations in odd-numbered years for the best work on Canadian-US relations or on the history of both countries. It was awarded this year to Gustave Lanctot, University of Ottawa (emeritus), who had read a paper at the 1932 meeting, for

[10] Because of a change in the scheduled program, this paper was not listed.

Table II


8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68
Number of Sessions at Annual Meetings, 1950–67 (in tens)
16
15
14
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
Dues raised to $7.50
Dues raised to $10.00
Dues raised to $15.00
50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68
AHA Paid Membership, 1953–66 (in thousands)
Attendance at Annual Meetings, 1950–66 (in thousands)

Canada and the American Revolution. The George Louis Beer Prize, awarded also in 1932, went to two men: George A. Brinkley, University of Notre Dame, for *The Volunteer Army and the Revolution in South Russia* and Robert Wohl of Stanford for *French Communism in the Making.* The terms of the Albert J. Beveridge Prize are still under study, and no award was made.

In retrospect, the two meetings in Toronto were strikingly similar in some respects and different in others. Each reflected the historian's concern with the world in which he lived, with the public issues of the time, and with his role as citizen. Each mirrored his interests, methods, and areas of research as well as his concern with professional problems: teaching, training graduate students, source materials, bibliography, and publications. The historian's view of the world in 1932, like that of most Americans of the time, was limited. The Association was still fairly small, numbering about three thousand, and the approximately four hundred members who attended the Annual Meeting could be accommodated on most college campuses. (See Table II.) By 1967 the small meeting, one historian reminisced nostalgically, had "gone the way of the four dollar hotel room and the pleasant meal in the diner going down." The horizons of the historian had been extended to include virtually all parts of the world, reflecting the world-wide interests and commitments of the United States. New fields had been opened up and new methods made possible by technological changes, and advances in the social sciences had been developed. The nature and interests of the profession had changed significantly by 1967, and its membership had increased to sixteen thousand. The Annual Meeting, reflecting these changes, had grown enormously in size, a victim of its own prosperity. Attendance had increased tenfold, the number of sessions had tripled, and there were thirty organizations meeting jointly with the Association instead of seven. Still the meetings were held during the same period of the year and for the same duration (three days) as they had been thirty-five years earlier. There is much to be said for tradition, but whether it is possible to continue the pattern of past meetings indefinitely into the future, as the Association continues to grow, is a question that can no longer be avoided.

Dartmouth College LOUIS MORTON

The Year's Business, 1967

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FOR 1967

This year has been more a year of laying groundworks than a year of completions for the Association's staff and committees. While many of the efforts will deserve public report only when closer to fruition, the following deserve mention as part of an overview of the year.

One happy exception was the outcome of the *Frick* v. *Stevens* case, thus concluding the work of the Joint Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Historians under the First Amendment. A Friday morning session has been arranged to distill some lessons for future times of challenge from the joint committee's

experience. The countersuit instituted in federal courts, the wide newspaper publicity, the generous response by members to the appeal for funds, and the firm language of Judge Clinton Weidner's decision last May, all these and much else have helped make the three-year ordeal by Dr. Stevens into a lesson that will deter unfounded suits at law against future historical publications.

In contrast to this task completed, I give first place to the work of the new Committee on Ph.D. Programs in History. The October *Newsletter* carried its statement of standards for such programs. By Council action last spring the committee has twelve months in which to move toward a list of approved programs in specific institutions. Its aim is to clarify appropriate standards and thereby to encourage country-wide improvement. This is a large job, deserving the best efforts of your staff.

Many specific scholarly projects have been moving ahead. At the time of this present meeting the report of last spring's meeting of the Joint Bibliographical Committee is appearing in print as a book entitled *Bibliography and the Historian,* edited by Dr. Dagmar Perman. It is hoped that within the next two months a foundation grant will allow us to commission a historian to plan and explore in detail the application of radically new bibliographical techniques to the needs of our profession.

Two other projects made possible initially by grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities have been proceeding well. The Committee on Quantitative Data has held two working conferences this fall on comparative historical statistics, with Jacob Price as staff director. During the summer a team of law students, under the direction of Neal Allen, searched the colonial court records in several eastern states for cases to illustrate freedom under law.

On Labor Day a new Committee on American-East Asian Relations met for the first time to complete the formulation of a project that has subsequently been discussed with foundations. This will attempt to bring to focus the *expertise* of both American diplomatic historians and Far Eastern specialists on the complex cultural frontier existing between Americans and East Asians in recent times, a subject that has heretofore fallen between the two specialties. I am also talking to possible donors about a project for special fellowships in Greek and Roman history, and the prospects seem good.

A number of plans for federal government action have importance for historians as scholars. Congress early this year turned to the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission to formulate plans for a Center for Scholars, to be located just north of the present National Archives, as part of a memorial to Woodrow Wilson. Word is that the plans are taking shape substantially along the lines of the proposal set out in Julian Boyd's presidential address of 1965, although the focus will be less upon historians than upon the full range of disciplines exemplified in Woodrow Wilson's career. Legislation to establish this memorial can perhaps not be expected until after the elections next November.

The position of the National Archives in the federal government has been the subject of careful study by the Joint Committee on the Status of the National Archives, which was appointed a year ago. Financial assistance has generously been provided by the Council on Library Resources, to allow preparation of an adequate report, and we hope that the coming weeks will see favorable develop-

ments. The Association, through its staff and committees, has at the same time lent support to the Senate proposal to establish a National Social Science Foundation, but, like so many other generous and important projects, this has been delayed by the stringencies arising from the current war. The long-awaited revision of the copyright law has also been the subject of AHA study and representations to the Senate; this legislation has also been held up in order to explore further the implications of new technology.

Various programs of federal aid to education have continued to absorb much of the time of our professional staff. In past weeks I have served as consultant on a major effort by the Office of Education to enlist and encourage cooperation of education faculties, arts and science faculties, and school leadership in improving teacher training at the highest level. The Consortium of Professional Associations for Special Studies of Teacher Improvement Programs, chaired this year by John Thompson as the Association's delegate, has reorganized, and it promises to be much more effective in bringing the best standards of scholars and specialists to bear on various projects of the Office of Education.

A most interesting effort to explore and clarify the usefulness of motion pictures for history teaching has developed this year out of a project launched under a small grant from the Office of Education's Bureau of Research. The Service Center, by preparing a special pamphlet and a sample new sound track for a documentary film, hopes now to point the way toward the better use of films in secondary-school teaching. A special *ad hoc* committee, acting for the Committee on University and College Teaching, is engaged in a project to create, for use as assignments in college courses, "packages" rather like books of readings, each consisting of a cartridge of selected footage from a major feature film accompanied by a selection of readings to match and balance. This project seems a promising way to make plainer the role of discipline in the stimulation and guidance of historical imagination.

The Service Center's regular work has gone forward with its usual quiet effectiveness. Its quality was particularly underlined this fall by the simultaneous publication of three pamphlets: on the American Revolution, the French Revolution, and recent imperialism. The first is a summary of scholarship that can hearten us all as we anticipate the wave of indiscriminating interest that is certain to accompany the American Revolution bicentennial in the years just ahead.

This range of activities and the continued growth of the Association have increased the need to rethink the role of the Association under the new conditions of scholarly work in our country. The *Review* has shifted this fall to five issues a year to meet pressing needs, and under Henry Winkler's able editorship has maintained its distinction and high degree of usefulness. A special evening panel at the meeting this year is reviewing critically the role of our Annual Meeting. A 70 per cent response to the directory questionnaire sent out to members last spring has been entered on IBM cards, so that we may draw from it some statistical information on the composition of the Association.

In all of these matters the priorities, and the satisfactions for the members of your staff, have centered in helping to clarify the role history should play in the thinking and activities of today. I am grateful for the quality of understanding and cooperation that again this year has so consistently characterized the

work of the Association's committees, officers, and office staff. My particular gratitude goes to Henry Winkler, upon his forthcoming resignation as Managing Editor, for the unfailing good judgment and good teamwork with which he has responded to my needs for advice and assistance in learning to serve the Association during these past two and more years of its adjusting to new situations and challenges.

PAUL L. WARD, *Executive Secretary*

REPORT OF THE MANAGING EDITOR FOR 1967

This will be my last annual report as Managing Editor of the *American Historical Review*. I have informed the Board of Editors and the officers of the Association that I have accepted the post of dean of the faculty of liberal arts at my university, Rutgers, and that I will remain as editor until a successor can be appointed, at the latest by July 1, 1968. Whether I have served the profession well is for the members of the Association to judge; that my experience as editor has been an enriching one is to me unquestionable. I leave the editorship with real regret, not the least because I have had the privilege of working with a dedicated and efficient staff at the *Review*. Patricia Fox, Rita Howe, Betsy Johnston, and John Appleby in Washington have been largely responsible for the care and the *expertise* with which the *Review* has been produced, and Jane Burks in New Brunswick has made it possible for a largely absentee editor to function with the minimum possible waste of energy and time. It has been rewarding, too, to work with officers as devoted to the scholarly and pedagogical interests of our profession as are Paul Ward, Elmer Kayser, and Robert Zangrando. And I have been genuinely honored to be permitted to learn as much as I have from the distinguished scholars on the Board of Editors who are largely responsible for ensuring that my judgments are sound and my sense of proportion reasonably balanced.

The details of the past year's operations can be quickly summarized. Volume LXXII (October 1966–July 1967) contained 1,635 pages, some 20 pages more than the previous volume. Aside from the advertising matter that is highly useful to readers and that constantly seems likely to crowd out the articles and reviews, the volume contained almost exactly the same number of reviews as in the previous year, 967 as compared with 966. There were eighteen articles and one symposium in addition to Roy F. Nichols' presidential address, "History in a Self-Governing Culture." Seven of the articles were on modern European history, eight on United States history, one on medieval history, and two on ancient history, a relatively standard mixture the content of which is much more important than its distribution. Contrary to editorial predictions, some fifty fewer articles were submitted than last year. In part, the reduction appears to reflect some growth in the understanding that the *Review* is seeking articles of genuinely broad treatment and appeal, however narrow or specialized the subject matter. In part, it seems to be a matter of timing, since the number of articles submitted since September 1, 1967, has once again gone up in comparison to earlier periods.

Figures, however, hardly begin to indicate that Volume LXXII was memorable in the history of the *Review*. It was the last volume of the quarterly publica-

tion of our journal. Beginning with the October 1967 issue, the *Review* has gone on a five-times-a-year schedule, a major change in format that should make it possible, as I urged in earlier reports, to solicit reviews of more books, to give space once again to some longer and more wide-ranging reviews of major new works, to publish an occasional unconventional article, and to seek out informed discussions of general issues of interest to the entire profession, for example on methodological or philosophical or bibliographical questions. I flatter myself that with the help of many colleagues I have moved the *Review* in a modest way along the road described in the October issue:

> The Board of Editors believes that the *Review* should continue its traditional course, publishing articles that reflect the most important original work that is being done in various fields. The Board also feels, however, that the *Review* should seek to attract manuscripts that interest a wide segment of its subscribers. The *Review* will hope to publish, therefore, articles that may be read with profit by the specialist for their intrinsic interest or by the nonspecialist for the insights into methodological problems they offer, for the fruitful comparisons they suggest, or for the speculative generalizations they may stimulate.

But I have no illusions. My successor will have the task of employing the five issues in ways that will make the *Review* even more useful to members of the American Historical Association and to other readers. I am increasingly coming to feel that the present format of all our journals is likely to undergo major changes within the next couple of decades. The technological changes that have already been recognized as opportunities rather than annoyances by chemists and medical scholars, by psychologists and linguists, by musicologists and sociologists, are going to have to be coped with by historians. It may well be that journals in the future will contain an article or two of very general interest, or particularly elegantly written, or of overriding historical significance, but then a relatively large number of brief author-prepared abstracts. The abstracts could point the way to easily duplicated copies of articles that can be furnished to those who order them for a minimal fee. A number of editors of historical journals have been reflecting on such possibilities, and I am convinced that their attention is focused on a real issue. The enormous flood of print with which scholars have to cope is clearly going to have to be controlled in more manageable form than is the current practice.

Ours is a conservative discipline, and we have lagged behind others in seeing the possibilities inherent in the tools and machines of our contemporary technology. To illustrate, the time is long overdue when the provision of bibliographical materials should be placed on a much more systematic basis than is our current practice. Historians will have to cooperate at the very least with social scientists and humanists in working out not only coordinated but fiscally achievable systems of computer-controlled distribution of bibliographical materials. In such a task the scholarly associations will have to be fully involved, and, within those associations, the editors of journals will have to play key roles. The task of a new editor, then, will be, in my judgment, more extensive and more difficult than was that of my predecessors or myself. But his opportunity to serve the profession will by that token be comparatively greater.

I must not go on at length since this is a report and not a funeral oration over an expiring editor. But I do not want to conclude without expressing my gratitude to the two members of the Board of Editors who are finishing their terms at this meeting. Joseph R. Strayer and C. Bradford Welles have given freely and wisely of their time to the business of the *Review,* and it would be superfluous for me to do more than thank them. I can only go back to what I said at the beginning of this report. I have learned enormously from scholars such as they, and I will leave the *Review* deeply indebted to the Council of the Association for the chance to have worked so closely with so many first-rate historians and first-rate human beings. I hope and believe that I leave the *Review* to my successor in good condition. And I hope that his experience will be as rich and satisfying as mine.

HENRY R. WINKLER, *Managing Editor*

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1966–1967

The American Historical Association headquarters and its equipment are valued at $147,294.66. On August 31, 1967, the Association had $67,587.69 in cash for general purposes. Temporary investments of unrestricted funds amounted to $48,577.15; $1,068.65 was in receivables. Funds, unrestricted as to use of income and in the custody of the Fiduciary Trust Company of New York under the direction of the Board of Trustees, amount to $394,542.88. These items (headquarters building and equipment, cash, receivables, and invested funds) constitute assets of $659,071.03 available for general purposes of the Association.

Securities in the portfolio of the Matteson Fund amount to $91,784.94; those in other specific restricted Association funds amount to $350,158.62. The various restricted funds total $441,943.56.

Funds, restricted and unrestricted, composing the total assets of the Association amount to $1,101,014.59 if the *book value* of permanent investments is used. If *market values,* according to August 31, 1967, appraisal are used, the total assets of the Association amount to $1,381,521.67. There is a decrease of $31,311.15 in value of Association funds if *book value* is used. An increase of $17,911.72 in the value of Association funds is shown if *market value* of permanent investments is used.

A condensed account of the Association's financial operations during the past fiscal year will appear in the Association's *Annual Report.* All financial accounts have been audited by Main, Lafrentz & Company, certified public accountants. Their report is on file at Association headquarters, where it is available for inspection by interested members. Filed also at headquarters and available for examination is the report of the Fiduciary Trust Company, approved by the Chairman of the Board of Trustees, on the securities held in its custody.

ELMER LOUIS KAYSER, *Treasurer*

MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION THE ROYAL YORK HOTEL, TORONTO DECEMBER 27, 1967, 9:30 A.M.

The meeting was called to order by the chairman, AHA President Hajo Holborn. Present were: John K. Fairbank, Vice-President; Elmer Louis Kayser, Treasurer; Paul L. Ward, Executive Secretary; Henry R. Winkler, Managing Editor of the *Review;* elected Council members Thomas C. Cochran, Philip D. Curtin, Wallace Ferguson, Carl E. Schorske, John L. Snell, Jr., and William B. Willcox; voting former Presidents Julian P. Boyd, Frederic C. Lane, and Roy F. Nichols; and Robert L. Zangrando, Assistant Executive Secretary. Council member Richard Hofstadter was unable to attend.

Mr. Ferguson read a letter from former President Samuel Flagg Bemis in which Mr. Bemis expressed regret that he could not attend the Toronto meeting he had helped to initiate.

The minutes of the Council meeting of May 13, 1967, as published in the October *Review,* were approved.

The Council then formally approved actions taken by the Executive Committee since the Council meeting of May 13, 1967, as follows: appointment of members to the new standing Committee on Bibliographical Services to History established by the Council at its meeting of May 13; instruction to the Treasurer to reimburse the Association's general funds in the amount of $5,926.76, to cover payment of legal fees to the Association's attorney, from the special fund for the Defense of Rights of Historians under the First Amendment; establishment of an *ad hoc* Committee on American-East Asian Relations; selection of Boston, Massachusetts, as the Association's Annual Meeting site for 1970; authorization of expenditure of $36,000.00 for the purchase of property at 18 Fourth Street, S.E., Washington, D. C., to be held in the name of an AHA subsidiary corporation; authorization of expenditure of $1,000.00 to round out the total originally budgeted for the International Textbook Project sponsored by the AHA, the National Council for the Social Studies, and Phi Delta Kappa.

Mr. Winkler presented the report of the Managing Editor and submitted his nominations for appointments to the Board of Editors: Tom B. Jones, University of Minnesota, and Bryce Lyon, Brown University. Mr. Holborn extended to Mr. Winkler the Council's gratitude for his work as Managing Editor, its regret at losing him, and its best wishes.

The Council then heard the report of the Assistant Executive Secretary, Mr. Zangrando, who introduced the report of the Committee on the Professional Register. He noted that registrants and positions posted continue to increase and that the Professional Register has instituted a policy of annual billing. In response to a question, he said the Professional Register does not get much business from community colleges and junior colleges. Mr. Winkler pointed out that community colleges recruit staff from high schools, so that by publicizing the Professional Register at Service Center conferences the Association could move into helping community colleges find staff members.

The Organization of American Historians now uses the United States Em-

ployment Service rather than the Association's Professional Register as in the past two years. USES is free and is used by some other professional societies whose employment operations are simpler than those of the Professional Register. Mr. Snell asked whether it might not be worthwhile to employ the USES system also. Mr. Zangrando said that would mean abandoning the Professional Register as it presently operates, but that the idea had advantages and would save money. He said he plans to look into the operation of USES during the OAH meeting next April.

He then introduced the report of the delegate to the editorial board of *Social Education,* published by the National Council for the Social Studies and the AHA. He noted with satisfaction the appointment of Daniel Roselle as the new editor of *Social Education.*

The next item Mr. Zangrando discussed was the report of the Committee on Teaching. He mentioned the International Textbook Project as an example of collaboration between history and the other social sciences. The result of the project will be a book of readings on thirteen topical areas of US history, excerpted from history textbooks of other countries at the equivalent of our eleventh-grade level. It is to be published in early 1969. The pamphlet *Preparation of Secondary-School History Teachers* has been revised, and next year the price of Service Center pamphlets will probably be raised from fifty cents to seventy-five cents. Since the proposed School History Projects Board was not funded by the Office of Education, an oblique approach is now being made, and the Office of Education may be able to provide funds to set up and pay operational expenses for regional liaison groups around the country to collaborate with the Service Center and help improve teaching. Funds will also be sought for a critical journal designed to assess textbooks and teaching materials. Mr. Ward added that he has discussed the prospects for projects in the School History Projects Board area with the Danforth Foundation. The regional committees are important, he said, because cooperation with local people is emphasized by the Office of Education.

Mr. Zangrando then turned to the report of the Committee on University and College Teaching. Its present chief concern is the feature film project. This project is to have individual historians develop twenty-minute cartridges excerpted from feature-length films of historical value (*A Man for All Seasons,* for example), each cartridge to be coupled with selected readings and used as assignments in college courses. The committee is also interested in preparing a publication dealing with programs and personnel in history at the bachelor's, master's, and junior college levels. A third concern of the committee is the need to assist in work on the problems of history in the junior and community colleges.

Mr. Zangrando introduced the report of the delegate to the Central Atlantic Regional Education Laboratory, and he concluded with a report on the Committee to Collect the Quantitative Data of History, which would like its name changed to Committee on Quantification in History since its focus is not really on collecting data. Several Council members objected to the implications of the word "quantification," and Mr. Cochran moved the committee's name be changed to Committee on Quantitative Data in History. The motion carried.

Mr. Snell stressed the importance to the profession of improvement of teaching in junior colleges since these institutions feed directly into universities. He sug-

gested the Committee on University and College Teaching cooperate with other historical associations in planning both sessions at their meetings and a program of regional conferences directed toward junior college teachers.

The Council then turned to the other committee reports, the first being the report of the Committee on Committees. It chose to consider recommendations seriatim and take action on the entire report at the end.

Mr. Snell pointed out that new members recommended for membership on the Beer Prize Committee show that the Committee on Committees interprets the terms of the prize—"any phase of the international relations of Europe"—broadly. Other members gave arguments for the broad interpretation, and the matter was deferred until the spring Council meeting. After a few revisions the Council approved the report of the Committee on Committees as follows:

Standing Committees:

*Committee on Bibliographical Services to History.***—Aubrey C. Land, University of Maryland, chairman; Lee Benson, University of Pennsylvania; Howard F. Cline, Hispanic Foundation; Oron J. Hale, University of Virginia; R. Stuart Hoyt, University of Minnesota; Oscar Winther, Indiana University; Henry R. Winkler, *American Historical Review* (ex officio).*

Committee on Committees.—Paul L. Ward, American Historical Association, chairman (ex officio); John M. Blum, Yale University; Elizabeth Foster, Bryn Mawr College; James C. Olson, University of Nebraska; John A. Schutz, University of Southern California;* C. Vann Woodward, Yale University;* John K. Fairbank, Harvard University (ex officio); Elmer Louis Kayser, George Washington University (ex officio); Henry R. Winkler, *American Historical Review* (ex officio).

Committee on the Harmsworth Professorship.—Allan Nevins, Huntington Library; Bell I. Wiley, Emory University; T. Harry Williams, Louisiana State University;* John K. Fairbank, Harvard University (ex officio); Hajo Holborn, Yale University (ex officio).

Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government.—Louis Morton, Dartmouth College, chairman; Henry David, National Research Council;* Robert Divine, University of Texas; William M. Franklin, Department of State; David Landes, Harvard University; Rowland Mitchell, Social Science Research Council; Bradford Perkins, University of Michigan; Donald Swain, University of California, Davis.*

Committee on Honorary Members.—Julian P. Boyd, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, chairman; Carl Bridenbaugh, Brown University; Hajo Holborn, Yale University;* Frederic C. Lane, Westminster, Massachusetts; Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania.

Committee on International Historical Activities.—Paul L. Ward, American Historical Association, chairman (ex officio); Howard F. Cline, Hispanic Foundation; Rosalie L. Colie, State University of Iowa; Raymond Grew, University of Michigan; Helmut Koenigsberger, Cornell University; Frederic C. Lane,

* New member this year.
** New committee this year.

Westminster, Massachusetts; Richard Pipes, Harvard University; Boyd C. Shafer, Macalester College; Kenneth Stampp, University of California, Berkeley; Arthur Wright, Yale University.

Committee on Ph.D. Programs in History.—Richard Watson, Duke University, chairman; Douglass Adair, Claremont Graduate School;* Walter Berg, Central Washington State College; E. David Cronon, University of Wisconsin;* Joe B. Frantz, University of Texas; Lacey B. Smith, Northwestern University; John Snell, Jr., University of Pennsylvania; Theodore Von Laue, Washington University.*

Committee on the Professional Register.—Robert L. Zangrando, American Historical Association, chairman (ex officio); Charles Blitzer, Smithsonian Institution; Lawrence A. Cremin, Columbia University; Benjamin A. Quarles, Morgan State College;* David A. Shannon, University of Maryland; Roger W. Shugg, University of New Mexico Press; Elmer Louis Kayser, George Washington University (ex officio).

Service Center Editorial Advisory Board.—Stanley Idzerda, Wesleyan University; Alfred Rollins, Jr., University of Vermont;* Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University.

Committee on Teaching (Service Center for Teachers of History).—Wilson Smith, University of California, Davis, chairman; Donald Cole, Phillips Exeter Academy; Nelda Davis, Prince George's County Schools, Maryland; Henry Drewry, Princeton High School; Edwin T. Fenton, Carnegie-Mellon University;* Joyce Fulton, San Mateo, California;* Jack P. Greene, Johns Hopkins University;* Louis Harlan, University of Maryland;* Paul S. Holbo, University of Oregon;* Mrs. Eugene Meyer, Washington, D. C.; Thomas Pressly, University of Washington.

Committee on University and College Teaching.—Ralph E. Morrow, Washington University, chairman; Gene Brucker, University of California, Berkeley; Richard M. Douglas, Massachusetts Institute of Technology;* Robert W. Johannsen, University of Illinois;* Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University; William R. Taylor, University of Wisconsin.

Prize Committees:

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.—Felix Gilbert, Institute for Advanced Study, chairman; Joel G. Colton, Duke University; Hanna H. Gray, University of Chicago.*

Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.—Ivo Lederer, Stanford University, chairman; Henry A. Turner, Yale University.*

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Award.—Eric E. Lampard, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Jack P. Greene, Johns Hopkins University; Ramón Eduardo Ruiz, Smith College;* David D. Van Tassel, University of Texas; J. Harvey Young, Emory University.*

Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.—Wesley Frank Craven, Princeton University, chairman; Norman A. Graebner, University of Virginia; Holman Hamilton, University of Kentucky.

Committee on the Clarence H. Haring Prize.—J. H. Parry, Harvard University.

* New member this year.

chairman; Robert Burr, University of California, Los Angeles; Richard Morse, Yale University.

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.—Joseph H. Smith, Columbia University, chairman; John J. Biggs, Jr., Wilmington, Delaware; Gerald Gunther, Stanford University; Michael Kammen, Cornell University;* Alfred Kelly, Wayne State University; Paul Murphy, University of Minnesota.

Committee on the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize.—Willson H. Coates, University of Rochester, chairman; Philip Curtin, University of Wisconsin; Philip P. Poirier, Ohio State University; David Spring, Johns Hopkiins University; Sylvia Thrupp, University of Michigan.

Committee on the Watumull Prize.—Ainslie T. Embree, Columbia University, chairman; B. K. Gupta, Brooklyn College; Norman Palmer, University of Pennsylvania.

Ad Hoc Committees:

*Committee on American-East Asian Relations.***—Ernest May, Harvard University, chairman; John M. Blum, Yale University; Alexander DeConde, University of California, Santa Barbara;* John K. Fairbank, Harvard University; Norman A. Graebner, University of Virginia; Richard W. Leopold, Northwestern University.

Committee on the Commemoration of the American Revolution Bicentennial.—Lester Cappon, Institute of Early American History and Culture, chairman; John R. Alden, Duke University; Whitfield Bell, American Philosophical Society; Julian P. Boyd, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson; Lyman H. Butterfield, Massachusetts Historical Society; Oliver W. Holmes, National Historical Publications Commission; Hugh F. Rankin, Tulane University;* Otis Singletary, American Council on Education; William J. Van Schreeven, Archivist of Virginia; Clarence L. Ver Steeg, Northwestern University.

Committee on Quantitative Data in History.—Lee Benson, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; William O. Aydelotte, State University of Iowa; Allan Bogue, University of Wisconsin; Thomas Condon, American Council of Learned Societies; David Herlihy, University of Wisconsin; Val Lorwin, Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences; William P. McGreevey, University of California, Berkeley; Warren Miller, Inter-University Consortium for Political Research; Rowland Mitchell, Social Science Research Council; Jacob Price, University of Michigan; Theodore Rabb, Princeton University;* Henry Rosovsky, Harvard University; Leonard Thompson, University of California, Los Angeles; Robert L. Zangrando, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Committee on the Film Cartridge Project (subcommittee of the Committee on University and College Teaching).** J. Joseph Huthmacher, Rutgers University, director; William H. McNeill, University of Chicago; Michael Petrovich, University of Wisconsin; Donald Shively, Harvard University; Leo F. Solt, Indiana University.

Committee on the Freedom of Historical Inquiry.—Arthur Bestor, University of

* New member this year.
** New committee this year.

Washington, chairman; Mrs. Vincent Eaton, South Hadley, Massachusetts; Robert A. Gorman, University of Pennsylvania Law School; Herman Kahn, National Archives; Donald McCoy, University of Kansas;* Louis Morton, Dartmouth College.

Joint Committees:

Joint Committee of the Canadian Historical Association and the American Historical Association.—Charles F. Mullett, University of Missouri, US chairman; Alice Stewart, University of Maine;* John Hall Stewart, Western Reserve University; G. M. Craig, University of Toronto, Canadian chairman; Craig Brown, University of Toronto; Margaret Ormsby, University of British Columbia.

Joint Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Historians under the First Amendment.—AHA members: John K. Fairbank, Harvard University (ex officio); Paul L. Ward, American Historical Association (ex officio).

Joint Committee on the Status of the National Archives.—AHA members: Julian P. Boyd, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, chairman; Louis Morton, Dartmouth College; OAH members: Fletcher Green, University of North Carolina; David A. Shannon, University of Maryland; SAA members: William T. Alderson, American Association for State and Local History; H. G. Jones, North Carolina Department of Archives and History.

The Council next considered a series of actions arising out of individual committee reports.

The Program Committee for the 1967 Annual Meeting had approved and directed to the Council the following statement:

Resolved:

1. That the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association is one of the more important contributions the Association makes to the continuing progress of the profession;
2. That the remarkable growth of the profession, the expansion of interest in areas of the world previously neglected in both teaching and research, and the increasingly active role the Association is beginning to play in the teaching of history at every level of instruction require that the Annual Meeting and the creation of its program receive more consistent and determined attention than they have thus far;
3. That the function, organization, format, time, and place of the Annual Meeting, and the role the affiliated organizations play, deserve careful study by a committee appointed by the Council of the Association;
4. That the Executive Secretary of the Association, or a representative of his office, be an active ex officio member of the Program Committee, until the committee report has been accepted and put into effect;
5. That the present Chairman of the Program and Local Arrangements Committees be invited to meet with the Council to discuss their experience and to make recommendations concerning the Annual Meeting and the preparation of the program.

Members of the Council agreed in discussion that the resolution of the Program Committee pointed to two kinds of problems: the specific year-to-year adminstrative problems in connection with the Annual Meeting; and the more general problem of what part the Annual Meeting should play considered in the context of the Association's fundamental aims and priorities for the future. It was brought out in discussion that the latter problem calls for reconsidering the

* New member this year.

function of the Annual Meeting in the same sense that the Managing Editor's report calls for re-evaluating the *Review*'s function, and that the Association's operations in other areas also need reconsideration in light of the present situation: the increasing AHA membership, the rising status of history as a social science, the need to reinforce the humanities aspect of history, and other needs connected with service to history and historians. Members felt that while work on smoothing out the administrative problems of the Annual Meeting should begin right away, the over-all problem of the Annual Meeting's role in the Association's operation deserved thorough consideration in the context of the Association's other reappraisals.

After further discussion, the Council voted that its Executive Committee be charged with the study of the functions of the AHA, it being understood that in the course of its explorations the Executive Committee will seek out the views of younger members of the profession and make them known to the Council. The Council further resolved to invite J. B. Conacher, William E. Leuchtenburg, Louis Morton, and John Roche (the 1966 and 1967 Program and Local Arrangements Chairmen) to attend the Council meeting in the spring of 1968 and to supply the Executive Secretary in advance with whatever materials they wish circulated to the Council as background information for discussion of the Annual Meeting, and to invite the Program and Local Arrangements Chairmen for 1968 to attend the meeting as observers.

The Council next considered the report of the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government. The committee had submitted a draft resolution concerning the circumstances in which William R. Taylor was not appointed to the White House Advisory Panel on Educational Research and Development. The Council deferred action on the resolution until Mr. Morton, the chairman of the committee, could be present to discuss the resolution and supply background information.

Mr. Ward mentioned the pending legislation that would establish the National Endowment on the Humanities on a continuing basis, rather than maintain it as a year-to-year operation. He and the committee felt it important that, when the legislation is considered, the Association press the interests of the NEH by speaking to congressmen and getting members to write their congressmen to that end. It was agreed that the Executive Secretary should be in touch with key people to make sure then that legislators friendly to history understand our concern.

One member suggested that Mr. Ward register as a lobbyist. Mr. Ward said he has been told that it is a simple and inexpensive matter to do so and that it would not jeopardize the Association's tax-exempt status, since the tax exemption is not affected unless lobbying is a significant part of the activities of the Association, and it would be easy to demonstrate that it is insignificant to the AHA. On motion by Mr. Kayser, the Council voted to instruct the Executive Secretary to investigate the matter of registration as a lobbyist and to register as such if and when he deems it desirable. The Council further authorized the formation of an *ad hoc* committee to render support to the National Endowment on the Humanities at the Executive Secretary's discretion, with the approval of the Executive Committee.

The Committee on Honorary Members reported next, through Mr. Ward. On motion, the Council voted to extend honorary membership in the Association to Herbert Butterfield (Cambridge), J. Duroselle (Paris), Sir John Neale (London, emeritus), and P. A. Zaionchkovskii (Moscow).

The Council then recessed for lunch.

Reconvening after lunch, the Council heard the report of the Pacific Coast Branch, read by Solomon Katz, president of the PCB.

The next item of business was the report of the Nominating Committee, presented by its chairman, Clarence L. Ver Steeg. He noted that the Nominating Committee last December proposed to the Council a constitutional amendment that would have increased the membership of the Nominating Committee from five to six and increase the length of terms to three years. At that time the Council responded with a counterproposal that membership be increased to nine members serving two-year terms. Mr. Ver Steeg stressed that the Nominating Committee still believes that continuity of experience of members on the committee is invaluable and that continuity would not be sufficiently ensured by the Council's counterproposal. Mr. Snell questioned whether continuity provided by three-year terms might not increase the risk of perpetuation of cliques. He felt that a larger membership with more rapid turnover would involve more people in the nominating process and hence increase the democratic character of nominations. Mr. Ver Steeg pointed out that one job of the Nominating Committee is to canvass members for suggestions of names, but that rarely does one person get as many as five separate nominations by this means. He said the Nominating Committee conceives of its duties as statesmanlike, rather than directly representative of geographic areas or fields of history.

Without resolving the above question, the Council turned to consideration of one immediate problem facing the Nominating Committee: one of the races in the election the results of which were announced at the Business Meeting was very close, and the decision as to who wins hinges on interpretation of the language on the printed ballot, which is ambiguous. After discussion, the Council asked Mr. Ver Steeg to check with his office to find out the total number of votes received for each candidate to date and to report back when he knew. The Council agreed to let that final figure be the deciding one except in the event of a tie.

The Council turned to a resolution proposed by the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government on the subject of William R. Taylor and the White House Advisory Panel on Educational Research and Development. Mr. Louis Morton, chairman of the committee, read excerpts from Mr. Taylor's statement to the press as quoted in a letter from the American Civil Liberties Union to Donald F. Hornig, the President's scientific adviser. Members of the Council felt there were vagueness and contradiction in its information, but that the possibility existed that a serious issue was raised. The Council referred the matter back to the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government and asked the committee to report to the Council after investigation, with recommendations for Council action.

The next item of business was the report of the Committee on Prizes and Awards. The Council agreed that the report, and indeed the whole area of Association prizes and honors, ought to have full consideration; it was moved

and seconded that consideration of the report be deferred until the spring Council meeting. The motion carried.

The Committee on the Harmsworth Professorship had directed the Council's attention to a new procedure that it wished to institute whereby the initiative for selecting the Harmsworth Professors (holders of visiting professorships in recent American history at Oxford) would lie with the AHA committee, rather than with the Board of Electors at Oxford. Mr. Ward mentioned that he will be traveling to England next summer and would be happy to get in touch with the Oxford people involved, to find out how they would receive such a suggestion. The Council approved this plan and referred the matter to the incoming Executive Committee.

Mr. Ward then introduced the report of the Joint Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Historians under the First Amendment. The committee suggested, since further cases like the Frick-Stevens case are not expected to be common, that it be discharged and replaced by a small watchdog committee of three members from the AHA and three from the OAH, that the balance in the hands of the joint committee's treasurer be returned to the two associations in the ratio of their contributions, and that the new committee not only consider any threats and marginal challenges as they arise, but also work out without delay a full "plan of action" for the next major challenge whenever it should appear. The Council accepted this suggestion and appointed as AHA members of the committee the President, the Executive Secretary, and Mr. Boyd.

The next item on the agenda was the report of the Joint Committee on the National Archives, introduced by Mr. Boyd, who outlined the history of the committee and submitted its full report (a book-length manuscript prepared by H. G. Jones, Archivist of North Carolina). He mentioned that, since the present archivist of the United States may retire soon, discussion of the report may be necessary in order to illuminate important considerations for choosing his successor. He said the report contained nothing controversial except the challenge it offers to the current concept that all presidential papers are the private property of the President. He said it is important that the archivist be responsible for presidential libraries and that they should be federally subsidized. Mr. Schorske suggested that librarians' organizations be included as consulting groups, and Mr. Boyd welcomed the suggestion.

Mr. Ver Steeg of the Nominating Committee returned to report that after all ballots received were counted, one candidate had in fact received one more vote than the other, and, according to the procedure previously established, the former candidate was the winner.

Mr. Ward then mentioned that it is the Nominating Committee's practice not to inform the nominee for the vice-presidency that he has been nominated until he sees his name on the printed ballot. The Council agreed that this practice could lead to embarrassing situations. On motion, the Council resolved that the Executive Secretary be instructed to communicate with the nominee for the vice-presidency, and the Nominating Committee with all other nominees for positions on the Council and Nominating Committee, once they are chosen, to determine whether they will consent to serve. Further, the Council voted that

the nominee for vice-president be invited to attend as an observer the December Council meeting just prior to his election.

The Council then voted to approve the submission of the constitutional amendment as proposed by the Nominating Committee to the membership at the Business Meeting, as follows:

That Article VI, Section 1, of the American Historical Association Constitution be amended to read: "There shall be a Nominating Committee to consist of seven members, each of whom shall serve a term of three years. In successive years, the new members shall be elected as follows: three the first year, two the second year, and two the third year; this alternation shall continue except in the case of elections to complete unexpired terms. If vacancies on the Nominating Committee occur between the time of the annual elections, the Nominating Committee shall fill them by direct ad interim appointments."

The next item of business was the Treasurer's report. Mr. Kayser noted that the increase in the value of headquarters and equipment reflects the purchase by the Association of two lots adjoining the present headquarters building, giving the Association a plot of land neatly rectangular, and protecting it against future contingencies and needs.

He explained that the Service Center was set up under a foundation grant and that the balance remaining from the grant has now been used up. Rather than carry a continuing debit balance in the special grant account, he asked the Council to authorize closing out the special account and subsidizing the Service Center hereafter as part of the general fund, into which would go the proceeds from the sale of pamphlets and other Service Center income. The motion carried.

Next Mr. Kayser explained that the Association has long had the practice, in handling proceeds from invested funds, to allocate to these special funds interest at the rate of 3½ per cent across the board, while the general fund absorbs any income over that. He said the invested funds of the Association now earn more than 3½ per cent interest, so that the general fund is profiting at the expense of the special funds. On motion, the Council authorized the Treasurer and auditors to make an allocation of income that is more realistic and bears a closer relationship to what invested funds actually earn, by taking an average for the year of the per cent of interest earned by all invested funds and using that percentage as the rate of interest for all accounts, special and general.

Mr. Kayser explained the increase in auditing and legal expense over the amount budgeted as accounted for by a new audit system instituted last year, and by legal expenses for the Frick case, the *Sugar* v. *Fine* case, the suit against the former American Historical Society, and in connection with the copyright legislation. The Council then voted to approve the Treasurer's report.

Mr. Ward introduced the draft budget, which was approved after discussion.

The report of the Executive Secretary was then presented by Mr. Ward, who added that in the next few months his major concerns will be: If the National Science Foundation provides funding for a young historian to specialize on bibliographical needs of the profession, the man will have to be found as quickly as possible and launched on his duties. The American-East Asian Relations Committee's proposal, which has been laid before the Ford Foundation, will require

similar efforts, Mr. Ward hoped. The work of the Committee on Ph.D. Programs in History, as authorized by the Council last spring, would require fullest attention without delay. Mr. Ward said he found attractive the idea of a pamphlet giving information about the approved institutions' programs, rather than a simple listing of institutions. Financial arrangements for the feature film project described earlier by Mr. Zangrando, about which Mr. Ward is talking to the Rockefeller Foundation, will need to be worked out. The School History Projects Board, aspects of which are being discussed with the Danforth Foundation, must be actively pursued.

Upon motion by Mr. Kayser, the Council adopted the following resolution:

The Council of the American Historical Association records its deep appreciation of the services of Henry R. Winkler as Managing Editor of the *American Historical Review*. His scholarly ability, technical knowledge, and indefatigable industry have raised the *Review* to new levels of generally recognized excellence and authority. His interest and concern have extended beyond his editorial duties to many other areas of the Association's activity where his wide acquaintance with the profession, his broad understanding of history, and his sound administrative judgment have made his advice and counsel of inestimable value to his colleagues. We hail him not only as a distinguished editor, but as a cherished friend and associate who has served us well. As he now assumes the arduous and exacting duties of dean in his university, he carries with him the assurance of our gratitude, our respect, and our affection.

Next, on motion by Mr. Lane, the Council voted to authorize the Executive Secretary to hire more staff for himself as he deems necessary and effective, even if it means going beyond the budgeted limits, and to assure the Executive Secretary that the Council will support any such request.

Mr. Snell then raised a question in connection with the report of the delegate to the Marquis Biographical Library Society, and the Council voted that the Executive Secretary raise with the AHA delegate the misgivings of some Council members about the types of questions proposed for *Who's Who* biographees (to be used as reference material for scholars) and the hope of the Council that the Association will have a chance to look at the questions before they are sent to anyone in the name of the AHA.

Mr. Snell called the Council's attention to the suggestion by the Committee on National Aid to Historical Research that the Council meet more often. It was decided that the Council will meet three times in 1968, possibly in March and September as well as December.

The Council then turned to a series of appointments. Mr. Ward was appointed Executive Secretary for another three-year term, and the Council voted to offer, to a member nominated by a special subcommittee, the position of Managing Editor for a three-year term, salaried on the basis of the academic year, and with supervision of editorial revision of the Service Center pamphlet series as well as the *Review*. The Council referred the question as to how future candidates for the editorship are selected to the Executive Committee for consideration with the other over-all problems of the Association.

The Council approved the appointment of Lawrence W. Towner as Program Chairman for the 1968 Annual Meeting; the appointment of Messrs. Cochran and Willcox as members of the Executive Committee for the coming year; and

the appointment of Mr. W. A. W. Stewart to serve another five-year term on the Board of Trustees of the Association.

Under further old business, the question of future Annual Meeting sites was postponed pending discussion at the spring Council meeting about the Annual Meeting.

Mr. Ward announced that the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission, which has plans for a Woodrow Wilson memorial that corresponds in large part with the Association's proposal for a historical Center for Scholars, will have information about these plans for the Council at its next meeting.

Under new business, the Council voted to approve the proposed increase of dues to the American Council of Learned Societies to the amount of $1,500.00, beginning with 1968, and to instruct its delegate to support the new schedule of dues when the ACLS next meets.

Action arising out of communication with the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was tabled, with general agreement that the Council at its earliest opportunity will consider the general problem of gross breaches of professional ethics and of the procedures by which the profession can best guard its interests in the event of any such breach.

Its business completed, the Council, on motion, adjourned.

PAUL L. WARD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION THE ROYAL YORK HOTEL, TORONTO DECEMBER 29, 1967, 4:30 P.M.

The Business Meeting of the Association convened in the Ontario Room of the Royal York Hotel, with approximately one hundred members present. President Hajo Holborn presided.

The minutes of the previous meeting were approved. Mr. Paul L. Ward, Executive Secretary, presented his report, which was available in mimeographed form, and invited questions or comments.

Mr. W. Stull Holt questioned the statement that the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission's plans for a Woodrow Wilson memorial are "taking shape substantially along the lines of the proposal set out in Julian Boyd's presidential address of 1965, although the focus will be less upon historians than upon the full range of disciplines exemplified in Woodrow Wilson's career." Mr. Holt said it was misleading to suggest that the Wilson memorial, which would simply include a hostel, would be equivalent to the full-fledged research center for historians proposed in Mr. Boyd's address. Mr. Ward responded that the staff of the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission has indicated that it would make available more detailed information about its plans before the next Council meeting, since it could not do so earlier. He explained that its plans currently call for two buildings, one of which is simply a hostel, and the other a center for scholars designed for the use of recipients of fellowships. The plans call for fellowships to be granted for two-year terms to about forty scholars at one time.

On motion, the report of the Executive Secretary was accepted.

Mr. Henry R. Winkler, who had announced his plans to relinquish the editorship of the *Review* in the summer of 1968, gave his report. Mr. Holborn expressed the deep thanks of the Association to Mr. Winkler for his work as editor, saying Mr. Winkler had brought a fresh breeze into the historical enterprise. On motion, the Managing Editor's report was accepted.

Mr. Elmer L. Kayser then presented the Treasurer's report. He said he wished to anticipate two questions, the first of which was: how much is the Association worth? The answer to this question can be found by totaling the value of the headquarters and equipment, the value of special funds, and the value of the general fund. Mr. Kayser pointed out that the Association is still worth more than one million dollars; the reason it was not worth more this year than last year was the number of disbursements made in 1967. The second question was: is the Association making money? Mr. Kayser said that if the figure representing gain on sale of investments, which goes back into the general fund, is deducted from the total assets, the answer is "no." For the Association not to make money is a triumph, Mr. Kayser said, since it is a nonprofit organization and last year came very close to breaking even. In moving the acceptance of the report, a member congratulated the Treasurer on coming up with a deficit balance, however slight. The Treasurer's report was accepted.

The report of the decisions of the Council at its meeting December 27 was given next. The minutes were available in mimeographed draft form, and Mr. Ward invited questions or comments.

One member commended the Council on electing Herbert Butterfield to honorary membership and praised the initiatives expressed by this year's Committee on the Harmsworth Professorship. He further commended the Program Committee for recognizing the Annual Meeting's contribution to the progress of the historical profession.

In response to another question, Mr. Ward outlined the Association's action to date regarding establishment of a national social science foundation, noting that the Committee on National Aid to Historical Research and the Council had considered the matter and that he had testified in support of such a foundation before the Subcommittee on Government Research of the Senate Committee on Government Operations in June 1967.

The next question was raised by Mr. Alden Todd, who asked whether it was an appropriate time to ask the Executive Secretary if he knew of any tribute being planned for David Chambers Mearns on his retirement as chief of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. Mr. Ward replied that he knew of no plans, but invited Mr. Todd to suggest an appropriate motion.

In response to a question about the possibility of collecting and making available the papers given at the Annual Meeting, Mr. Ward explained that there is a standing offer on the part of the AHA office to reproduce in advance any paper submitted in time. No one has yet taken advantage of this offer, which suggests that authors are not in favor of the idea.

Mr. Holborn then recognized Mr. Philip D. Curtin, who introduced a series of motions. The first was seconded and adopted as follows:

That the Executive Secretary be asked to express the appreciation of the Association to the Government of Ontario (Department of Tourism and Information) for the hospitality extended to members at its reception, and to the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto for sponsoring the bus tours of Toronto.

Next, upon motion by Mr. Curtin, the following motion was adopted:

That the Chairman of the Program Committee, Professor Louis Morton, and his associates be warmly thanked by the Association for their achievement in creating an outstanding program.

Mr. Curtin's final motion was seconded and adopted as follows:

That the thanks of the Association be conveyed to the Local Arrangements Chairman, Professor J. B. Conacher, and to the members of the Local Arrangements Committee and their admirable staff of aids, for their assistance, as well as to the Canadian Historical Association in general, for its hospitality.

Mr. Clarence L. Ver Steeg was recognized as Chairman of the Nominating Committee. He moved the adoption of the following slate of officers for the Association for 1968: for President, John K. Fairbank; for Vice-President, C. Vann Woodward; for Treasurer, Elmer Louis Kayser. The motion was duly seconded, and Messrs. Fairbank, Woodward, and Kayser were elected. Mr. Ver Steeg reported the results of the mail ballot for three vacancies on the Council and for two vacancies on the Nominating Committee. Elected to the Council were David M. Potter, Lynn White, jr., and Caroline Robbins. Professor Robbins was elected to serve for one year to fill out the unexpired term of President-elect Fairbank; Professors Potter and White were elected to full four-year terms. Elected to the Nominating Committee for two-year terms were Charles F. Delzell and Frederick B. Tollles. Mr. Ver Steeg moved that the candidates be approved for the offices designated and for their respective terms of office. The motion was duly seconded and adopted.

Under new business, on motion by Mr. Todd, it was resolved that the officers of the Association consider making a tribute to David Chambers Mearns.

Since there was no further business, the meeting was, on motion, adjourned.

PAUL L. WARD, *Executive Secretary*

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

R. K. Webb, professor at Columbia University, has assumed the position of Managing Editor of the *American Historical Review,* to become effective July 1, 1968. Henry R. Winkler, Managing Editor since September 1964, resigned the editorship to become dean of the faculty of liberal arts at Rutgers University.

Webb received his bachelor's degree (1947) from Oberlin College and his master's degree (1948) and doctorate (1951) from Columbia University. He is interested in modern British social and intellectual history and has produced *The British Working Class Reader, 1790–1848,* a biography of Harriet Martineau, and *Modern England, from the Eighteenth Century to the Present.*

Through an oversight, permission was not obtained to publish the letter of Charles A. Beard in the February 1968 issue. The *American Historical Review*

is grateful to Miriam Beard Vagts and William Beard for their gracious permission to publish the letter.

Recent Deaths

Rembert W. Patrick, graduate research professor at the University of Georgia and a former president of the Southern Historical Association, died November 16, 1967.

Alfred A. Skerpan, professor at Kent State University, died December 5.

William J. Grattan, professor and chairman of the department of history and political science at the College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Massachusetts, died December 8, at the age of fifty-one.

George C. A. Boehrer, professor at the University of Kansas, died December 18, at the age of forty-six. In addition to various academic appointments, he also held the post of cultural affairs officer in the US embassy at Rio de Janeiro. As a section editor from 1958 to 1960, he provided the *Review*'s bibliographical listings for Latin America.

Frank D. Reeve, formerly a professor at the University of New Mexico and editor of the *New Mexico Historical Review,* died December 31, at the age of sixty-eight.

Stanley Pargellis, librarian of the Newberry Library from 1942 to 1962, died in Chicago on January 6, 1968, after a brief illness.

Born in Toledo, Ohio, on June 25, 1898, Pargellis was an undergraduate at the University of Nevada, which gave him its Distinguished Nevadan Award in 1958. After serving as a private in the coast artillery in 1918 he entered the Harvard Law School, where he spent a semester. In 1919 he received a Rhodes scholarship, which enabled him to read history at Exeter College. His years at Oxford caused him to change his career—he had intended to enter the business world—and colored the whole of his later life. He became not only a distinguished historian but also a lifelong Anglophile, a wine lover, a confirmed clubman, a lover of tradition. Many of the friendships he made at Oxford lasted throughout his life, and for many years he was a member of the Rhodes Selection Committee.

After leaving Oxford Pargellis entered the graduate school of Yale University, from which he received his Ph.D. in 1929. He taught history at Yale from 1925 to 1942. Under his administration the Newberry, already a great library, became far better known throughout the world, attracting scholars from Europe as well as the United States. Among regular readers were Stanley Morison, who visited the library annually for a period of over twenty years, partially to use the collections, partially to see the librarian and the staff that he had recruited. Pargellis made many significant additions to the Newberry's holdings: the papers of Sherwood Anderson; the C. L. Ricketts collection of calligraphy; many great English, American, and European manuscripts and early printed books. His stand-

ards were invariably high. "A book must have intrinsic worth or it is not worth house room—even as a gift" was a favorite maxim. He also instituted a fellowship program, which enabled scholars to use the library's resources, and a publications program to help disseminate their findings. The list of his own writings occupied over ten pages in the *Festschrift, Essays in History and Literature Presented to Stanley Pargellis by Fellows of the Newberry Library,* published on his retirement. The most important of these were the *Bibliography of British History: The Eighteenth Century,* which he and D. J. Medley edited (1951), and *Lord Loudoun in North America* (1933).

Pargellis also spent countless hours helping others get their work published. As president of the Modern Poetry Association, publishers of *Poetry,* he helped to solve the magazine's recurrent financial problems and enabled it to continue as one of the leading international forums for modern verse.

An eminently clubbable man, fond of good wine, good food, and good conversation, Stanley Pargellis will be sorely missed at the Caxton, the Grolier, and the Century, in the bookshops and libraries, the common rooms and faculty clubs of a world which he thoroughly enjoyed and to which he gave much.

Richard S. West, Jr., member of the faculty of the department of English, history, and government at the US Naval Academy, died February 13, at the age of sixty-five.

Communications

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

"Unsurprisingly," perhaps, the author of *The Warped Vision* has entirely missed the point of my short essay on *Munich* (see *AHR,* LXXII [July 1967], 1399). Professor George has read it as though it were an attempt to reconstruct the whole basis of British policy, which it plainly is not. Thus her remarks, unaccountably delivered *du haut en bas,* fall largely beside the point, which is that many recent accounts of British policy in the Czechoslovakian crisis, her own included, make great play with the " 'anti-Red' " motive, but without giving full consideration to all the evidence that bears on that subject—and often without paying much heed to other considerations (those urged, for example, by Watt, Medlicott, and Northedge) which surely were important. Pretty obviously we have different views of the conclusions that the evidence will support; mine are set out in the essay under reference.

Michigan State University Donald N. Lammers

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

In his review (*AHR,* LXXIII [Oct. 1967], 225) of my book *Socialist Origins in the United States: American Forerunners of Marx, 1817–1832,* Rudolph Vecoli deplores my supposed lack of familiarity with Joseph Dorfman's *The Economic Mind in American Civilization,* Volume II. Dorfman is mentioned on pages 34

and 35 of my book and in particular his introduction to the recent edition of Byllesby's work. In this introduction (p. 17) *The Economic Mind in American Civilization* is referred to.

Vecoli says: "The ideas of each author . . . are presented largely in isolation from both the thought of the other social critics and the political and economic milieu within which they were formulated." In fact, as the *International Review of Social History* (XI [No. 3, 1966], 476) points out: "Dr. Harris gives a general picture of the significance of Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy for the origins of an early American Socialism. . . . This Socialism had its roots in the beginning industrialization." I show the formation of an embryonic socialism in its relation to the birth of the labor movement and setting up of workingmen's parties.

It is not true then to say that I am, as Vecoli suggests, "indifferent to their significance for the history of their own times." But surely they have significance not only for "their" but also for "our" times, for a whole period in which capitalism—indeed at various stages of its development, but nevertheless unmistakably capitalism—has been developing America. The socialist precursors, a group to whom Marx referred in *The German Ideology* (see the Moscow 1964 English edition, p. 537), pointed to the consequences of industrializing on a capitalist basis and showed the way toward a socialist transformation of America. It was hardly possible for America in the 1820's to take the socialist path. Then capitalism was young, and there was immense scope for it to expand. It is rather now when it is overripe, and, unable to preoccupy itself internally, is building up a vast military machine and resorting to a criminal and dangerous imperialism that may soon, even if it does not take on an outright military-fascist form, go completely beyond the point of no return. Now, when its economy rests increasingly on world-wide foundations that are being constantly shaken up and undermined, the socialist road presents itself as a real possibility. And it is therefore surely now that the socialist precursors are likely to have a particular significance.

Sharpthorne, Sussex, England DAVID HARRIS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Arthur Marwick's provocative article, "The Labour Party and the Welfare State in Britain, 1900–1948" (*AHR*, LXXIII [Dec. 1967], 380–403), prompts me to write questioning an assumption about political change frequently made by younger scholars, one that is amply illustrated in this study. Too often historians take for granted that a call for legislation by their own particular subject of interest—the Fabian Society, the Trades Union Congress, the Tory Reform Committee—is, when the demanded law is subsequently passed, the sole cause of the new enactment. Usually they work from result to cause. They examine institutions already in being, such as the National Health Service or the Ministry of Health, and then look back to see whether their subject has not at some time demanded it. Finding that he has, and having an obvious result, they now assign a cause. One may describe this as the Chinese school of historical causation: The First World War ended in November 1918. Just a little more than a year earlier China

had entered the conflict. Clearly the Chinese declaration of war caused Germany to surrender.

Professor Marwick in his concluding sentence attacks those historians who have followed the "established fashion" of neglecting Labour influence on British welfare policy and comes to the defense of earlier scholars who emphasize the Labour party's role. While I hardly feel that I count among those who have neglected Labour, I question whether Professor Marwick in defending Labour, which is already well defended at the London School of Economics, has not neglected everyone else. A few examples drawn from his article may show what I mean.

Professor Marwick begins by citing old-age pensions as an act in which Labour influence was important. The TUC, the Labour Representation Committee, and innumerable individual Labour candidates did, to be sure, support old-age pensions in the years before its final enactment in 1908, but both major parties had technically at least approved pensions in some form since 1899. The important body whose approval for pensions was needed was not the trade-union movement but the National Conference of Friendly Societies, with four times the TUC membership. And while a number of important Labour leaders did work on the National Committee of Organized Labour, a careful reading of the Reverend F. H. (not T. H. as on page 384) Stead's book on pensions, Fredrick Rodgers' memoirs (not mentioned, but should be, since Rodgers was paid secretary of the National Committee and resigned the chairmanship of the LRC), and G. N. Barnes's memoirs would show that the National Committee developed its own organization, that much of its work was done through religious bodies, that the people it most sought to influence were poor law guardians, that its most distinguished speaker was Charles Booth, a Conservative, and that the settlement house movement (Stead was a warden in one) gave it most of its organized outside support.

In contradiction to what is stated on page 384, the Liberals lost no seats to Labour at all during 1906 and lost that year only one by-election to anyone, a Unionist. The elections referred to were in July 1907 at Jarrow and Colne Valley. The difference in time is most important. By the summer of 1907 Asquith, as his papers show, was hard at work on his old-age pensions, and though the election losses may have represented a protest against Liberal delays, they can hardly be accounted a reason for a decision on pensions that the government had already made, albeit privately.

One other example, concerning the Ministry of Health, will suffice. While Professor Marwick admits (p. 389) that plans for a ministry of health were already "well advanced," he suggests that without a Labour party resolution in favor of such a ministry in 1918 they might "have been shelved." In fact, Labour's insistence (finally unsuccessful) that the projected ministry of health be separated from the administration of the poor law seriously delayed its establishment. In any case the ministry needed no outside support. The medical profession and the Morant-Newman-Addison coalition in the government had been advocating the ministry well before the war. In 1917 they had as a spokesman Lord Rhondda, who had made government approval of the ministry a condition of his translation from the Local Government Board to food controller. The Lloyd

George Papers are full of letters from Rhondda reminding the Prime Minister of his promise and in one case affirming a veiled threat of resignation if it were not kept. No one of any importance opposed a ministry of health in principle, but linking its establishment with poor law reform, as Labour did, threatened for a time to make the passage of the bill a political impossibility.

These examples could be added to, but need not be only to illustrate a point. Professor Marwick's article is, I am afraid, a piece of modern scholasticism, attempting to prove, by deduction, propositions that for the writer are already a matter of faith. The achievements of the British Labour party are great enough as things stand. Assignment of new accomplishments will not increase its prestige.

University of Illinois, Chicago Circle BENTLEY B. GILBERT

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Gilbert does well to alert us to the dangers of what, with scant respect for the disciples of the great Ssu-ma Ch'ien, he calls the Chinese school of historical causation. May I mention some of the other hazards to be encountered in our most perilous profession—specifically, the fallacy of the Power of Paper (a typically British weakness), the doctrine of the Definitive Work (an American failing), and the Conspiracy Theory of Historiography (a facet, alas, of the human condition).

I have to confess that my own first reaction to such remarks as "Churchill put the stamp of his generous view of mankind and its failings upon the nascent British welfare state" (Bentley B. Gilbert, "Winston Churchill versus the Webbs: The Origins of British Unemployment Insurance" [*AHR*, LXXI (Apr. 1966), 861]) was to take their author for a romantic Tory of the most absurd sort: a careful perusal of Professor Gilbert's outstandingly able *Evolution of National Insurance in Great Britain* made it clear that my instant judgment was quite unfounded. If Professor Gilbert would do me the honor of glancing at some of my other published work he will soon see that there is little question of my having any deep "faith" in the unspotted virtue of the British Labour party. I am delighted, of course, to have been provocative, but I fear I have provoked Professor Gilbert into pursuing red rags that do not actually exist: he has smashed a deal of china, but I do not recognize the potter's hand as my own. The point of the first part of my essay was not to cite old-age pensions as "an act in which Labour influence was important" (I said, "*marginally* . . . [it] . . . owed *something* to the Labour party") but to define the impotence of Labour at this time, "essentially a pressure group, limited and halting in most of its pronouncements."

Obviously it is essential that we have a theory of change more sophisticated than that derided by Professor Gilbert: mine will be found, briefly adumbrated in the current (III [Jan. 1968], 51–63) number of the *Journal of Contemporary History*, and, in more elaborate form in my *Britain in the Century of Total War: War, Peace and Social Change* (1968). Meantime I cannot see that I have made any naïve claims on behalf of the Labour party, essentially, as I wrote, an opposi-

tion party in the period under review. Is it Professor Gilbert's contention that the historian should consider only the place holders, only those who pace the corridors of power, only the winners? In any case it is not enough to know how and why a specific act was passed: the social historian must explore its exact effects, if any, on social conditions and social relationships within the community. He should indeed consider how far social change takes place irrespective of the acts of statesmen. To stop at legislation, without regard to whether that legislation is in fact implemented, and, if implemented whether it is effective, is to be trapped in the fallacy of the Power of Paper. (How different, in how many countries, is the paper welfare state of the politicians and the real welfare state as it exists for its clients, the poor, the aged, and the sick!) Writing as though the mere establishment of the Ministry of Health was a matter of moment in itself, Professor Gilbert remarks that "Labour's insistence . . . that the projected ministry of health be separated from the administration of the poor law seriously delayed its establishment." As established, the Ministry of Health proved thoroughly ineffectual (save in respect to housing). It *may* be that on the matter of poor law administration Labour was wiser than the establishment bureaucrats Professor Gilbert so admires: Labour, as I said in my article, was undoubtedly *wrong* in its stress on maintaining the powers of the local authorities.

What Professor Gilbert fails to realize is that while we may both be labeled twentieth-century British social historians we are not necessarily interested in the same problems. My ultimate concern is with the actual social conditions under which people live, and therefore with the imperfections of social legislation as much as with its origins. To understand why social provision in Britain today is still inadequate, why the class structure is still so rigid, I believe it is essential to study the Labour legislation of 1945–1948; to understand the imperfections of that legislation, I believe it is necessary to study earlier Labour attitudes to social policy. In pursuing that line of thought I suppose I have "neglected everyone else," though I do not need Professor Gilbert to explain to me the importance of Lord Rhondda as "an architect of the Ministry of Health" (my phrase, *The Deluge* [1965], p. 11). I was doing, however imperfectly, what must be the humble task of most of us: making a limited, but I believe significant, contribution to knowledge whose exact scale I defined at the outset.

It so happens that in our interpretation of British social history Professor Gilbert and I do disagree. But however much Professor Gilbert may regret not having been featured in my catalogue of "those who have neglected Labour," my article was not the place to take issue with Professor Gilbert's views on "state socialism" or on 1906 (according to his book; he says 1911 in his *AHR* article) as a point of change in British social policy. That does not mean that I do not wholeheartedly admire *The Evolution of National Insurance* as one of the great works of scholarship in the field in which Professor Gilbert and I both labor; nor does it mean that I feel called upon to make patronizing references either to Professor Gilbert's political affiliations or to his understanding of historical processes.

University of Edinburgh ARTHUR MARWICK

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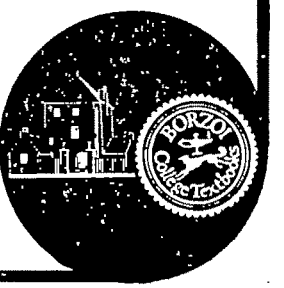
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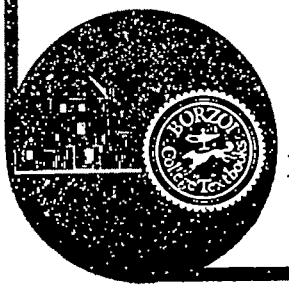
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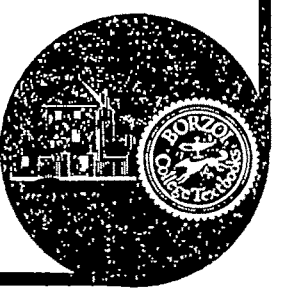
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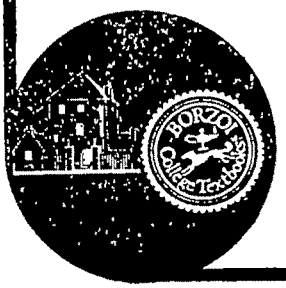
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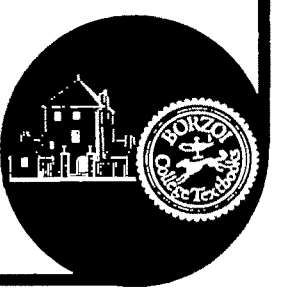
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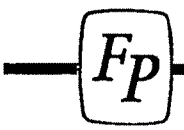
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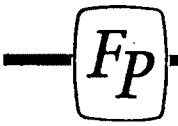
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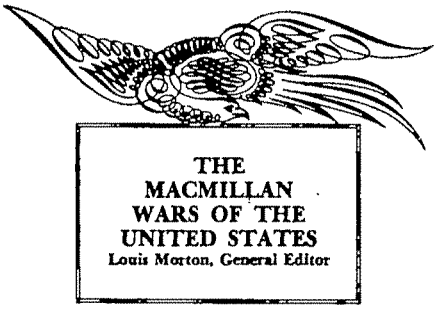


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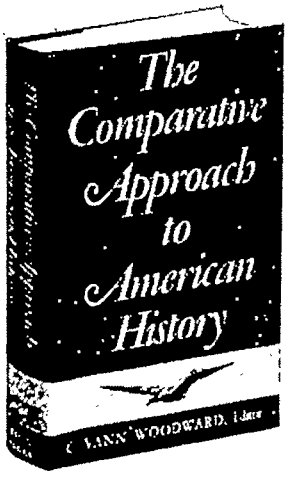
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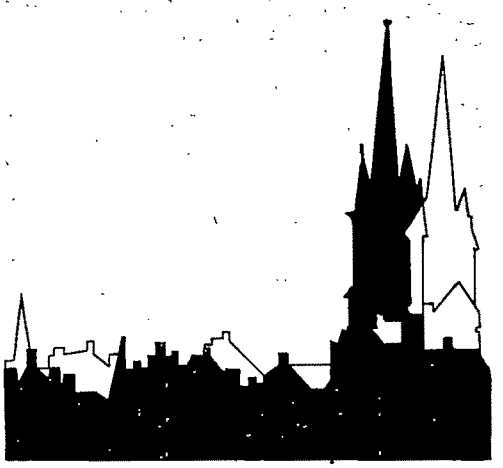
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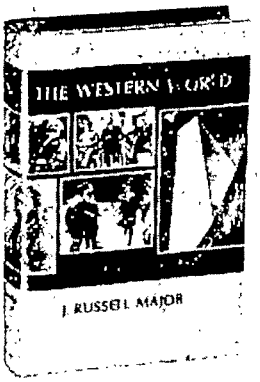
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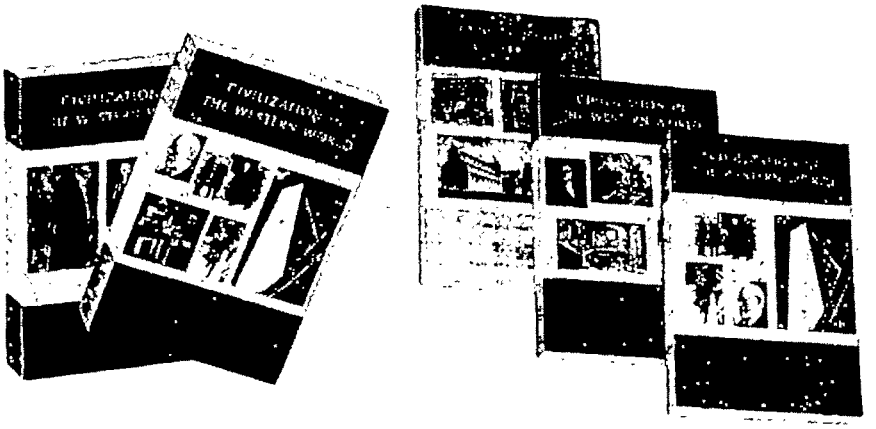
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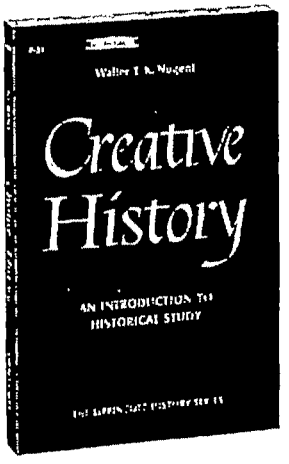
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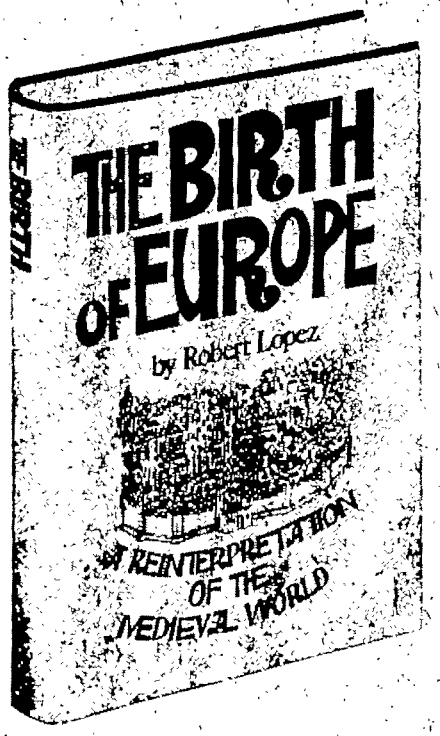
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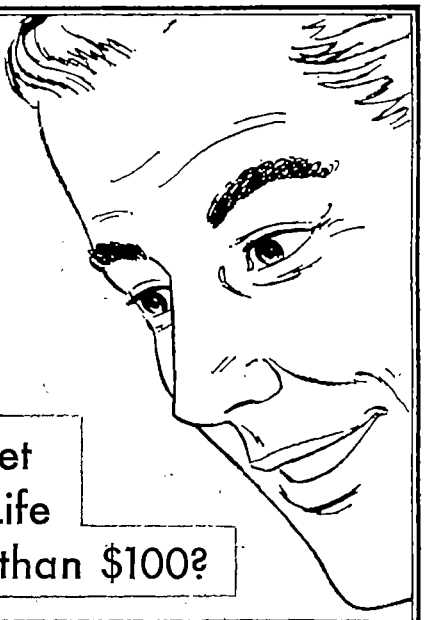
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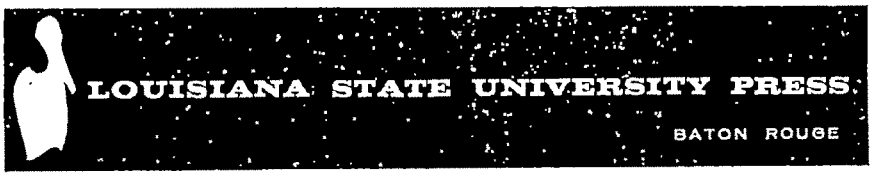
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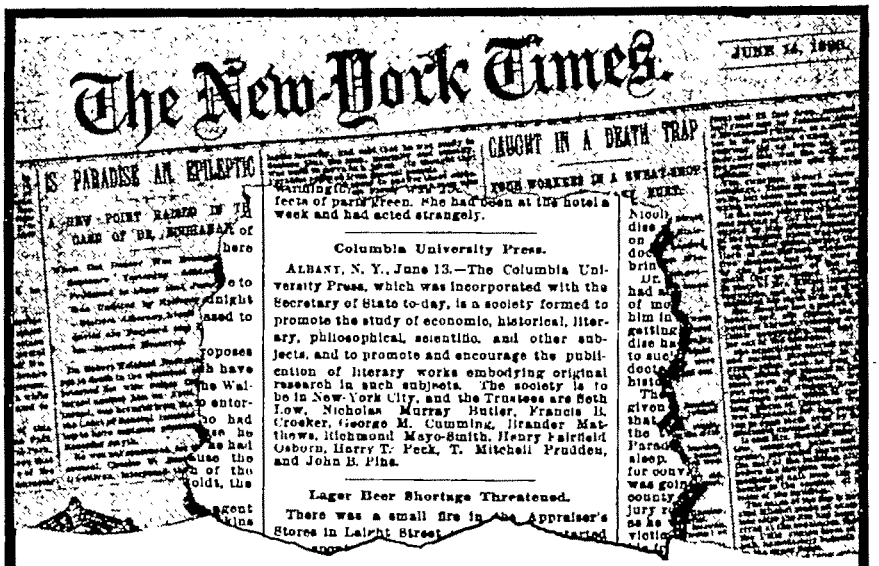
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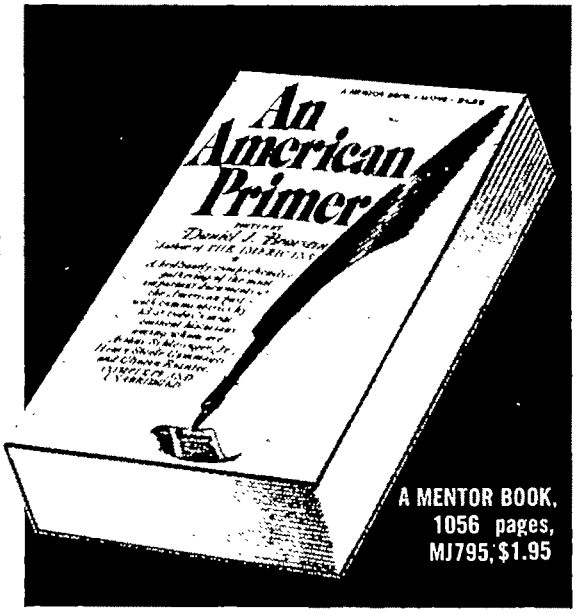
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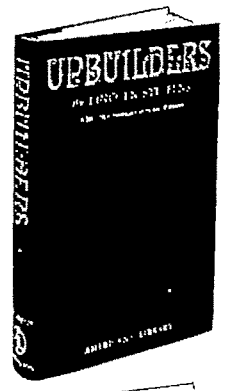
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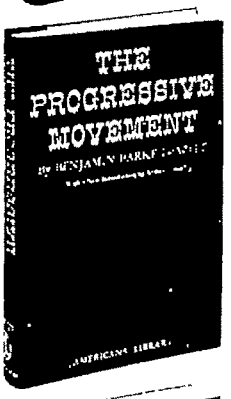
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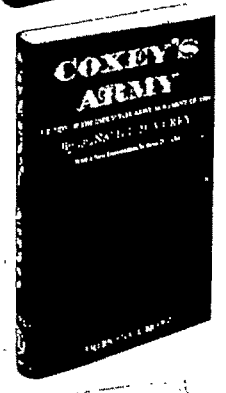
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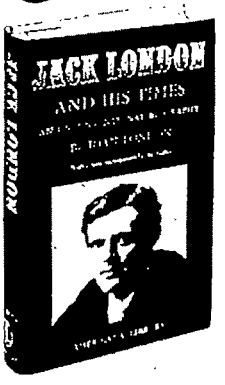
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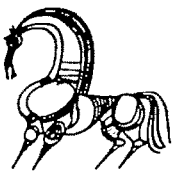
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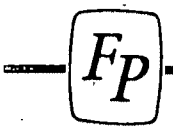
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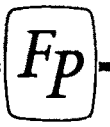
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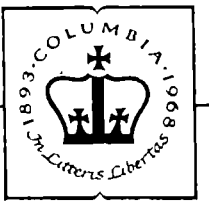
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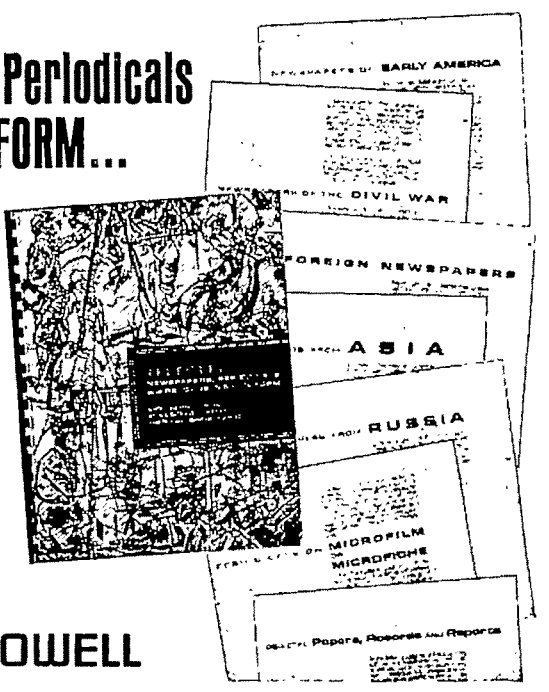
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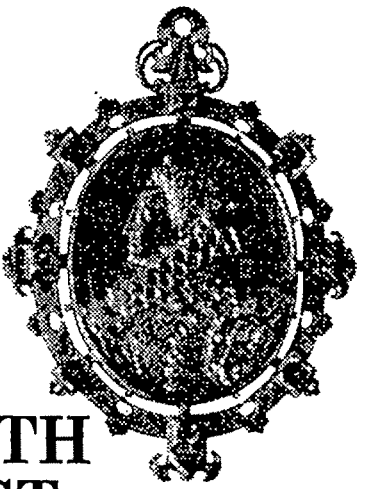


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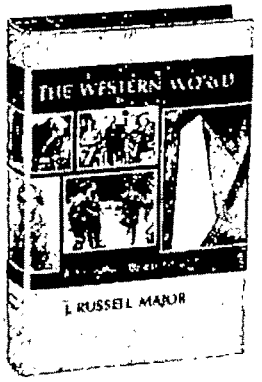
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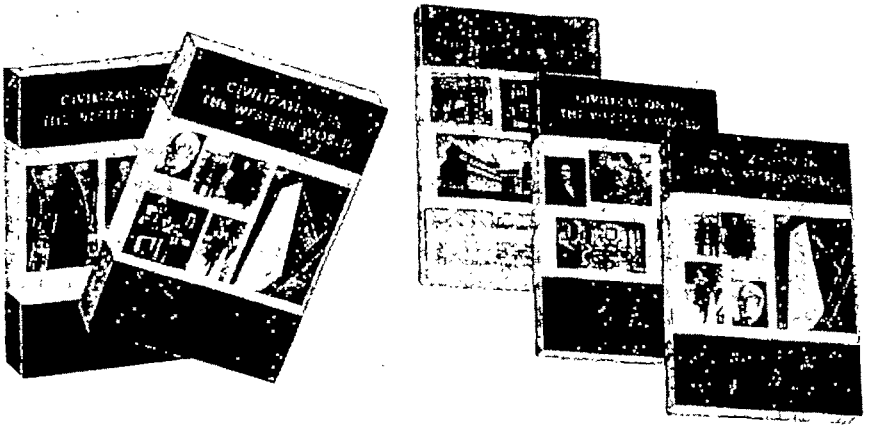
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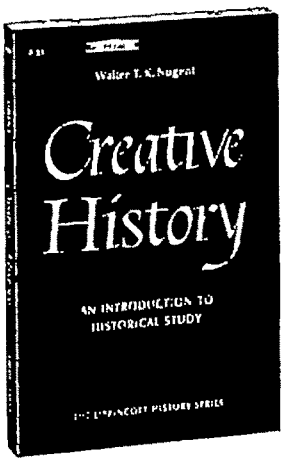
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VOLUME LXXIII, NUMBER 5 JUNE 1968

The Nineteenth-Century Discovery of Italy: An Essay in American Cultural History. Prolegomena to a Historiographical Problem

A. WILLIAM SALOMONE*

THE remarks in the prefatory rubrics of this essay are not intended to serve as a sketch for a new philosophy of historiography. They aim rather to be a partial explication, if not a justification, of the unusual context within which this article seeks to place an interpretation of a traditional historical question. More precisely, these preliminary comments aim to clarify not only the integral connection between the major terms of reference in the title of this essay but also its own essential function as prolegomenon to a special historiographical problem: the contexts, course, and character of American historical writing on the *Risorgimento*. An effort will therefore be made to synthesize the theoretical and critical guidelines that have been

* Mr. Salomone is Wilson Professor of Modern European History at the University of Rochester and the author of *Italy in the Giolittian Era* (Philadelphia, 1960). This article is a slightly revised version of the first part of a paper on the *Risorgimento* in American historiography that he read at a symposium on "Italy and the United States in the Era of the Civil War" held under the auspices of the *Istituto di Studi Americani* of the University of Florence in May 1966.

adopted in dealing with the substance of the essay. As I hope will become evident, the main part of this study represents, in essence, a summary of findings of a more sustained and long-ranging attempt to reinterpret the nineteenth-century cultural and intellectual premises of twentieth-century American historiography on the *Risorgimento*. In offering a view on the prehistory of that historiography, the substantive section of this article will try to suggest how certain modes of consciousness and of thought and feeling of an almost uniquely influential sector of the nineteenth-century American intelligentsia had both affected and tended to prefigure the fundamental cultural character of a tradition of historical writing on the most decisive phase of modern Italian history: the *Risorgimento*.

During the course of the chronological nineteenth century not a single original and influential work was produced in the United States dealing with contemporary Italy or the *Risorgimento,* none, at least, that, even by the most generous benefit of doubt, has merited discussion, if not homage, in old and new critical reviews of American historical writing on European history.[1] Given the fact that through three generations—from the great literary historians of the Romantic or national era through the realist historians of the middle period to the "scientific" historians of the positivistic age—American historical writing appears to have developed and moved in numerous directions and to have encompassed a multiplicity of old and newer units of study, why was the history of modern and contemporary Italy so conspicuously neglected? Until the appearance of William Roscoe Thayer's huge work on Count Camillo Cavour and his times in 1911,[2] that is, practically to the close of an epoch in European and world history, no piece of genuine historical writing on the Italy of the *Risorgimento* era had been produced in America that could be said to have transcended the closed circles of literary impressionism, journalistic dilettantism, and, infinitely worse, of history without problems, of history, that is, either as essays in the "pedantic and pedestrian" minutiae of defective monographic treatments "lacking large views, conclusions, and generalizations" or as exercises in pseudohistorical and moralistic judgments on Italian history.[3]

[1] One looks in vain for any such reference in such old and new compendiums as James Westfall Thompson and Bernard J. Holm, *A History of Historical Writing* (2 vols., New York, 1958); G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (rev. ed., London, 1955); Alberto M. Ghisalberti, *Introduzione alla storia del Risorgimento* (Rome, 1942); Walter Maturi, *Interpretazioni del Risorgimento* (Turin, 1962); John Higham *et al., History* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1965).

[2] William Roscoe Thayer, *The Life and Times of Cavour* (2 vols., Boston, 1911).

[3] The phrases in quotation marks are drawn from Donald C. McKay, "Storici americani del Risorgimento," in Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, *Atti del XXXII Congresso di storia del Risorgimento (Firenze 9–12 settembre 1953)* (Rome, 1954), 238, in his brief characterization of the works of R. M. Johnston entitled, respectively, *Roman Theocracy and the*

The semivacuum of nineteenth-century historical writing on modern Italy resounds with eloquent silence on the problem it poses in practically all appraisals offered during the twentieth century of American historiography on the *Risorgimento*. During the less than a quarter of a century since the end of the Second World War, a few useful, brief studies have appeared, both in the United States and in Italy, that deal with the American historiography of the *Risorgimento,* yet none seem to contain a direct confrontation of that problem. Generally speaking, most of these pieces have tended to be either too generic or selective or too schematic or bibliographical, and most of them have been more or less inaccessible to the unenterprising student of American historiography.[4] Some of these studies, however, reveal extremely serious, often incisive, suggestive meditation by American scholars upon problems of Italian and American historiography, and, varying with author, purport, and occasion, they frequently punctuate substantive complexities and methodological subtleties of comparative history.[5] But strikingly common in all of them is the assumption that, before Thayer's *Cavour,* the *Risorgimento* was not a critically viewed, not even a truly distinct, unit of modern Italian history. As I have already suggested, the assumption is manifestly correct. But, again, what actually justifies that assumption or, in a different way, from what heuristically discoverable factors beyond or behind the obvious fact that gives it validity can its meaning be abstracted within the dual context of nineteenth-century American historical reality and consciousness and twentieth-century historiographical interpretation? Why was a formal American historiography of the *Risorgimento* destined to come so late, prove so discontinuous, and yet, despite its varieties, remain so recognizably national?

One may suppose that hypothetically these questions can be answered very simply. There are always trivial or obscure contexts within which the practical and theoretical vicissitudes of modern historical study may be ex-

---

Republic, 1846–1849 (London, 1901), and *The Napoleonic Empire in Southern Italy and the Rise of the Secret Societies* (2 vols., London, 1904). The other generalizations in my sentence refer, among others, to such larger or briefer pieces on modern Italy as had appeared in the United States before 1910. (See, e.g., William Roscoe Thayer, *The Dawn of Italian Independence* [2 vols., Boston, 1892], and "Cavour and Bismarck," *Atlantic Monthly,* CII [1909], 335–48; Andrew Dickson White, "The Statesmanship of Cavour," *ibid.,* XCIX [Mar., Apr. 1907], 290–304, 506–24.)

[4] For useful bibliohistoriographical reviews of much of the most recent literature, see Kent Roberts Greenfield, "La storiografia americana e l'Italia," *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento,* XLIX (Apr.–June 1962), 237–60; Charles F. Delzell, *Italy in Modern Times: An Introduction to the Historical Literature in English* (Washington, D. C., 1964).

[5] Among the most serious and thought-provoking are McKay, "Storici americani del Risorgimento," 234–41; H. Stuart Hughes, "Gli studi di storia moderna italiana in America," *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento,* XLV (Apr.–June 1958), 273–77. In a class apart is the masterly contribution by Kent Roberts Greenfield, "The Historiography of the Risorgimento since 1920," *Journal of Modern History,* VII (Mar. 1935), 49–67.

plained away. It is true, for instance, that during the nineteenth century both inside and outside estimable academic circles in the United States there was so serious and committed an interest in select aspects of Italian artistic and cultural history and a no less significant tradition of professional attention to Italian language and literature that favorably conditioned the production of some of the most distinctive critical work on the classics of the Italian creative imagination from Dante to Alessandro Manzoni.[6] But neither that cultural interest nor that literary tradition seemed to be convertible into other areas of professional labors. Certainly no institutionalization of Italian historical studies seems to have occurred in any American university; no seminars in modern European history were dedicated to the training of young scholars in modern Italian history. One of the last survivors of a vanishing race of genial amateur historians—Thayer—became the first methodical student of the central moment and figure of modern Italian history. But it was not by chance and temperament alone that Thayer had been a pupil and disciple of Charles Eliot Norton, himself the most eminent, refined and sophisticated, literary and cultural *italianisant* in America for more than a generation, but far from being an official member of the "scientific" circles of professional historians at Harvard University (1875–1897).[7]

On the other hand, if one adopts concepts of relativity, contingency, and subjective personality in so far as they appear to have displaced the traditional assumptions of objectivity, continuity, and universality of historical thought, a plausible explanation may be offered for the character of American historiographical labors in general, not merely those on modern Italy. But such an explanation is so all-encompassing that it might mean either too much or too little when applied to the concrete problem of the *Risorgimento* in American historiography. A generalizing principle so sweeping might and indeed does prove useful toward isolating differences within American varieties of approach to and interpretations of the *Risorgimento* after a historiographical tradition had begun to assume identifiable forms, but it would be of little help toward understanding why a particular structure of historical thought and practice emerged, assumed certain shapes, and

[6] For an excellent review of Italian linguistic and literary studies in America during the nineteenth century, see Joseph G. Fucilla, *The Teaching of Italian in the United States: A Documentary History* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1967), 26–180.

[7] See the sketch on Norton in *Dictionary of American Biography*, ed. Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (22 vols., New York, 1928–44), XIII, 569–72. On the occasion of his master's seventy-fifth birthday (Nov. 6, 1902), Thayer wrote to Norton: "Among all that Harvard did for me, your friendly interest, your teaching, your example, have counted for most with me. I am only one of the score and hundreds for whom you have done so much . . . as the benefactor through whom they learned *come l'uom s'eterna* . . . ." (See *The Letters of William Roscoe Thayer*, ed. Charles Downer Hazen [Boston, 1926], 119–20.)

moved in certain directions. For a historiographical tradition is not just created as such, perhaps not even by the most original historical mind of an age. However obscure and mysterious, the interaction between genius and ethos is a fundamental premise of historiographical originality.[8] If historical intelligence does not wish to be too lightly esteemed by being too easily satisfied, it must not allow the historian's craft to lose its soul either to a creeping self-engendered sterility or to the implacable hostility of outsiders ever eager and ready to attack history as the new dismal science of the twentieth century;[9] it must, therefore, ceaselessly, fearlessly pursue self-renewing understanding of the relationship between consciousness and culture, culture and history, the history of ideas and historiography.[10]

One of the major purposes of the second section of this essay is to present an interpretation of the substantive problems of what seemed to be—and, I believe, was—a significant aspect of American cultural experience during the nineteenth century. Those problems are dealt with in practice through an attempt to isolate, retrace, and describe those special features of American consciousness that, as the spiritual and intellectual constituent elements of a vision of a historical "world within world" (Italy and Europe), became the formative influence in the emergence, and the subtly persisting points of

[8] It is certainly not vain to ask whether the genius of Thucydides is conceivable in its unique manifestations if it is completely isolated or transferred from the ethas of the Hellenic world and the crisis of Athenian democracy, or that of Francesco Guicciardini from the crisis of politics and culture of Renaissance Italy, that of Leopold von Ranke from the postrevolutionary milieu of German Romanticism and the restoration system of European states, or, finally, that of Benedetto Croce from the problems of traditional philosophy and the culture of Posivitism and then the crisis of the liberal ethos in the twentieth century. Since the problem of the relationship between genius and ethos, history and culture, has methodological, if only analogical, pertinence to the conceptual problems of this essay, I have found useful the historiographical treatment of each of these great historians in the following works: on Thucydides, J. B. Bury, *The Ancient Greek Historians* (New York, 1958), 75–106, and Ferdinand Schevill, *Six Historians* (Chicago, 1956), 1–30; on Guicciardini, Vittorio De Caprariis, *Francesco Guicciardini dalla politica alla storia* (Bari, 1950), 7–24, and Felix Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini: Politics and History in Sixteenth-Century Florence* (Princeton, N. J., 1965), 236–70; on Ranke, Friedrich Meinecke, *Die Idee der Staatsräson in der neueren Geschichte* (Munich, 1957), 442–59, and Theodore H. Von Laue, *Leopold Ranke: The Formative Years* (Princeton, N. J., 1950), 21–32; on Croce, Carlo Antoni, *Commento a Croce* (Venice, 1955), 25–33, and Federico Chabod, "Croce storico," *Rivista storica italiana,* LXIV (No. 4, 1952), 473–530.

[9] For a sympathetic summation of the "indictment" against "history" made by "outsiders" from a variety of quarters but with a philosophical thread running from Friedrich Nietzsche to Norman O. Brown, see Hayden V. White, "The Burden of History," *History and Theory,* V (No. 2, 1966), 111–34. In referring to Brown, White says: "In *Life against Death* [New York, 1959], Brown offers the historiographical equivalent of the anti-novel; for he is writing anti-history . . ." (p. 128). Since White's article appeared before the publication of N. O. Brown's *Love's Body* (New York, 1966), it may be of interest to note that Brown's "anti-history" seems reducible to an extreme form of neovitalism. (See esp. the chap. entitled "Resurrection" [pp. 191–214].)

[10] For a basic bibliography of works dealing with these relationships and other problems, see *Generalization in the Writing of History,* ed. Louis Gottschalk (Chicago, 1963), 213–47, which is a "Bibliography of Writings on Historiography and the Philosophy of History," compiled by Martin Klein. From a growing literature, see one of the most recent, sustained, and organic works on philosophy, the history of ideas, and historiography in Pietro Piovani, *Filosofia e storia delle idee* (Bari, 1965).

reference in the development and general character, of a new historiographical tradition: American historical thought and writing on *Risorgimento* Italy during the twentieth century. Behind the historical work of Thayer and most of his successors (however close or distant, faithful or rebellious, these may be judged in reference to his premises, procedures, and judgments) there lay the unique experience constituted by the nineteenth-century American attempt at the discovery of Italy, without doubt one of the most exquisitely fascinating but incomparably ironical encounters between the mind of an "emergent" culture and the history of a classic civilization. Formalized American historiography on modern Italy was to inherit both the legacy of that momentous encounter and the burden of the pristine ahistorical response it elicited from the American mind to modern Italian reality. As will be detailed below, that response had ensued from the subtle, cultural dialectic that during the nineteenth century had strangely tended to pit a fixed American consciousness of Italy against a series of moving, changing realities in contemporary American, European, and Italian history. By its very nature that response had tended to impress itself as a sort of original character upon the spiritual understructure, the nonrational foundations, of American historical consciousness of modern Italy. The encounter itself, therefore, proved to be not just a passing episode but a crucial event, not merely a chronological prehistory but a psychological prelude, not a fleeting experience but an enduring thematic statement (no less impressive for its having been negative) of an original American vision of an unknown historical world, modern Italy—a world whose discovery had to be undertaken again and again in the course of the twentieth century.

Finally, some important conceptual questions should perhaps be treated in such an introductory summary of critical aims and substantive intentions as this section seeks to do. Those questions might be directly addressed to a particularization of the theoretical and methodological criteria synthesized or suggested in the preceding paragraphs. The requirement is, of course, legitimate, the desire to fulfill it quite strong, but the opportunity and practicality almost nonexistent at this point. It is sufficient here to reiterate that the conceptual framework adopted for this study of the problem of the American discovery of Italy in the nineteenth century has as its major but not exclusive points of reference a view of history as a function of cultural consciousness, and of historical methodology as a rigorous discipline but not a rigid science.[11] It is, however, not merely "spatial" economy but rather the essential *raison d'être* of this protohistoriographical under-

[11] See Gert Müller, "History as a Rigorous Discipline," *History and Theory,* VI (No. 3, 1967), 299–312.

taking that counsels the calculated risk of foregoing any further theoretical elaboration. As I have implied several times, the following section of this study may, I hope, be read both as a self-contained essay in American cultural history and as an elucidation, in practice, of a view of the potentialities (perhaps also of the limitations!) of cultural and intellectual history subsumed under a concept of historiographical hermeneutics.

Before the emergence of a full-fledged or clearly identifiable mode of American historical thought and writing on the *Risorgimento,* what may be rightly regarded as a particular, if not absolutely unique, style of cultural responses to the idea of Europe and to a special image of Italy had been eclectically molded through varieties of revealing expressions of a yet unstructured American historical consciousness, though not quite of a single-minded vision of the Old World.[12] Whatever other names they may accurately have acquired when political and social aspects are considered, the long American generation that lived from the definitive close of the age of democratic revolution to the eve of the Civil War corresponded, in essence, to a rich, myth-laden "Homeric Age" of American cultural history. Generally identified with a period of pristine innocence in American moral and intellectual history, the "Homeric Age" reached its heights vis-à-vis the Old World during the era of Romanticism in Europe and the pre-Cavourian phase of the *Risorgimento* in Italy.[13] The foundations of the

[12] The literature on these "responses" to both Italy and Europe has traditionally tended to be anthological and descriptive rather than analytical and critical, and it is, therefore, useful and sometimes valuable for illustrative rather than for strictly historical or historiographical purposes. Among the most interesting in the anthological category are: *The Discovery of Europe: The Story of American Experiences in the Old World,* ed. Philip Rahv (Boston, 1947), a pioneering and, in a way, model collection containing materials ranging from the European impressions of Benjamin Franklin to the "uses" of Europe in Henry Miller's writings; *The American in Europe: A Collection of Impressions Written by Americans from the Seventeenth Century to the Present,* ed. Frank McShane (New York, 1965); *Testimonianze americane sul Risorgimento,* ed. Elizabeth Mann-Borgese (Milan, 1961), offering in Italian translation a combination of nineteenth-century American impressions of Italy and pieces of American historical writing on the *Risorgimento.*

[13] Van Wyck Brooks, *Literature in New England* (2 vols. in 1, Garden City, N. Y., 1944), I, 460–77, discusses the "Romantic Exiles" and gives special attention to writers and artists in Italy; that discussion can now be seen as the scholarly prefiguring of the more "popular" but nonetheless fascinating treatment accorded to the same subject in *id., The Dream of Arcadia: American Writers and Artists in Italy, 1760–1915* (New York, 1958). A useful, if in places idiosyncratic, piece of original research is in Giuseppe Prezzolini, *Come gli americani scoprirono l'Italia* (Milan, 1933); the biographical data given by Prezzolini, and particularly the excellent bibliographical references (see esp. pp. 243–305), constitute a fine tool for elaboration of the story of Americans in Italy before 1850; certain obiter dicta and tendentiously political-ideological "anachronisms" do not perhaps really succeed in marring the book, and they are, at any rate, of different documentary interest in connection with the years of writing and publication of Prezzolini's work. One of the most recent descriptive-critical surveys on American travelers to Italy is Howard R. Marraro, "Viaggiatori americani in Italia durante il Risorgimento," *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento,* LIV (Oct.–Dec. 1967), 524–47. Largely based on a study of manuscript materials in the New York Public Library, Marraro's essay focuses upon the reactions to Italy during 1846–1847 by the publicist George Long Duyckinck, whose general

ethos of that age had incorporated an originally distant vision of Italian civilization, and they were gradually reinforced through a series of views, not always concordant, on nineteenth-century Italian culture and politics.[14] If, historically, a kind of fundamental consensus can be espied within that ethos, it lies less in the actual substance and forms than in the spirit, the wellsprings and motivating sources, of an almost totally novel American compulsion to seek out the ancient lymphs of American culture, of an American civilization yearning for self-determination and consciousness.

Throughout the "Homeric Age" it seems to have been that almost ineffable but quite efficacious spirit that launched a small, elect, and select band of Americans, the "happy few" from among the emerging leisure classes of the Atlantic seaboard and particularly from the New England intelligentsia, upon separate and uncoordinated but apparently commonly inspired journeys toward the discovery of Europe, within which one of the most intimate, secret or open, moving forces lay an almost irresistible quest for an "eternal Italy."[15] This, then, was the classic American era of the fortunate travelers, of the "passionate pilgrims," as Henry James later styled them, of new explorers of the homeland of Dante who set

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"response" is thus interestingly summarized: "Duyckinck becomes sad in his reports when the time to leave Rome approaches. As long as he goes round visiting monuments and other notable things, he is well satisfied, and [though] he believes that everything has been properly explored, all the churches visited, he was convinced that the museums do not lose their fascination after many visits. Then, on the other hand, he would start wishing that this was not his last visit to the city, and hoping that some day he would see again so many pretty things" (p. 540).

[14] At the conclusion of his book, Prezzolini (*Come gli americani,* 239–41), states that the Americans' voyages to Italy had served artistic and literary purposes; the "collective" function of the rather numerous "gruppo di italianizzanti," who, from 1820 to 1880 had gone to Italy, is thus summed up by Prezzolini: "In the meantime, that open-minded generation [of Americans] which had been harmoniously educated, unprejudiced, and richly endowed with human sympathy, had achieved an important function: it had discovered Italy for Americans." Whether that "discovery" was of an Italy as history or idea, past or present, or as "tourist attraction," is far from clear in that conclusion.

[15] See Paul R. Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims: Americans in Italy, 1800–1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 198–212, for an excellent discussion of the varieties of "meaning of Italy" for Americans of the "Homeric Age." In the preface to *Dream of Arcadia* (pp. ix–xiii) Brooks offers a quick survey of the attraction of Italy felt by outstanding European literary and artistic figures during the nineteenth century. Both for formal and substantive comparative purposes of contrast in "the meaning of Italy" for Americans and Europeans, see C. P. Brand, *Italy and the English Romantics: The Italianate Fashion in Early Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, Eng., 1957), esp. 9–25, 225–33; Giuliana Artom Treves, *Anglo-Fiorentini di cento anni fa* (Florence, 1953), 237–60 [see the English tr. by Sylvia Sprigge, *The Golden Ring: The Anglo-Florentines, 1847–1862* (London, 1957)]. On the most "passionate" European "pilgrim" to Italy during the period of the restoration, see Matthew Josephson, *Stendhal or the Pursuit of Happiness* (Garden City, N. Y., 1946), 401–56; Bruno Pincherle, *In compagnia di Stendhal* (Milan, 1967), 51–77, 147–205; *Album Stendhal,* ed. Vittorio Del Litto (Paris, 1966), a critical, iconographic jewel on Stendhal as an "Italian." See also *id. et al., L'Italie au temps de Stendhal* (Paris, 1966). For "realistic" impressions of Italy on the eve of and during the early stages of the revolutionary explosion of 1848 by an unusually perceptive and committed Russian "pilgrim" to Europe, see the version of the "Letters from the Via del Corso" by Alexandre Herzen, *Lettres de France et d'Italie (1847–1852)* (Geneva, 1871), 85–174, Letters V–VIII; on Herzen in Italy, see Martin Malia, *Alexander Herzen and the Birth of Russian Socialism* (New York, 1965), 365–68.

forth equipped with warm American clothes and sturdier moral fortitude against the perils of the journey. Usually they re-ensured themselves with charts of the cultural landscape through study of the classics, exposure to the language of the "Tuscan Poet," and lighter reading of his medieval and Renaissance "successors."[16] Thus a restricted but widening stream of literati and poets, artists and writers, young philosophers and students of history, restless dreamers and intellectuals, and bold adventurers flowed as if "backward" toward Europe and were "drawn to Italy by a common need for a spiritual background, for a sense of the past, for a gathering place made fertile by the creative life of centuries."[17] Their expectations were compounded of fears and hopes—fears that direct confrontation with the creatures of their dreams might bring disenchantment, and hopes that fulfillment would at long last reveal to them the primeval sources, the original fountainheads of their cultural and spiritual life. For under the guise of their seeking intellectual and literary experience, of engaging in sentimental and emotional experiments, of discovering the secrets of their poetic or aesthetic models, the best and most sensitive among them, the most committed and reflective among the "happy few," were perhaps in the depths of their souls unwittingly in search not of self-identity alone but of historical self-recognition and ethical self-definition.[18]

The voluminous and rich confessional literature—epistolary, diaristic, and novelistic—that ensued in the course of those journeys or, in due time, as bittersweet remembrances of things past conjures an almost inescapable impression that the collective compulsion behind the movement of the American intelligence of that era toward the discovery of the classic Italian world was essentially mythopoeic.[19] The impetus spurring the quest and the projection of self "outside," toward a sphere beyond its immediate cultural, spiritual, and religious horizons, were almost of necessity founded upon an initial grand act of faith: the fundamental belief that, however strange and complex it might at first appear, there was "out there," in Italy, an immutable reality that was Italian life and civili-

[16] See Fucilla, *Teaching of Italian*, 60–76, on the "Italophilia of the American Intellectual Elite during the Nineteenth Century." For other aspects of American Italophilia, see Angelina LaPiana, *La cultura americana e l'Italia* (Turin, 1938), 138–53, 260–81, 196–324; Angelina Lograsso, *Piero Maroncelli* (Rome, 1958), 191–238; for interesting new materials on Maroncelli's relations with the Nortons and other Italianate families at Cambridge, see Eugene S. Scalia, "Figures of the Risorgimento: Ignazio Batolo, alias Pietro Bachi and Pietro D'Alessandro," *Italica*, XLII (Dec. 1965), 311–57.

[17] *Travelers in Arcadia: American Artists in Italy, 1830–1875*, ed. Edgar P. Richardson and Otto Wittman (Detroit, 1951), 14.

[18] Cushing Strout, *The American Image of the Old World* (New York, 1963), 62–63; Baker, *Fortunate Pilgrims*, 3–4.

[19] Brooks, *Literature in New England*, I, 467: "Italy, meanwhile, was the goal of those who sought, without benefit of Argos, the golden fleece of the past."

zation, a reality singularly permanent, continuous, and stable, and, therefore capturable through the active, albeit not clearly defined, fusion of objective contemplation, distanced but no longer distant, with subjective, direct but not critical, intellectual engagement.[20] The reality of an "eternal Italy" seemed to be almost automatically translatable into the inner language of apparently deeply rooted values and self-evident "facts," whether they encompassed profound convictions or superficial judgments upon what the American pilgrims regarded as the unchanging palpability of the Italian character and mind, the unmoving substantiality of Italian culture, the unregenerate condition of Italian society, the ineffectuality of Italian politics, and, withal, the matchless beauty of Italian poetry. For all these things, in turn, tended to be considered as necessary fixtures of a unique structure of life and culture, somehow integrally related and yet abstractly divisible to serve individual psychological requirements and collective self-justification. They appeared amenable to understanding, but only as objects of some sort of immediate experience, itself precariously balanced upon a scale more or less identified as observation, on one side, and participation,

[20] On American novelists, scholars, sculptors, painters, and poets in Rome through the 1840's, see Brooks, *Dream of Arcadia*, 13–109; Natalia Wright, *American Novelists in Italy. The Discoverers: Allston to James* (Philadelphia, 1965), with particular attention given to J. F. Cooper, Nathaniel Hawthorne, William Dean Howells, and Henry James; Madeleine B. Stern, "New England Artists in Italy, 1835–1855," *New England Quarterly*, XIV (June 1940), 243–71, reconstructs the life and work in the American artists' "colony" in Rome through a fine portrait of the sculptor Thomas Crawford. For more direct contemporary impressions of artists in Italy, see Henry T. Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists: American Artist Life Comprising Biographical and Critical Sketches of American Artists: Preceded by an Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of Art in America* (New York, 1870), containing sketches on Washington Allston, Samuel F. B. Morse, Henry Inman, Horatio Greenough, Hiram Powers, Crawford, and Frederick Church; for the earlier period, see Charles Edwards Lester, *The Artists of America* (New York, 1846). In a documentary class all its own is Henry James, *William Wetmore Story and His Friends: From Letters, Diaries, and Recollections* (2 vols., Boston, 1904), which, in a sense, contains as much James as Story, but is nevertheless indispensable for an understanding of the pre-Jamesian American-Roman artists' life, with the studio, salon, and circle of acquaintances of Story as the fields of observation and reconstruction. Hawthorne's running critical commentaries on his exposure to Italy, particularly Rome and Florence, seem more sophisticated and introspective than most others, and yet perhaps they are not truly different in kind but only in self-conscious emphasis and tonalities from those of his predecessors. (See Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Passages from the French and Italian Note-Books* [London, 1883], 50–506, for his visits of 1858 and 1859.) See the fictionized *divertissement* issued during the Civil War by Henry P. Leland, *Americans in Rome* (New York, 1863), which, in the preface (pp. 3–5), states: "While we in America, with our war and work, are fighting along stoutly in the advance guard of the world, let us not forget that there has been a past, by which we may still profit much, though it be only by measuring from it our own onward course. Such a standard may be found in Rome, which is to the present day the most living specimen of a rapidly vanishing, yet cultivated, age. In this great city and its territories, old times still weep and smile as they did in fairy tales and pictures, until the present age of steel came to improve the world. She is all of the past, and full of lessons, even if they be only of warning for the future. . . . In a few years these noticeable traits must vanish, and Rome, no more the prolongation of the Middle Ages will be the capital of a nation earnestly striving with the present, and rapidly assuming its characteristics." For insights into the guides' own minds and angles of vision on what they describe for others, see two of the most popular Anglo-American guidebooks of the nineteenth century: W. W. Story, *Roba di Roma* (3d ed., London, 1864), and Augustus J. C. Hare, *Walks in Rome* (2d American ed., New York, 1872).

on the other, not completely alien to "real life," but definitely detached from history, and, at any rate, almost equally capable, with unquestioning certainty, of being either momentarily accepted in the parts or ultimately rejected as a whole. Thus it was that an Italy almost without secular vicissitude and beyond historical time loomed on the horizons of the American spiritual discovery of the old European world.[21] As Henry Adams remembered it, "Italy was mostly an emotion and the emotion naturally centred in Rome."[22]

James Fenimore Cooper seemed to be crystallizing the sentiments of most, though not all, of the first "passionate pilgrims" to Italy when he wrote in one of his "letters" from Rome in 1838:

> On my mind, the comparison between Rome as she now is, and one of our own [American] large towns, has irresistibly forced itself on all such occasions. New York, for instance, and the Rome of today, are absolutely the moral opposites of each other; almost the physical opposites, too. One is a town of recollections, and the other a town of hopes. With the people of one, the disposition is to ruminate on the past; with the people of its converse, to speculate on the future. This sleeps over its ruins, while that boasts over its beginnings. The Roman glorifies himself on what his ancestors have been, the American in what his posterity *will* be. . . . An American, here, had occasion to prefer a request to this government [of Rome], and the functionary addressed was told by a Roman that the applicant would be sustained by his countrymen. "What is America but a people of ships!" was the haughty answer. What is a ship to a cameo?[23]

Similar expressions were abundant, recurrent, almost commonplace among Cooper's fellow travelers in Italy. But there were also unexpected variations, counterpoints of discordance, upon the same themes.[24]

Less than a year before Cooper's contrast between Rome and New York was etched, an even larger juxtaposition, whose undertones were to become more dominant during the following decade, was descried between Europe and America. George Ticknor was without doubt one of the most sophisticated cultural journalists of his day, a new literary proto-

[21] James, *William Wetmore Story*, I, 8–9: "They [the Americans] came from a world that was changing, but they came to one likewise not immutable, not quite fixed, for their amusement, as under a glass case; and it would have quickened their thrill to be a little more aware than they seem generally to have been that some possible sensations were slipping away forever, that they were no more than just in time for the best parts of the feast, and a later and less lucky generation might have as many regrets as surprises. . . ."

[22] Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (New York, 1931), 89.

[23] James Fenimore Cooper, *Travels and Excursions in Various Parts of the World: Interspersed with Numerous Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants. Italy* (2 vols., London, 1838), II, 199–201.

[24] See contemporary impressions of Italy in J. T. Headley, *Letters from Italy* (New York, 1845), 222–24; Robert Turnbull, *The Genius of Italy* (New York, 1849), 257–87, for rather strange views on the Church in Italy at the time of Vincenzo Gioberti, Pio Nono, and Gioacchino Ventura. For a contrast of the reactions of Cooper and Hawthorne, see Strout, *American Image of the Old World*, 88–106; on the "duality" of Hawthorne's "response" to Italy in general and Rome in particular, see Wright, *American Novelists in Italy*, 138–67.

type of the American cosmopolite whose European friends and correspondents included the great lights of the day in literature, politics, and poetry, in political science and philosophy, within and beyond cultural and academic communities.[25] Thus at some time or another during his three sojourns in Europe he had lunch, dinner, or supper, interviews, visits, or correspondence with Johann von Goethe, Alexander von Humboldt, Augustin Thierry, Alphonse de Lamartine, Claude Fauriel, François Mignet, Comte de Montalembert, William Wordsworth, and Lord Byron. In Italy the circle of his acquaintances included, among others, Manzoni, Silvio Pellico, Gino Capponi, G. B. Niccolini, Ludovico Di Breme, Federico Confalonieri, Principessa di Belgioioso, young Cavour, and the old Prince, Klemens von Metternich.[26] And it was the old Prince, not the young aristocratic rebels, who gave the American an insight into the "secret" of Europe, and in a letter dated from Rome, February 22, 1837, he later thus divulged his reactions to his friend Richard H. Dana:

> You ask me if I cannot tell you something to comfort an old Tory. I cannot. What Prince Metternich, the Phoenix of Tories, said to me over and over again, in a curious conversation I had with him last summer, is eminently true to my feelings, and would be, perhaps, still more so to yours, if you were traveling about as I am,—*"L'état de l'Europe m'est dégoûtant."* The old principles that gave life and power to society are worn out; you feel on all sides a principle of decay at work, ill-counteracted by an apparatus of government very complicated, and very wearing and annoying. The wheels are multiplied, but the motion is diminished, the friction increased; and the machinery begins to grow shackling at the moment when the springs are losing their power, and when nothing but firmness can make it hold out. Indeed, almost everywhere, when you come in contact with the upper classes of society,—where in these governments power naturally resides,—you find weakness, inefficient presumption, and great moral

[25] For sketches on Ticknor's life and activities, see Brooks, *Literature in New England,* I, 73–88; Fucilla, *Teaching of Italian,* 84–91. For an illuminating sustained essay within a special American context, see Martin Green, *The Problem of Boston* (New York, 1966), 80–101.

[26] During his longer European stays, Ticknor was in Italy from September 1817 to April 1818, September 1836 to July 1837, and October 1856 to May 1857; see George Ticknor, *Life, Letters, and Journals* (2 vols., Boston, 1876), in which, for his relations, meetings, visits, or correspondence with some of the outstanding Italian personages of the *Risorgimento,* the following references have been found of major interest: I, 160–62, 172–76, concerning Breme, Confalonieri, and Cesare Balbo, whom Ticknor saw in 1817–1818; II, 38–86, for encounters with Balbo, Pellico, Manzoni, Niccolini, Capponi, and Madame Lenzoni during 1836–1837; and II, 352–53, for a visit with Cavour. Writing from Turin on May 22, 1857, to William W. Greenough who was in Boston, Ticknor sketched this portrait of the Piedmontese statesman: "Yesterday I had another phasis [*sic*] of the changes of the times. I dined with Count Cavour, the most distinguished of all Italian statesmen at this moment, and the man who, since 1852, has been doing so much to infuse new life into Sardinia. I was surprised to find him so young, only forty-seven, and not looking above forty; a round, pleasant-faced gentleman, who, to judge from his countenance and manner, has not a care in the world. His conversation is such as you might expect from his appearance, lively and agreeable; his views of everything on which he talked strikingly broad, and not, I think, always very exactly defined; and his general air natural but not impressive. His eye is very quick; it reminded me of Lord Melbourne's, which was the most vigilant I ever saw. Nothing seemed to escape the Italian Premier, and I think he not only saw but heard more than anybody else in the room. . . ." (*Ibid.,* 352.)

degradation; and when you come to those who are the real managers of the world, you find them anxious about the future, temporizing, and alternately using an ill-timed spirit of concession or an ill-timed severity. The middling class, on the other hand, is growing rich and intelligent, and the lower class, with very imperfect and unpractical knowledge, is growing discontented and jealous. The governments are everywhere trying to associate to their interests the wealth of the middling class, and to base themselves on property. But this is revolution. Personal interests will not work like the principle of respect to superiors, and submission to authority as such, and it remains to be seen what will be the result of the experiment in a population so corrupt in its higher classes, and of so low a moral tone in almost all, as that which is now found on the Continent, and, with some qualification, I must add, in England also. In the United States we have the opposite defects; but I greatly prefer them. We have the great basis of purity in our domestic life and relations, which is so broadly wanting here. We have men in the less favored portions of society, who have so much more intellect, will, and knowledge, that, compared with similar classes here, those I am among here seem of an inferior order of creation. Indeed, taken as a general remark, a man is much more truly a *man* with us than he is elsewhere; and, notwithstanding the faults that freedom brings out in him, it is much more gratifying and satisfying to the mind, the affections, the soul, to live in our state of society, than in any I know of on this side of the Atlantic.[27]

It would perhaps be difficult to come upon a passage more revealing of perceptiveness and willful exaggeration, realism and mythologizing, misapprehension and self-assuredness, and of the inner play of contradiction between insight and attitude, outlook and judgment, anxiety and self-satisfaction, attraction and rejection, than is contained in Ticknor's views on the state of the Metternichian world and on the nature of the revolution emerging from the economic and social bosom of old Europe. The American discovery of Europe was evidently quite early something different and more complicated than had been glimpsed through the classic grand tours of another day.

Looking back at this new American voyage of discovery and at the era during which it occurred, when they were both definitely over, that uniquely keen and demythicizing observer, Norton, tended to reduce the scope and to transcribe the meaning of the "Homeric Age" into Emersonian terms. Writing on September 13, 1870—the date is indeed noteworthy—from Siena to his good friend and confidant at Harvard University, the mathematician Chauncey Wright, Norton thus synthesized the waning of an American era:

"Best" men are indeed few in either country [America and England], but their influence is very strong on great numbers, and frames a temper which by degrees becomes a nation. No best man with us has done more to influence the nation than Emerson,—but the country has in a sense outgrown him. He was the friend and helper of its youth; but for the difficulties and strength of its man-

[27] *Ibid.*, 74–75.

hood we need the wisdom of the reflective and rational understanding, not that of the intuitions. Emerson (like most original men of the intuitive order) is in some sort the contemporary of his youth. He belongs to the pure and innocent age of the Presidency of Monroe or John Quincy Adams,—to the time when Plancus was Consul,—to *the day of Cacciaguida;* he is as remote almost from us as Plato himself . . . [italics mine]."[28]

"The day of Cacciaguida" is an unforgettably striking and evocative phrase.[29] It tells much of the American vision of Italy during the era of the early *Risorgimento* by suggesting its conversion into a function of the Emersonian ethos that inspired the American journey of discovery of Europe. For that vision of pre-Cavourian Italy by pre-Civil War Americans was, in fact, part of something larger and deeper in the shaping of a new American conscience: it partook of a phase and a stage toward the molding of American self-consciousness as a civilization.[30] Vigorously attempting to delineate for itself its own special features, that emergent civilization peered, so to speak, into the mirrors of its European past to find a cluster of commonly based values it believed it could easily recognize, in the hope that the reflection, unaffected by time and vicissitude, would or might accelerate progress toward the configuration of an indigenous cultural self-identity, but without cutting the roots of a spiritual continuity with Europe.[31]

Thus a prestigious encounter took place. What immediately resulted during the "Homeric Age" was neither automatic recognition nor instant rejection, but rather the beginning of a new America-Italy cultural dialectic. Now, if continuity is posited as a seamless bond of all cultural history, there is hardly any question that this dialectic may be seen as a thematic reprise of an older dialogue between the American mind and the idea of Europe.[32] There is, of course, much truth in this view. Yet it seems undeniable that during the first half of the nineteenth century the introduction into the America-Europe dialogue of new themes and their variations of a cultural, intellectual, and moral nature—as against the powerful political and economic strains and the social and ideological contrast

[28] *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton,* with Biographical Comment by His Daughter Sara Norton and M. A. DeWolfe Howe (2 vols., Boston, 1913), I, 399.

[29] For Dante's encounter with Cacciaguida and the latter's remembrances of wondrous things past in his Florence, see Dante, *Divine Comedy, Paradiso,* Canto XV, lines 20–147; Canto XVI, lines 16–153.

[30] See Daniel J. Boorstin, *America and the Image of Europe: Reflections on American Thought* (New York, 1960), 19–39; see also the perceptive summation on "the ambiguity of the moral structure" of Hawthorne's *The Marble Faun* in Strout, *American Image,* 106.

[31] For a strikingly original view on the American quest for "self-identity," see R. W. B. Lewis, *The American Adam: Innocence, Tragedy and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago, 1955), 1–5.

[32] On the eighteenth-century idea of Europe in America, see Strout, *American Image,* 6–50. Carlo Curcio, *Europa: Storia di un'idea* (2 vols., Florence, 1958), I, 438–59, deals chiefly with the European idea of America as a point of reference for the prerevolutionary "idea of Europe."

emerging between Europe and America during their common age of democratic revolution[33]—tended to change, indeed to transform, the essential character of the older historical encounter and, therefore, rendered it now something almost completely novel, subtler, evanescent in form but not less significant in substance.[34]

Terminological issues aside, the new America-Europe encounter appeared to pit an intimate American uncertainty concerning cultural self-consciousness against an almost irresistible ideal image of Europe. It thus became nearly inevitable that, given the equally elusive poles of the new dialogue, what had begun as an idyll in the American quest for Europe—as an idea, not as a palpable reality—was bound to end in shock and disenchantment, in a dramatic, if peaceful, inner new dissension. Rich and fascinating as the American discovery of Europe was, it developed into a tense situation that left practically the whole first generation of "passionate pilgrims" perplexed and disoriented, facing new and acute, truly existential, dilemmas. Confronted with an irrefragable choice between a direct, real, vital engagement, the engagement of mind to unfettered understanding of either past or present or of both at the same time, and insouciance, the American intelligence and conscience of the Emersonian era found themselves pursuing the myths and ghosts of the European past and the fictions and masks of the European present. Paradoxically, therefore, the very logic of the situation could not but lead the "European" function of the American mind, however expansive and open, flexible and democratic it might be or believe itself to be at home, exactly as Alexis de Tocqueville had acutely perceived during that early period, to prove itself incredibly conservative when it came face to face with a Europe in subtle flux and then sudden change, a Europe that it had not come to discover.[35]

With a few outstanding exceptions, most of the American pilgrims ultimately found themselves recoiling before a new Europe in the making below its restoration structure, and they were affected by profound shock and surprise when the revolutionary Europe of 1848–1849 burst in their face.[36] For neither the sort of sympathetic understanding, which the views

[33] See R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760–1800* (2 vols., Princeton, N. J., 1959–64), II, 509–46.

[34] See Henry Steele Commager, *The Search for a Usable Past and Other Essays in Historiography* (New York, 1967), 24–27.

[35] See Strout, *American Image*, 50–56, for a brief appraisal of the reactions of Americans in Europe to the Revolutions of 1848.

[36] On reactions in the United States to the European revolutions, see Arthur J. May, "The United States and the Mid-Century Revolutions," in *The Opening of an Era: 1848. An Historical Symposium*, ed. François Fejtö (new ed., New York, 1966), 204–22. On the postrevolutionary period, with particular reference to the attempted transatlantic connections between American and European "democrats," see Merle M. Curti, "'Young America,'" *American Historical Review*, XXXII (Oct. 1926), 34–55; Joseph Rossi, *The Image of America in Mazzini's*

expressed by Cooper and many of his lesser literary confreres on timeless Italy and eternal Rome had rendered almost prototypical, nor the brilliant boutades, which Ticknor and a few other American frequenters of the European beau monde of culture and politics had aimed with apparent equal irony against the corrupting influence of conservatism and revolution in Metternichian Europe, seemed now to have accurately captured or reflected the inner springs of the complex realities of contemporary Europe.[87] Though intelligence, powers of observation, and a kind of intellectual commitment were not less, there was no American Tocqueville among the early "passionate pilgrims" to Europe. As will be pointed out below, Norton came perhaps closest to being such an observer of Europe as Tocqueville had been of America, but at a later time, in different circumstances, and with a temper of mind and a style of reflection that made him resemble not Tocqueville but that other "good European," Jakob Burckhardt.[88] For the elect band of the earlier American explorers of Europe, who had apparently come so well equipped with native realism, built-in pragmatism, and literary preparation, their European present proved even more elusive than a recapturing of the European past. Thus the period 1848–1849 in Europe became a veritable catalyst for the "Homeric" or Emersonian generation. The American cultural adventurers of that generation had set out upon a quest for permanent values of mind and

Writings (Madison, Wis., 1954), 75–104, on Giuseppe Mazzini, Lajos Kossuth, and "Young America" from 1850 to 1853.

[87] In their European travels both Cooper and Ticknor had, each in his fashion, sensed the general political problems of the 1820's and 1830's, but, on the whole, they responded to them from contrasting but equally "abstract" poles. Cooper, *Travels and Excursions*, II, 308–18, emphasized the need for "consolidation of all the Italian States . . . to direct the present energies to reforms, rather than revolution; though many here will tell you the former are to be obtained only through the latter. . . ." Ticknor, *Life, Letters, and Journals*, II, 230–42, corresponded from Boston with friends in Europe—among whom were Sir Charles Lyell, George T. Curtis, George S. Hillard, Horatio Greenough, and Prince John of Saxony—during 1848–1849; the theme with variations in most of Ticknor's letters of that period was that Europe was undergoing a "social revolution" that threatened "the cause of Christian civilization and the paramount interests of our common humanity." In the same letter of July 30, 1848, to Prince John of Saxony, Ticknor (*ibid.*, 236) continued: "We feel, to be sure, comparatively safe ourselves. Our people are young; we have room enough and bread enough for all; free institutions are the only ones that, even in colonial days, took root here; we have been gradually and thoroughly educated to them, and every year manage them with more practised skill; in short, from our vast local advantages and from the whole course of our history as a nation, a republic is a *truth* here; but what is it in France, or what can it be either there or in Germany?"

[88] Before 1860 neither Norton nor Burckhardt seems to have revealed any direct or sustained interest in contemporary history. (See Norton, *Letters*, I, 64–80, 136–78; *The Letters of Jacob Burckhardt*, ed. Alexander Dru [New York, 1955], 107–33.) On the other hand, Tocqueville may be said to have been one of the most acute contemporary "historians" of his Europe, as observer and participant; his interest and work in French social history and his attention to contemporary European life and politics, not pure intellectual curiosity, were among the underlying motivations that led him to study democracy in America. (See Commager, *Search for a Usable Past*, 186–89; see also Alexis de Tocqueville, *The European Revolution and Correspondence with Gobineau*, tr. and ed. John Lukacs [Garden City, N. Y., 1959], 5–8; *The Recollections of Alexis de Tocqueville*, tr. Alexander Teixeira de Mattos, ed. J. P. Mayer [New York, 1959], xiii–xxii.)

culture in a European world of which they believed themselves spiritual children. The quest waned and then ended when the pluralism and mobility of European life and politics overtook them and shook to the foundations their image of Europe, their vision of an almost changeless, timeless structure of European civilization.[39]

The Italian Revolutions of 1848 and, in particular, the Mazzinian experiment of the Roman Republic in 1849 became unique functions of the shattering of that American vision of Europe through their bringing to an irreversible end the pristine phase of the American "dream of Arcadia" in Italy.[40] While most of the "passionate pilgrims" had already dispersed or had retired in isolated wonderment before the sudden mobility of Italian life, a few of them quickly banished the last remnants of their American "innocence" and made themselves ready to face and accept the blows of Italian reality. Soon they at least glimpsed values in the Italian revolutionary struggle that none of their predecessors had dreamed of in their visions of Italian culture and politics exactly because most of them had become as if transfixed by their nostalgia for a classic Italian past or by their contemplation of contemporary Italian life as mere choreographical pageantry.[41] Thus those Americans who held fast before the onslaught of

[39] James, *William Wetmore Story,* I, 6: "The dawn of the American consciousness of the complicated world it was so persistently to annex is the more touching the more primitive we make that consciousness; but we must recognize that the latter can scarcely be interesting to us in proportion as we make it purely primitive." Brooks, *Literature in New England,* I, 462–63: "In days to come, this feeling [the "yearning" to return home], which Hawthorne had begun to share,—a feeling that unsettled him, indeed,—was to play a part in American culture as marked as that of the 'wanderers' of Pushkin's Russia. The most exotic writers, hitherto, had had the unquestioning instinct of homing pigeons, which brought them back from every foreign journey. The great tradition of the Revolution, the feeling of the national destiny, the prevalence of the classical studies that always made the mind its 'own place,' had rooted them in the Western soil. They had felt that they were building a civilization; and, in fact, it was not until after the Civil War that the great diaspora began and with it the tradition of deracination. . . . Then this yearning for an older homeland rose in people's minds and men of sensibility flocked to Europe, not to study, as in former days, and carry their spoils back, like traveling Romans, but as if they could reascend the river of time." While I agree with the substance of both James's characterization of "the dawn of the American consciousness of the complicated world" and Brooks's beautiful description of the American "wanderers' " yearning for "home," I believe, as I suggest in the text, that the first important moment of crisis for both that "consciousness" and that "instinct" had already occurred by mid-century. (See the implicit treatment of this problem by Strout, *American Image,* 51–56.)

[40] See Baker, *Fortunate Pilgrims,* 188–92, on the disinterest of Americans in Italy in Italian "political events"; for interest at "home," see Howard R. Marraro, *American Opinion of the Unification of Italy, 1846–1861* (New York, 1932), 28–47; Roy Merel Peterson, "Echoes of the Italian Risorgimento in Contemporary American Writers," *PMLA,* XLVII (Mar. 1932), 220–40.

[41] Though referring to the late 1860's and not to the immediate post-1849 period, the following transcription of James's reaction to Italy's national movement seems to capture the essence of the preceding decade's American response: "Henry was in Italy during the last months of the *Risorgimento.* The older, divided Italy, however, has a way of transcending the immediate political ferment and upheaval and facing unperturbed the parade of centuries." The "transcription" is by Leon Edel, *Henry James: The Untried Years, 1843–1870* (Philadelphia, 1953), 303.

Italian historical vicissitudes and then sought to participate, each in his way, in a truly vital experience of the Italian people, saw their quest of Italy fulfilled and doubly rewarded. For them, an immediate and active revaluation of myth as a function of history and of history as a function of life became impelling and realizable. Even more important, what had occurred throughout Europe and Italy in 1848 and what they saw with their own eyes in the siege of Rome, in the heroic resistance of the Roman Republic of 1849, brought back with full force a consciousness of the tragic element in human action and ineluctable historic vicissitude. For, contrary to Norton's later emphasis on the lack of the "wisdom of the reflective and rational understanding," what the Emersonian "age of innocence" appeared to have truly lost was the sense of the tragedy lurking in human history.

The surviving documents of what, within its limitations, may be seen as an Italian prelude to the great American crisis of conscience, which, on a stupendously vaster basis and in tragic dimensions, culminated in the American Civil War, are few but extremely revealing and symbolical. Theodore Dwight's account of the Roman Republic and the siege of Rome of 1849 is doubtlessly archaic and tendentious, but it captures the mood of almost phrenetic expectation roused and messianic fervor stirred in certain American Protestant quarters over the second (not yet the last) "fall of the temporal power."[42] On the other hand, one cannot but still read in wonder and fascination the eyewitness descriptions of the last days of the Roman Revolution contained in Story's diary of 1849.[43] Above all, the impressions of Italy and the confessions testifying to the intimate metamorphosis Margaret Fuller was undergoing during 1847–1849, as recorded in her letters to special friends and in the economical entries of her diaries, particularly in those running from January 1 to March 15,

[42] See Theodore Dwight, *The Roman Republic of 1849, with an Account of the Inquisition and the Siege of Rome and Biographical Sketches* (New York, 1851), a rather fanatically "angry" book, practically exhorting Protestant Americans and all who professed to love "intelligence, virtue, truth, and the Bible" to undertake a kind of crusade to liberate Italy from "Jesuits, inquisitors, and Romish ecclesiastics"; with all its tendentiousness and distortion of facts, Dwight's book reveals an immediacy, a fervor, a commitment to the Mazzinian cause that elicits respect. For an authoritative interpretation of the religious questions raised by the Roman Republic of 1849, see Giorgio Spini, *Risorgimento e Protestanti* (Naples, 1956), 265–71, 322–35; see also Rossi, *The Image of America*, 31–46; Howard R. Marraro, "The Religious Problem of the Risorgimento as Seen by Americans," *Church History*, XXV (Mar. 1956), 41–62. On official American relations with the Papal State, see *United States Ministers to the Papal States: Instructions and Despatches, 1848–1868*, ed. Leo F. Stock (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1933).

[43] James, *William Wetmore Story*, I, 93–167, for entries, excerpts, summaries, and commentary on the diaries of Story's Italian experience during the Revolutions of 1848–1849; particularly revealing are the entries in the diary under the dates of Apr. 30, May 3, 5, 13, 19, and June 18, 1849. On the relations between James and Story, see Leon Edel, *Henry James: The Conquest of London, 1870–1881* (Philadelphia, 1962), 89–94, 109–10, 123–25.

1849,[44] do lead one to believe that she, now, during those agonizing Roman days of glory and doom, having become the Marchesa Ossoli, might well have written, as she herself attested, not just another chronicle of Italian political calamities but a full-fledged, finished piece of contemporary history under the title of "History of Italian Liberation."[45] Yet it was not to be. On that fearful day of July 1850, fate intervened when she was practically in sight of home and friends, off Fire Island, to destroy Fuller, her husband, their child, and the first manuscript of an American history of the *Risorgimento* before its Cavourian phase.[46] One cannot help but feel that the homage done in later days to the memory of Fuller by Emerson himself as well as other "survivors" of his own youthful "age of innocence" was a sort of vicarious participation on their side, a belated self-experiencing, in the tormenting but creative transmutation not only of "talk into life," as James put it, but of ideas into values, of myth into history, such the "haunting Margaret-ghost" continued to exemplify through the "realistic" American generation that came after her tragic death.[47]

Now it is clear that the major responses of American sensibility to Italy during the era of the *Risorgimento* had been substantially Arcadian. For most Americans, who had set out toward the "discovery of Europe," that sensibility had become almost the sole guide in their quest for an "eternal Italy," and, by generously converting mythopoeic compulsion into a rider of vital as well as intellectual necessity, it had led them to reduce the real Italy to an evanescent backdrop of a cultural *commedia* in which the "idols" of their minds were assigned the principal roles. Thus that American sensibility of the "Homeric Age" nursed the beginning of a long but

[44] The basic source on Fuller in general and on her Italian and Roman sojourn in particular is still R. W. Emerson *et al., Memoirs of Margaret Fuller* (2 vols., Boston, 1884), of which II, 208–70, contains excerpts from her diaries and letters from Rome running from May 1847 to July 8, 1849. These should be supplemented with the more critical addenda published by Leona Rostenberg, "Margaret Fuller's Roman Diary: Documents," *Journal of Modern History*, XII (Dec. 1940), 209–20, containing entries from Jan. 1 to Mar. 15, 1849. See also Leopold Wellisz, *The Friendship of Margaret Fuller D'Ossoli and Adam Mickiewicz* (New York, 1947), 12–39, for correspondence between Fuller and Mickiewicz from Feb. 1847 to Sept. 1849, interesting for the bond they saw between Italian and Polish national and cultural questions.

[45] On Fuller in Rome in 1848–1849, see Mason Wade, *Margaret Fuller: Whetstone of Genius* (New York, 1940), 215–53, 279–85; Madeleine B. Stern, *The Life of Margaret Fuller* (New York, 1942), 419–80; Arthur W. Brown, *Margaret Fuller* (New York, 1964), 101–10; and Rossi, *Image of America*, 47–61.

[46] Faith Chipperfield, *In Quest of Love: The Life and Death of Margaret Fuller* (New York, 1957), 287–301, for an account of the tragedy. On the question of the lost manuscript, see Wade, *Margaret Fuller*, 280–84.

[47] See James, *William Wetmore Story*, I, 130–31. In the foreword to *Margaret Fuller: American Romantic: A Selection from Her Writings and Correspondence*, ed. Perry Miller (New York, 1963), ix–xxviii, Miller offers an elaboration on his view that "the publications of Margaret Fuller constitute a gallant, albeit a minor, chapter in the history of America's quest for self-realization."

strange and ironical love affair between youthful intellectual America and ancient cultural Italy, but it also led the American mind to miss then and for a long time thereafter an equally promising, intimate, and fruitful encounter with a "young" modern Italy then stirring and struggling under the burden of a traditional system of politics and an archaic organization of society. However otherwise antithetical they may have been in their means and ends, all of the outstanding and active leaders of the Italian national revolution—Gioberti no less than Mazzini, Carlo Cattaneo no less than Cavour—were in fundamental agreement that the *Risorgimento* had to destroy a great part of the foundations and structure of the classic order of things in Italy.[48] Even those among the early and later "passionate pilgrims" to Italy, like Cooper, Washington Irving, Ticknor, Hawthorne, and Norton himself before 1860, who enjoyed the company and confidences of either the conservative or the liberal ruling classes or both, of either the moderate-radical or the revolutionary Italian elites, only vaguely and sentimentally or momentarily and reluctantly attempted to comprehend this. Fuller had been the shining exception: her friendship with Mazzini had not remained a mere emotional experience; rather, it had become an intellectual bridge leading from "talk to life," from contemplation to commitment, from sentimental experience to sustained action. Perhaps she alone, in her fashion, intimately sensed the exquisite irony that had in fact brought it about that what for her contemporaries, indeed for herself before her Italian journey, in America had been the paradisiacal Emersonian "day of Cacciaguida," for Italians had corresponded to the infernal, restless, and defiant day of Farinata.[49]

Similar antinomies, a similar irony, had prevailed in the larger American voyage of discovery of Europe. Here, too, what the shock of the European Revolutions of 1848 had not fully achieved in bringing new recognition of history at work in Europe was destined to be differently experienced at home through to the bitter end of the American Civil War. Thereafter, when the American intelligentsia once again returned to Europe, it was slowly to discover that there, too, history had taken its toll upon the phantasms of the past: Europe, had also been transformed during the two decisive decades 1850–1870 by forces that were at the same time similar and yet subtly different from those that had led to the mortal collision

[48] Full critical documentation would take us far afield here, but for incisive historical characterizations of the four leaders mentioned, see Luigi Salvatorelli, *Pensiero e azione del Risorgimento* (new ed., Turin, 1963), 91–111, 116–19, 139–45, 150–55, 167–69. For an interpretation of the interaction between the thought and action of the four "demiurges" of the Italian national revolution, see A. William Salomone, "Statecraft and Ideology in the *Risorgimento*," *Italica*, XXXVIII (No. 3, 1961), 163–94.

[49] Dante, *Divine Comedy, Inferno*, Canto VI, line 79; Canto X, lines 32–136.

between two social and cultural worlds in a bloody and perhaps truly irrepressible conflict whose denouement changed the face and the spirit of old Emersonian America.[50] Thus it was that, after 1870 and through still another generation, journeys toward the rediscovery of Europe were once again undertaken by the survivors from among the older as well as by the new "passionate pilgrims." But now, though the physical routes were the same, logbooks registered different cultural itineraries and different spiritual destinations. For, excluding those internal exiles, who, like Walt Whitman and Herman Melville, followed on other tracks a nonconformist tradition of vital disengagement from Europe as culture or history, a tradition earlier exemplified by Henry David Thoreau, Edgar Allan Poe, and, ultimately, by Hawthorne, most of the new American pilgrims to Europe during the latter part of the nineteenth century became polarized into two major wings. On one side stood the old (and some of the newer) professional "culturalists" led by the surviving old poets from Cambridge (Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, William Cullen Bryant, James Russell Lowell) and then, each in his own special fashion of subtlety and irony, by Howells and Mark Twain.[51] At the other pole stood, on special heights,

[50] A generation ago Robert C. Binkley, *Realism and Nationalism, 1852–1871* (New York, 1935), 181–84, made a rather sensational revisionist case in presenting the thesis that during the 1850's and 1860's Europe and America underwent a common crisis of "federative polity," equally traceable to the emergence of "irresistible forces of nationalism," "artfully created by the extraordinary political gymnastics of two makers of history [Cavour and Bismarck]"; "when the nationalist historians commend these achievements to the conscience of the world there is present in their writings, explicitly stated or implicitly assumed, the ethic of success and survival, where Darwinism and *Realpolitik* meet. . . ." Suggestive and attractive as it may be judged, it seems to me that Binkley's work should be carefully correlated not only with more cautious, if less genial, research and historiographical work on his major fields of comparative reference for his generalizations—that is, the *Risorgimento*, the *Reichsgründung*, and the American Civil War—but also with the world and European political moment and the American ethos of the brilliant historian's "response" as given through his reinterpretation of nineteenth-century European politics. In the light of the post-1945 wave of revisionist historical literature on the *Risorgimento* issued in Italy and abroad—Marxist, ultraradical, neodemocratic, or Catholic as the currents that contributed to it may have been—it has not been noted, as far as I know, that Binkley was the first full-fledged American revisionist of the liberal historiographical interpretation of the *Risorgimento*. (See the critical review of that revisionist historical literature in A. William Salomone, "The *Risorgimento* between Ideology and History: The political Myth of *rivoluzione mancata*," *American Historical Review*, LXVIII [Oct. 1962], 38–56.) Maturi, *Interpretazioni del Risorgimento*, 580–87, rightly called attention to the fine monographic studies of Howard McGaw Smyth as significant contributions to "American revisionism of the history of the *Risorgimento*." The first two of Smyth's articles on Piedmontese constitutional and diplomatic questions in 1848–1849 appeared almost contemporaneously with the publication of Binkley's book. (See Howard McGaw Smyth, "The Armistice of Novara: A Legend of a Liberal King," *Journal of Modern History*, VII [June 1935], 141–82, and "Austria at the Crossroads: The Italian Crisis of June 1848," in *Essays in the History of Modern Europe*, ed. Donald C. McKay [New York, 1936], 63–78.) There is no mention of Binkley in Maturi's bibliocritical work.

[51] For anthological presentations of the consciousness and expression of these American men of letters vis-à-vis the problem of Europe and America, past and present, see *The Shock of Recognition: The Development of Literature in the United States by the Men Who Made It*, ed. Edmund Wilson (New York, 1955), a precious, illuminating documentary collection for the study of American literary, cultural, and spiritual life in the nineteenth century; *Dis-*

the dominant trinity of divided spirits constituted by Norton, Adams, and James. It is to Norton alone that both the economy and the central purport of this essay permit us to call special attention.[52]

Norton was one of the most complex and sensitive minds to emerge from the social and intellectual aristocracy of nineteenth-century Boston. For some time, particularly in the heyday of "scientific" and political historiography, Norton's name tended to be relegated to chronicles of classical and humanistic teaching at Harvard University during the last quarter of the century, to monographs on studies of Dante in America, and to accounts of social journalism and literary criticism. During the post-1945 decades in particular, Norton has reawakened curiosity and genuine interest not only as an eminent participant in the cultural "problem of Boston"[53] but also as a figure of major importance in the emergence of an American humanism, and, as such, he has found an excellent biographer.[54] And yet Norton's personality and quality of mind, not to speak of his academic activity at Harvard and of his influence, were such that study of him does not seem to be fully exhausted. Those who have written of Norton's participation in the continuing American pilgrimage to Europe during the second half of the nineteenth century have given a more or less conspicuous place to his professional interests in classical, literary, and aesthetic history.[55] It does not seem to me that he has been as clearly etched as he deserves as the social and cultural critic and practical contemporary "historian" of Italy and Europe during the crucial years of

covery of Europe, ed. Rahv, 173–228; *Testimonianze americane,* ed. Mann-Borgese, 171–274. On the fate of the "search for a usable past" in Emersonian and pre-Civil War America, see Commager, *Search for a Usable Past,* 9–24; Loren Baritz, *City on a Hill: A History of Ideas and Myths in America* (New York, 1964), 206–208.

[52] At Harvard University Norton was the "master" or "friend" of James and Adams. (See Brooks, *Literature in New England,* II, 250–56, on Norton's teaching at Harvard and particularly on his "colleague" Adams; *ibid.,* 276–95, on James; on Norton and James, see also Edel, *Henry James: The Conquest of London,* 77–78, 278–81; on James and Italy, see *id., Henry James: The Untried Years,* 279–336, and *Henry James: The Middle Years, 1882–1895* [Philadelphia, 1962], 193–237, 320–27, 347–53, 366–79; see also LaPiana, *Cultura americana e l'Italia,* 296–324.) For the best direct writing of James on Italy, in many cases amounting to exceptionally acute social and cultural commentary on post-*Risorgimento* developments, see his *Art of Travel,* ed. Morton D. Zabel (Garden City, N. Y., 1958), 313–425; and the rich, beautifully edited collection of Jamesian pieces in *Italian Hours* (Boston, 1909).

[53] Green, *Problem of Boston,* 122–41, for a chapter on Norton as "the aristocrat in a plutocracy."

[54] Kermit Vanderbilt, *Charles Eliot Norton: Apostle of Culture in a Democracy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), vi–viii, who presents Norton as "a significant critic of his age—and ours . . . ," not "an original thinker but . . . an independent and sceptical mind" whose "restless intellectual waverings as the country grew and changed, together with his highly varied experience with men and movements, reflect in miniature a complex epoch in American history."

[55] Fucilla, *Teaching of Italian,* 97–99, gives a summary portrait of Norton as Dante scholar; Brooks, *Literature in New England,* II, 250–54, and *Dream of Arcadia,* 122–34, on Norton as a student of medieval art and on his friendship with John Ruskin; Vanderbilt, *Charles Eliot Norton,* 119–41, on Norton as teacher at Harvard.

transition from the European quasi-cosmopolitan era of pre-1860 to the national period that broke in full force after 1870.[56] It is to those aspects of Norton's attitudes and of his world view that, with Italy as a major point of reference, took special shape and found new expression on the basis of Norton's direct, close observation, literally on the spot in Europe during the unique transitional years 1868–1873, that I wish to call attention.

I am fully aware, of course, that, methodologically, by isolating those aspects of Norton's views on Europe during these years it is as if one were to study Burckhardt's complicated mind only through his reflections on contemporary history as found in his lectures and correspondence of the same period.[57] Conscious as I am of the dangers of making any analogies, particularly between two such individuals and minds, I have nevertheless been struck by certain impressive similarities of attitude and expression in Burckhardt and Norton as, from different angles of vision, they turned their gaze upon the same field of observation—the great historic change that they both saw as implicit in the dark moment of crisis of European life, politics, and culture during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. No less important, it has seemed revealing and suggestive that two such men, who apparently never knew each other, separated as they were by the worlds of biocultural differences as the Basel of Burckhardt and the Boston of Norton, by such contrasting intellectual interests as Burckhardt's in the civilization of the Renaissance in Italy and Norton's in the world of Dante, and, not least, by such diametrically opposed philosophical "traditions" or influences as were represented by the Schopenhauerian view of "the world as will and idea" and the Emersonian ethos of "innocence" and optimism, should have strangely arrived at a common vision of the crisis of values stirring below the structure and behind the façades of late nineteenth-century cultural and spiritual history.[58] Only

[56] *Ibid.*, 103–16, refers to Norton's return to Europe in 1868–1873 as a "European Interlude: Disillusionment" and notes the growth of a critical cultural attitude in him during those years.

[57] A close comparison of the tone and style and frequently the very substance of the epistolary "responses" expressed by Norton and Burckhardt during the years 1868–1872 proves quite strikingly suggestive toward comparative intellectual history. (See Norton, *Letters,* 302–514; *Letters of Jacob Burckhardt,* ed. Dru, 133–57.) In order to place these similarities or analogies within their proper biocultural contexts, see Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation* (Boston, 1948), 179–94; Vanderbilt, *Charles Eliot Norton,* 142–84. Whether Norton could have become the subject of such a monumental study as Werner Kaegi's *Jacob Burckhardt: Ein Biographie* (3 vols., Basel, 1947–56) is a different matter; it is somewhat difficult to imagine such an analysis as is contained in Volume III, 647–769, of Kaegi's work, on Burckhardt's writing of *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860), even for the best of Norton's medieval and Dante studies. At such a point all similarities end.

[58] For brief, comparative purposes, see James Hastings Nichols' introduction to Jakob Burckhardt, *Force and Freedom: Reflections on History* (New York, 1943), 3–76; Vanderbilt, *Charles Eliot Norton,* 225–34. On the different philosophical influences of Arthur Schopen-

this brief notation of the intriguing coincidence can, unfortunately, be made here.

Norton's travels to Europe and particularly to Italy had been relatively frequent and always rich in experience before 1860.[59] But it has perhaps not been sufficiently emphasized that his interests, reactions, and responses of the pre-1860 visits underwent so profound a change in degree during his return and stay in Europe after the American Civil War that his organic outlook, indeed almost his very *forma mentis,* seems to have undergone a transformation in kind. If his correspondence from Europe during the period 1868–1873 reveals no less fascination on Norton's part with the European intellectual and Italian cultural worlds, it also shows him turning them, or his impressions of them, almost with inescapable fixity, into functions of his concentration upon a new search for meaning in the interplay of social, national, and spiritual forces he saw at work throughout Western Europe in general and in post-Cavourian Italy and Bismarckian Germany in particular. Thus Norton seems to have undergone his own special shock of recognition. Social and intellectual aristocrat that he was, he had perhaps hoped to elude the harsh realities emerging in post-Civil War America.[60] He had returned to Europe only to be almost immediately impressed that the Continent and Italy, too, themselves were undergoing a similar process of historic metamorphosis that found common expression in a similar political, social, and cultural phenomenon—a process of "Americanization"! Norton punctuated his impressions of this "process" in a letter to Miss Meta N. Gaskell written from Florence on December 21, 1869:

Florence has greatly changed since we were here together. . . . I hate Americanism out of America. Here all that reminds me of Imperial Paris or of Democratic New York is detestable, out of harmony with the nature of the land and with the

hauer on Burckhardt and of Emerson upon Norton, it is interesting to note that, during the crucial years 1868–1872, while the Swiss historian referred to the German thinker as "the philosopher" of the present and future par excellence, Norton, on the other hand, underwent an almost total, definitive disenchantment over Emerson as a mere survivor of his youthful "innocence." (See *Letters of Jacob Burckhardt*, ed. Dru, 144, 145, 147, for the Swiss historian's references to Schopenhauer as "the philosopher.") In Norton, *Letters,* I, 502–14, the entry in his journal dated May 15, 1873, describes Norton's voyage back to America on the *Olympus* in the company of Emerson, and the disillusionment is made inescapably, almost brutally, clear: "Never before in intercourse with him had I been so impressed with the limits of his mind. His optimistic philosophy has hardened into a creed, with the usual effects of a creed in closing the avenues of truth. He can accept nothing as fact that tells against his dogma. His optimism becomes a bigotry, and, though of a nobler type than the common American conceit of the preeminent excellence of American things as they are, has hardly less of the quality of fatalism. To him this is the best of all possible worlds, and the best of all possible times. He refuses to believe in disorder and evil. . . ."

[59] See *ibid.,* 26–202, for the scope, focus, and direction of his interests before 1860.

[60] See *ibid.,* 284–301, for certain reactions during the three years immediately following the end of the Civil War.

spirit of the associations that belong to it. . . . Constitutional government of the English type is not a panacea. Is it quite certain that it is the ultimate decree of absolute wisdom for England herself? For my part I should think poorly of mankind if they did not before long discover some better political arrangements than any that have been tried as yet. But Italy has taken a Constitutional system, as a sick man takes a physician's prescription, and she is very uncomfortable from its effects. . . .[61]

Two weeks earlier he had been much more elaborate and emphatic, from a different angle, in giving his impressions to his confidant at Harvard, Chauncey Wright:

You can study national traits in doors and windows and balconies,—national traits in individual instances,—you can read history in battlements and chimney-pots, or romance in arcades and terraces. There used to be even more of this expressiveness and historic interest in the great Italian towns than there is now,—for the prosperity, so-called, of the last few years has developed the commercial and trading taste—the taste of New York and Paris,—the taste for what is fashionable and fresh and showy,—so that many old walls have been torn down and whitewashed, many precious bits of art or character sacrificed, that the new generation may have the satisfaction of displaying its new wealth in the style which emulates that of Chicago and St. Louis. Italy in losing tyrants, in becoming constitutional, in taking to trade, is doing what she can in spoiling her charm. The railroad whistle just behind the church of Santa Maria Novella, or just behind the Campo Santo at Pisa, sounds precisely as it sounds on the Back Bay or at the Fitchburg Station,—and it and the common school are Americanizing the land to a surprising degree. Happy country! Fortunate people! Before long they may hope for their Greeleys, their Beechers, and their Fisks! . . .[62]

Now for Norton all this was happening to Italy in a new period of grave world crisis since the "degradation" of cultural values in different measure but with similar force was a process common to the United States and Europe. The end of the old cosmopolitan culture, with its freedom and refinement and "beauty," had been consummated through a variety of erosive and destructive, but human and secular, demonic forces that, on the most obvious historic level, were exemplified by the successful fusion of industrial capitalism, political nationalism, and utilitarian liberalism. His critical and, in some places, caustic and almost totally negative reactions to the making of a national constitutional state and the establishment of a protocapitalistic regime in Italy amounted to an implicit castigation of the Liberal-Cavourian denouement of the *Risorgimento* process itself. It seems that for Norton Italy had to lose its "tyrants," but not just to erect a national constitutional government of "the English type"!

[61] *Ibid.*, 372–73. From Rome, in May 1870, Norton had this to report to his friend Ruskin on the problem of change and permanence: "Rome retains something still of its prerogative of immobility,—and resists with steady persistency the flood of 'American' barbarism and of universal materialism which is desolating Europe. . . ." (*Ibid.*, 384.)

[62] Norton to Wright, Dec. 5, 1869, *ibid.*, 369–70.

On September 24, 1860, he had dispatched from Newport to his English friend, the poet Arthur Hugh Clough, his almost dithyrambic exultation over the Garibaldian epos then at its climax in the liberation of the Italian south:

The progress of Garibaldi is just now even of greater interest to us than that of our own election campaign. It is a fine thing to be living in times which can produce such a man, and in which such events as those in Italy are taking place. History was never more interesting than now. The new birth of Italy is already the grandest event of the modern period. It gives one fresh hope for the future,—and whatever disappointments may follow, enough has already been done to confirm faith and to make patience easy. . . .[63]

There was a decade later perhaps some justification but certainly irony incarnate in Norton's revision of his "faith" in the cause of the "new birth of Italy" and of his "patience" with history. Now the disenchantment appeared already consummated. Neither would Norton have any longer agreed with the sense, if perhaps still with the spirit, of the appraisal of the *Risorgimento* made even earlier during that remote eponymous year 1860 by the young compatriot, Adams, who, in later days, was to be somewhat close to him at Harvard, when he had written practically from the midst of Garibaldi's camp:

For us Americans, all these Italian troubles reduce themselves simply to a single process, by which one more of the civilized races is forming itself on the ground that we have always stood on, and taking up as its creed the same list of ideas that we have always declared to be the heart and soul of modern civilization. . . .[64]

After the American Civil War Norton was infinitely less certain than Adams was to be in much later days as to whether "the heart and soul of modern civilization" really lay with the way and the wave of liberal Europe and national Italy. On this account, even before the end of that eventful and fateful decade of the 1860's, Norton saw the future in very dark, almost Burckhardtian, terms:

The future is very dark in Europe, and to me it looks as if we were entering on a period quite new in history—one in which parties will divide, and from which

[63] *Ibid.*, 210.

[64] *A Henry Adams Reader*, ed. Elizabeth Stevenson (Garden City, N. Y., 1959), 19–20. Adams had gone to "interview" Garibaldi in Sicily in the midst of the expedition of the Thousand and had met him at Palermo on June 9, 1860; on June 15, 1860, Adams was in Naples, from where he sent the second dispatch to the Boston *Courier*, which published both letters on July 10 and 13, 1860 [they were reprinted in the *American Historical Review*, XXV (Jan. 1920), 241–55]. Looking back upon that critical year of the *Risorgimento* Adams wrote: "At that moment, in the summer of 1860, Garibaldi was certainly the most serious of the doubtful energies of the world; the most essential to gauge rightly. Even then society was divided between the banker and the anarchist. One or the other, Garibaldi must serve. Himself a typical anarchist, sure to overwhelm Europe and alarm empires bigger than Naples, his success depended on his mind; his energy was beyond doubt. . . . In his own eyes Garibaldi might be a Napoleon or a Spartacus; in the hands of Cavour he might become a Condottiere; in the eyes of history he might, like the rest of the world, be only the vigorous player in the game he did not understand. . . ." (Adams, *Education*, 94–95.)

outbreak after outbreak of passion and violence will arise, will no longer be political but immediately social. Everywhere in the lower classes,—that is, in the labouring classes and those below them,—not merely a spirit of discontent exists, but a more or less distinctly formulated opposition to existing social institutions and arrangements. In Italy, just as in Switzerland, Germany, France, and England, there is complaint about division of property, talk of rights of labour, of rates of wages, and other such matters, no longer in the calm style of professorial political economy, but in the heated discussions of conventions of workingmen, and committees of trade societies. Much talk is helpless enough,—vague, wild, and ignorant to the last degree,—but not the less dangerous for that. Some of it is wrong, full of abstract sense, and quite unanswerable from the point of view of one who believes in and aims at the ultimate greatest good of the greatest number. It is all interesting not so much as an expression of what, alas! we know only too well, the wretchedness of the poor, as of what they desire, believe in and hope for, as affording glimpses of what they imagine to be the true social state, of an ideal at which they aim. Whether our period of economical enterprise, unlimited competition, and unrestrained individualism, is the highest stage of human progress is to me very doubtful; and sometimes when I see the existing conditions of European (to say nothing of American) social order, I wonder whether our civilization can maintain itself against the forces which are banding together for the destruction of many of the institutions in which it is embodied, or whether we are not to have another period of decline, fall, and ruin and revival, like that of the first thirteen hundred years of our era. It would not grieve me much to know that this were to be the case. No man who knows what society at the present day really is, but must agree that it is not worth preserving on its present basis. . . .[65]

Norton's impressively disenchanted view of Europe contained in this passage and others like it was expressed on the eve of that decisive European year, 1870. What seems truly new and intriguing in it, besides the emphatic reiteration of familiar attacks on materialist currents of thought and utilitarian philosophy, are the references to the discontent among "the labouring classes and those below them," to the "distinctly formulated opposition to existing social institutions and arrangements," and, finally, to "the heated discussions of conventions of workingmen." Despite the cultured phraseology and the generalization of facts and ideas it contains, it is worth noting that, contrary to some possible rapid impression, there is indeed a world of difference between the way Norton notices and writes of these phenomena and the abstract reference made to revolution by Ticknor a generation earlier.[66] There seems hardly any

[65] Norton to Wright, Dec. 5, 1869, Norton, *Letters*, I, 371–72.

[66] "I have little heart to write of the actual [Franco-Prussian] war. You will know before this reaches you whether Paris is besieged or not. The prospect of this—of the long train of miseries that it opens—makes me very heavy-hearted. A siege of Paris means, I fear, protracted anarchy and a new *terreur* in France." (Norton to Wright, Sept. 13, 1870, *ibid.*, 401.) For other, recurring, comments on European men and events from Jan. 1870 to Oct. 1872, see *ibid.*, 373–419. For two of the latest and best treatments of the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune, see Michael Howard, *The Franco-Prussian War: The German Invasion of France, 1870–1871* (London, 1962); Alistair Horne, *The Fall of Paris: The Siege and the Commune, 1870–1871* (London, 1965).

question that, given the man's social and cultural awareness, his perceptiveness and depth of feeling, and the range of his new interests, Norton had come to know of and to give fearful attention to the rising forces of European socialism during the era of the First International. The names of the most important social revolutionaries of his day in Europe, and certainly not that of Karl Marx, do not appear in Norton's published correspondence. Yet it does not seem too bold to guess, on the basis of internal evidence, implicit reference, and inference, that Norton was directly aware if not of the specific names or the particularized identities of the demiurges of the European social revolution—even the professionals, the police and their agents, sometimes had trouble identifying lesser figures within the varieties of revolutionary movements during that period—at least of the doctrines, methods, and "aims" of the major movements.[67] A person with an intelligence and curiosity such as Norton's could not be in the Florence or Siena of the late 1860's and, for that matter, in any other important city of Italy and Europe, without becoming more than vaguely conscious that new, radical, revolutionary ideologies were abroad, as they so patently were, among the "labouring classes and those below them." Norton was possibly one of the first new or returned American pilgrims to Europe—other than those Americans who had official interest in or connection with some of the transnational revolutionary movements —who consciously registered the preliminary tremors of what many from among the old conservative and the new liberal ruling classes in Italy, Germany, France, and England, to say nothing of the Central and Eastern European areas, feared as some sort of brewing social convulsion, of an incipient, if not too precisely definable, "revolt of the masses."[68] This convulsion loomed even more ominously because, through the very vagueness of its contours, organization, and objectives, it tended to be translated into an insidious mystery, if not an organic conspiracy, as it became darkly reflected in the mirrors of social fears, even more clouded over, in 1870–1871, by grave national and international crises. Thus it was that Norton pre-emptively voiced not merely his own but, in a sense and in his fashion, the uncertainties and fears of some of the European political classes when he wrote of an emerging threat to the entire scheme of

[67] From a vast old and new literature, the following works dealing with the period of the First International are most useful for their emphasis, although from different points of view, upon the Italian aspects of the revolutionary movements, ideologies, and activities, from 1864 to 1872: Leo Valiani, *Storia del movimento socialista* (Florence, 1951), 117–47, 173–240; Aldo Romano, *L'Unità italiana e la prima Internazionale, 1861–1871* (Bari, 1966).

[68] See Federico Chabod, *Storia della politica estera italiana dal 1870 al 1896: Le premesse* (Bari, 1951), 325–454, for a masterly analysis of "order and freedom" in Italy and Europe following the close of the national revolutions and the social ferment they had brought in their train by 1870–1871.

"existing social institutions and arrangements," and, therefore, conservative and liberal, aristocratic and bourgeois, national and cosmopolitan.[69] Before the great crisis of 1870–1871 was over, the "vague" specters of Blanquism, Bakuninism, and Marxism had indeed become flesh on the social stage of Europe.[70]

The eschatology of doom in Norton's correspondence of these years is remarkable in itself, but even more so because of the fact that, after 1870, when the Franco-Prussian War had run its dreadful course and the Paris Commune had fallen in its bloody and tragic denouement, Norton, again like Burckhardt during the same period, discovered still another elemental source for the dreary fate that had overtaken Europe through war and, now, peace—Germanism.[71] By the fall of 1871, when the war was over and the great fear of social "terror" had been subdued, Norton felt as if he had come upon the core, the germs and symptoms, of a new European spiritual "sickness" that would not be so easily or quickly banished. Now not only the French convulsions shrank before it but the "Italian troubles" paled into petty annoyances as he crossed the Alps on his way to Germany. As he wrote John Ruskin immediately after reaching "the other side" in July 1871: "It was with a homesick sinking of the heart that I left Italy."[72] On November 17, 1871, writing, quite properly from Dresden, to his friend G. W. Curtis in the United States, Norton confessed his new secret:

> The contrast in the effect of Italy and Germany on one's feelings in respect to life is curious. In Italy one feels as if one had had experience, had known what it was to live, had learned to know *something* if very little, and could at least enjoy *much*. Here, on the contrary, one is convicted of inexperience and ignorance at every turn, everybody is hard at work learning and knows already a vast deal, and you are forced to begin to go to school again with the sense of having much lost time to make up for, and of the impropriety of enjoyment unless the pleasure is united with instruction. So *we* are all hard at work here,—and shall return home knowing a few words of German, and the simpler principles of the science of harmony. . . . It seems to me that what has been attained [in Europe] is rather external uniformity than essential unity; and that if much good has been gained, much has also been lost. One would desire to look forward to the time, but it is so distant as to be out of range of vision, when all that is precious and

[69] On the repercussions of the Commune, particularly in Italian liberal, democratic, and Mazzinian quarters, see Nello Rosselli, *Mazzini e Bakounine* (Florence, 1938), 279–98.

[70] For detailed new studies on the Italian aspects of the social revolutionary forces, many of which found their centers of action in Florence during the period corresponding to Norton's stay at Villa Spannocchi and at Bellosguardo, see, esp., Elio Conti, *Le origini del socialismo a Firenze (1860–1880)* (Rome, 1950); Gastone Manacorda, *Il movimento operaio italiano attraverso i suoi congressi (1853–1892)* (Rome, 1952), 48–75; Richard Hostetter, *The Italian Socialist Movement: Origins (1860–1882)* (Princeton, N. J., 1958), 122–211.

[71] On the end of old Europe subsumed under the historical impact of victorious Bismarckism and hegemonic Prussianism after 1870–1871, see Chabod, *Storia della politica estera*, 61–177.

[72] Norton to Ruskin, undated letter, Norton, *Letters*, I, 406.

delightful in the varieties of individual development should have a new growth out of the rich monotonous level of human unity. But in Germany we no longer philosophize on such matters, and we trouble ourselves little concerning any questions but those of which the solution admits of immediate and practical application. The German has been surfeited with metaphysics and ontology till he has taken a disgust to them. Nothing that has lost material value pleases him. Ideas he despises; facts are his treasure. The change in the spiritual temper of Germany is surprising, but one sees that it is to be accounted for in part as a natural reaction against the over-tension of the intellectual faculties in the attempt to solve the insoluble, and to make ropes out of sand—and partly as the result of the splendid display of the virtues of fact, of practical training, of thorough positive drilling, during the last war. Having led the world in the regions of abstractions, Germany now proposes to lead it in that of realities. . . .[73]

For Norton it seemed as if the historic vise had been tightened on both sides upon the life and spirit of Europe. Coming from different social and moral directions, the material Americanization and the spiritual Prussianization of Europe appeared to be working to the same end: the agony of a classic civilization. Norton, the American aristocrat of culture whose complex and antinomic system of values was essentially humanistic, the superb student and commentator of Dante, had become the keen observer and critic of an emerging era of "transvaluation of values" in European and American civilization.[74] Tension filled and polarized as it came to be between the positive liberal-humanistic inclinations of the intellectual aristocrat and the negative stance of the cultural critic, Norton's world view had involved him, before his return to America, in rearing a spiritual citadel of resistance against the major historic currents of his age—materialism, individualism, utilitarianism, Positivism, scientism, industrialism, capitalism, and socialism. His new sustaining "faith" appeared now and for a long time to come to be rooted upon his exposure to the varieties of American and European history whose burdens he consistently sought to repudiate by holding fast to a fundamentally cosmopolitan vision of culture and politics. All that he had seen and contemplated had aroused in him an almost irrepressible antagonism to the "external uniformity" and internal sterility of those nineteenth-century movements in Europe that had spelled the definitive end of the universalism that his beloved master, Dante, had yearned for in *De Monarchia*.[75] Before

[73] *Ibid.*, 410–12.

[74] Vanderbilt, *Charles Eliot Norton*, 185–216, on the "Intellectual as Critic."

[75] Though from all appearances and the evidence in his vast bibliography, as reconstructed by Vanderbilt (*ibid.*, 243–53), Norton did not write any sustained exegetical work on *De Monarchia*, all that he seems to have assumed concerning the historical underpinning of Dante's masterpiece bespeaks an implicit acceptance of Dante's dualistic universalistic vision. Norton confessed: "The 'Divina Commedia' is not only the crown of the religious achievement in Italy, —but its close. It opens the way to scepticism,—and Petrarch comes sentimentally dawdling, and Boccaccio jesting, down the road, with the whole tribe of unbelievers behind them. . . ." (Norton to Ruskin, Dec. 29, 1872, Norton, *Letters*, I, 451.)

long he saw even some of his best friends forsake the ideal "vision."[76] No wonder that in his fits of cultural despair Norton as much as cried out during those last days of old Europe that he desired to see preserved amid the ruins some spiritual island upon which one might resist the internal barbarization of Europe. For him, and for new pilgrims who followed him, that "island" could only be Italy. Early in January 1871 Norton wrote to Gaskell:

> I have been living mainly on Italian Chronicles and Cinquecento biographies. How this people kept any spark of sweetness and charity and humanity alive through the burnings and massacres of the middle ages and through the wanton wickedness of the Renaissance, must always be a matter of wonder. And now, if one knows how to live with them, they are the sweetest people on earth. If I ever come back, may I be born Italian. . . .[77]

The American "dream of Arcadia" would be pursued again through another generation, but, despite appearances, never as before the great divide of 1860–1870. The European and Italian historical passage from a post-Romantic to a neorealist culture and from a quasi-cosmopolitan (and, paradoxically, still provincial) to a national (but ironically trans-European) structure of politics was irreversibly achieved during that decade, and there was no return. During the Emersonian "age of innocence," which, in a suggestive sense, had corresponded to the Mazzinian era of the *Risorgimento,* the American idea of Italy had strained to emerge from the half-conscious attempt to recapture the classic past as a fixed model of perfection. In their quest, the first "passionate pilgrims" had engaged in a flight backward, away from Italian realities that they bravely but vainly sought to translate into the content of their "dream." The idyll had been shattered by the Revolutions of 1848–1849. Thereafter, when the brief, painful moment of acute crisis, rather than remaining an isolated episode, had almost in-

[76] In a letter dated June 15, 1870, Norton thanked Ruskin for a copy he had sent his American friend of his "Inaugural Lecture" at Oxford the previous February. In the light of what Ruskin had told his learned audience about England's national and colonial-imperialist "mission," Norton's comment reveals, among other things, the profound gulf that had already opened between the two friends' vision of contemporary nationalism and the requirements of world order. Norton subtly reproached Ruskin for the latter's succumbing to the new forces of destruction: "With what seems to me a too narrow patriotism I should quarrel. I believe it better, a higher ideal, to endeavour to make one's nation only *prima inter pares,* and not to encourage that spirit of jealous superiority which has been, as I read history, the curse of Greece and of England alike. Make England beautiful and strong, but believe that she can be neither beautiful nor strong, unless side by side with her the other civilized powers and countries grow beautiful and strong also. England cannot be selfishly saved." (Norton to Ruskin, June 15, 1870, *ibid.,* 389.) It is interesting that much later Bertrand Russell wrote that Ruskin's "lecture, in particular, had importance as an inspiration to Cecil Rhodes, who came up to Oxford shortly after its delivery, and regarded it as expressing the guiding principles of his life." (*Freedom and Organization, 1814–1914* [new ed., New York, 1962], 408.)

[77] Norton to Gaskell, Jan. 2, 1871, Norton, *Letters,* I, 404.

evitably turned into the long attrition of the age of the European national revolutions and the era of the American Civil War, the shock persisted as a pervasive and profound scission in the American conscience. The tendency on the part of the returning or new dispassionate pilgrims to Europe and Italy then lay in the opposite direction: toward a kind of escape beyond those European realities that now seemed to resemble too closely the harsher features of the "age of cynicism" in America itself.[78] For some of the most representative old and new pilgrims, among them Norton, Adams, and James, a cathartic projection of self occurred, which, in their case, redeemed cultural despondency into fruitful intellectual activity and artistic creativity. And yet even in their sustained reactions, however different they actually were, there was inescapable evidence that a radical transformation had changed the pristine American ahistorical response to Italy into an essentially negative, almost antihistorical, attitude toward modern Europe and, therefore, toward contemporary Italy and its epochal moment, the *Risorgimento*.

During the last decades of the nineteenth century and beyond, the American consciousness of modern Italy appears as an emblematic function of new inner conflict, of the crisis of the American conscience which, whatever practical optimism it may have engendered for the future, immediately resulted, for sensitive sectors of the American intelligentsia, in a pessimistic vision of the past as unrecoverable even as an ideal, and of the present as unacceptable as "ultimate" reality. At the dawn of the twentieth century neither the apotheosis of "history-as-science" nor the hegemony of "history-as-progress" succeeded in transforming cultural disenchantment into spiritual expectation. During the "age of cynicism" in America, Italy was metamorphosed into mythos—an "island" of resistance to hold and to pit against the dark vortex of historic forces that had shaken and continued to change the foundations of both old Europe and new America. Thus the idea of Italy had come full circle between flight and escape, between idyll and mythos. With all its contradictions and tensions, that circle of consciousness became a persistent cultural premise, a psychological prehistory and spiritual prelude at the same time, of a distinct and yet recurring historic experience—the postrevolutionary encounter between Europe and America of which the nineteenth-century

[78] From a vast historical literature on the "age of cynicism," see Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (New York, 1954), 164–85; Charles and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (new ed., 2 vols. in 1, New York, 1942), II, 166–210. For a new kind of philosophical probing into the ideological and social "premises" of the post-Civil War period, see Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought since the Revolution* (New York, 1955), 145–200.

discovery of Italy had constituted a central motive. In the course of the twentieth century practically all varieties of American historical thought and writing on modern Italy and its uniquely decisive moment—the *Risorgimento*—found themselves somehow, directly or indirectly, grappling with the burden of antinomies inherited from that eventful encounter and strange discovery.

Isaac Backus and the Separation of Church and State in America

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THE role of Isaac Backus (1724–1806) and the Separate Baptists in the development of the American tradition of separation of church and state has not yet been given its due. Yet any careful evaluation of this tradition must acknowledge that neither the position of Roger Williams nor that of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison adequately defines it. The basic premises of Williams' position were far too Puritan in theology and too anti-institutional in polity to be typical, while the basic premises of Jefferson's and Madison's position were far too rationalistic and anticlerical. Or, to put it another way, Williams was too great a perfectionist about religious purity while Jefferson and Madison were too indifferent, if not hostile, toward revealed religion to be entirely representative of the American approach to church-state relationships.[1]

In the secular mood of the twentieth century the United States Supreme Court has drawn heavily upon Jefferson and Madison in its increasingly rigid interpretation of the "no establishment" clause of the First Amendment, but throughout the nineteenth century most Americans firmly believed that the United States was a Protestant nation and that as such its laws and customs should conform to the will of the evangelical majority.[2]

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[1] Perry Miller seems to me quite right in arguing that Williams came to his final position "because he was driven by religious passion and not because he was mollified by the religious indifferentism of a Jefferson. He preached liberty of conscience not because he thought it the least destructive or most economical way for men to live together, but because of a vision which for him was a never-ending ecstasy. He did not look forward to a free society as the goal of human endeavor; instead he looked down on it, in pity and sorrow, seeing in freedom only a preliminary requirement for the Christian pilgrimage." (*Roger Williams: His Contribution to the American Tradition* [Indianapolis, 1953], 27–28; see also Edmund S. Morgan's excellent new study *Roger Williams: The Church and the State* [New York, 1967] which amplifies and in places corrects Miller's view.)

[2] James Bryce captured the prevailing view of Americans on this question in the nineteenth century when he said, "The matter may be summed up by saying that Christianity is in fact understood to be, though not the legally established religion, yet the national religion." (Quoted in *Church and State in American History*, ed. John F. Wilson [Boston, 1965], 154.) By the increasing rigidity of the Court's interpretation, I mean in contrast to the nineteenth-century American attitude described by Lord Bryce. Since 1948, I recognize, many strict Separationists feel that the Court has permitted considerable breaching of the wall of separation.

Since the Baptists and the Methodists were the most widespread and numerous denominations in that century, it seems essential to include their evangelical theory of Separationism in any attempt to define that tradition. It is hardly logical to expect that the views of a seventeenth-century Calvinistic Seeker like Williams or an eighteenth-century deistic Episcopalian like Jefferson or Madison would accurately represent the views of these evangelical pietists. The Methodists, who were still part of the Anglican Church during the Revolution, produced no spokesman for their views on this tradition during its formative period. But the Baptists found in Backus a most energetic and eloquent one. In his long, active career and his trenchant tracts he provided a dedicated, effective leadership for eighteenth-century sectarian pietism that entitles him to rank with Williams, Jefferson, and Madison as a key proponent of this fundamental tenet of the American democratic faith.

Backus was born in 1724, the son of a well-to-do farmer and a member of one of the most distinguished Congregationalist families of Norwich, Connecticut. Baptized as a child into the parish church of his parents, he grew up without ever questioning its orthodoxy or its practice of the halfway covenant. But after his conversion, under the New Light preaching of James Davenport and Eleazar Wheelock in 1741, he began to notice how many of the church's members were not really visible saints. And when the parish minister would not agree to exclude such reprobates from communion, Backus and several of his relatives, together with a large number of the most respectable people in his congregation, left the parish church and formed a Separate church in Norwich in 1745.[3] A year later Backus felt called to become an itinerant New Light preacher, and in 1748 he was ordained pastor of a Separate church in Middleborough, Massachusetts. In 1751, after two years of spiritual doubt, he adopted antipedobaptist views and was rebaptized by immersion. He then tried to conduct his Separate church on open communion lines for five years. Finding this impossible, he dissolved the Separate church in 1756 and organized the First Baptist Church of Middleborough on closed communion and evangelical Calvinist principles. He remained pastor there until his death in 1806, devoting himself tirelessly to itinerant evangelism, denominational consolidation, and the fight to overthrow the established system of the Congregational churches in New England.

[3] For a discussion of the Separate or Strict Congregational movement in New England, see C. C. Goen, *Revivalism and Separatism in New England, 1740–1800* (New Haven, Conn., 1962). It should be noted that on the whole most of these Separates favored Separationism; the latter is a modern shorthand term for the principle of separation of church and state (or voluntarism), which has no specific relationship to the Separate movement.

The history of separation of church and state in Massachusetts from 1692 to the Great Awakening, so ably told by Susan Reed in her neglected monograph on this subject,[4] is a story of how the Quakers, Baptists, and Anglicans fought, each in their own way, to establish their right to exemption from paying compulsory religious taxes for the support of the Standing or Congregational churches. But in this early period it was the Quakers and Anglicans who carried the main thrust of the movement. The Baptists played a secondary role, fighting mainly for the preservation of their privileged position in the town of Swansea. The Anglicans, of course, did not oppose religious taxation out of any commitment to the principle of voluntarism. They frankly coveted the privileged position of the Congregationalists. The Quakers, while committed to voluntarism, rested content after 1729 when the Massachusetts General Assembly granted exemption from paying religious taxes to all members of their persuasion who could prove that they were bona fide Quakers.

The Baptists did not come forward to lead the fight for voluntarism until after the Great Awakening. Their theory of Separationism evolved slowly and painfully during the years 1748–1773. But the place to begin a discussion of their views is in the year 1739, just before the Great Awakening began. At that time the Massachusetts ecclesiastical laws stated that three kinds of dissenters were to be tolerated as persons exempted from supporting the establishment: "Anabaptists," "Quakers," and "Churchmen." All three terms had pejorative overtones indicating that the weight of public opprobrium was cast so heavily against joining one of these "dissenting sects" that even the opportunity to evade the high costs of religious taxation seldom persuaded a man to do so except out of the strongest conscientious scruples.

The law required anyone who claimed to be a member of the Anabaptist or Quaker "persuasion" to provide a "certificate" signed by his minister stating that he did regularly attend and contribute money to that church; the minister and two leading members of that church or congregation had to swear that such persons were "conscientiously of their persuasion," not simply tax dodgers.[5] The Standing Order considered this, and rightly so, a most generous arrangement. Compared to the status of dissenters in those colonies where the Anglican Church was established or

[4] Susan M. Reed, *Church and State in Massachusetts, 1691–1740* (Urbana, Ill., 1914).

[5] The requirements for signatures on the certificates varied from time to time, but throughout most of the century three signatures were required. (See *The Acts and Resolves, Public and Private, of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay* [21 vols., Boston, 1869–1922], II, 714.) Anglicans were also required to obtain similar certificates, but this did not entitle them to tax exemption; it merely gave their minister claim to their religious taxes for his support.

to those in England, the dissenters of Massachusetts were indeed far better off. Due credit has not been given to the Congregationalists of "the Glacial Age" for the advance they made toward toleration by these laws—albeit the advance was made grudgingly and under strong pressure from England.[6] Many Congregationalists, however, resented the fact that dissenters received this special tax exemption, especially since every exemption to a dissenter raised the tax burden for the rest of the community. Hence local authorities often made it extremely difficult for dissenters to obtain certificates, and the term "certificate man" was one of scorn and resentment throughout the eighteenth century.

Because the tax exemption laws in Massachusetts were temporary and had to be renewed approximately every five years, and because some Baptists complained that they were not fairly administered, a committee of the leading Baptists in the vicinity of Boston, under the leadership of James Bound and Joseph Callendar, was organized in the 1730's to negotiate with the General Court over revision and improvement of the laws. In 1739, when the exemption law of 1734 was about to expire, the legislature consulted with this group and permitted it to submit a bill on the subject. It is significant that this group, describing itself as "Agents for the people called Baptists," told the General Court that they found the tax exemption system satisfactory in principle, but wished that it could be a permanent rather than a temporary law. They said, however, that they would be satisfied if the current law were extended for ten years. Their petition humbly thanked the court for the exemption system which "hath been much to the relief and comfort of the said people called Baptists, as well as an honourable Characteristick of the mildness, moderation and Christian Spirit of the Legislators."[7]

The Great Awakening, however, produced a wholly new kind of Baptist in Massachusetts (and throughout the country) who was not so humble or acquiescent. These Baptists were known colloquially as the "new Baptists" or the "Separate Baptists." They began as radical New Lights converted during the Great Awakening; finding that the Old Lights were successfully thwarting their reforms, they separated from the Standing

[6] See Reed, *Church and State in Massachusetts,* for the pressure Anglicans and Quakers were able to bring upon Massachusetts from England. In 1739 there were only nine Baptist churches in Massachusetts with perhaps three hundred members, most of them in the area of the old Plymouth Colony around Swansea and Rehoboth.

[7] Massachusetts Archives, Ecclesiastical, XII, 96, 127, Massachusetts Archives, Secretary of State's Office, Massachusetts State House, Archives Office, Boston. It appears that the legislature, fearing tax dodging, was preparing to revise the tax exemption law so that Baptists and Quakers would have to pay religious taxes like the Anglicans and then have these taxes turned over to their own ministers. Hence the Baptist agents may simply have been settling for the lesser of two evils.

Order and eventually adopted antipedobaptist views. Over 125 such separations occurred in New England, but to their dismay the Separates discovered that the General Assembly declined to recognize them as bona fide dissenters. The legislators argued that the Separates had no distinctive marks as a persuasion or denomination to differentiate them from the Congregational churches of the establishment; to grant them the same tax exemption privileges as had been granted to Anabaptists, Quakers, and Churchmen would, therefore, lead to utter confusion and the total breakdown of the prevailing system.[8] Consequently the Separates found themselves saddled with double taxation: they had to support their own churches and those of the Standing Order as well. And if they were so adamant as to refuse to pay taxes to support the Standing Order, they were imprisoned or had their goods distrained and sold at public auction.[9] Under this pressure the Separate movement gradually disintegrated, and, of the 125 Separate churches existing in 1754, only about a dozen remained by 1776.

Meanwhile many of the Separates moved from their original position of "Strict Congregationalism" into the position of antipedobaptism. The theological reasons for this shift are complex, but suffice it to say that the question of infant baptism had always been one of the most awkward and inconsistent aspects of New England Congregationalism; the Puritans professed to believe that a church should be made up only of visible saints admitted to communion upon profession of their faith after conversion. But this left undefined the role that those baptized in infancy were to play in the church when they came of age if they had not yet become visible saints. The Separate movement began in large part out of a reaction against the halfway covenant and Stoddardeanism which were efforts to solve this problem but which, in the eyes of the new pietism of the Great Awakening, had only made it worse.

There was a certain logical consistency therefore in moving from the Separate position to the antipedobaptist position and arguing that a voluntaristic church of visible saints could only mean a church in which adult, professed believers should be granted the seal of baptism and the privileges

[8] The Standing Order was of course correct in its view that to grant tax exemption to Separates whose doctrines and practices differed from that of the established churches only in the intensity of their pietistic fervor would have destroyed the ecclesiastical system. Baptists, Quakers, and Anglicans could be tolerated and given tax exemption only because they were so few. But if 125 towns and parishes were divided into competing Congregational factions of almost equal size, most would not have been able to provide adequate support for both. The Separate movement had to be crushed.

[9] Backus himself was threatened with jail for this reason in 1748, and four years later his mother and brother were imprisoned in Norwich, Connecticut, for refusing as Separates to pay religious taxes. (See W. G. McLoughlin, *Isaac Backus* [Boston, 1967], 22, 49.)

of church membership. As the Separate movement began to crumble from outside pressure by the civil authorities, it simultaneously disintegrated internally from the dissensions arising among those moving into the antipedobaptist camp. Naturally there were many in the Standing Order who looked upon this movement as an effort by the Separates to claim the right of tax exemption granted to Anabaptists. But few pietists were so hypocritical as this, and fewer would have been willing to bear the double onus of being schismatics and Anabaptist "certificate men" just to "wash away their taxes" by immersion.

Anyone reading the diaries and letters of men like Backus who made this painful transition from Separate to Baptist between 1749 and 1756 will soon be convinced of the tortuous trial of conscience involved. Backus in fact said that he at first opposed the idea of antipedobaptism because he thought the devil was tempting him and his Separate brethren by offering them an easy way out of persecution. Like most Separates, Backus was ready to go to jail rather than pay religious taxes to support the Standing Order, but he was not ready to let his fear of jail lead him into religious error.[10]

The evolution of Backus' First Baptist Church of Middleborough from strict Separate to open communion Separate to closed communion Baptist principles in the years 1748–1756 was typical of many such transitions throughout the province. And it was from the new evangelistic drive of these Separate Baptist churches that the Baptist denomination in New England derived its vigor and growth in the late eighteenth century. Backus, who quickly became a leading spokesman for these Separate Baptists, was aware of the evolutionary development of his own views. Writing in 1781 he said, "I was such a dull scholar in Christ's school that I was thirty-two years in learning a lesson of only six words, namely, 'One Lord, one faith, one baptism.' "[11] By this he meant that having started his spiritual life as a pedobaptist New Light in 1741, he then took ten years to evolve to the position of antipedobaptism, five more years to acknowledge the truth of closed communion, and then seventeen more years to decide that he could no longer acquiesce in the New England system of tolerated tax exemption for dissenters. It is important to keep in

[10] The diary, letters, and other papers of Backus, which are now being edited for a letterpress edition under a grant from the National Historical Publications Commission, are owned principally by Andover Newton Theological School, Newton Center, Massachusetts. The best proof that the Standing Order feared tax dodging among the Separates was the new tax exemption law of 1754 that was designed specifically to exclude the "new Baptists" from the tax exemption privileges of the old Baptists. It proved impossible, however, to maintain the distinction, and the law did not function as expected.

[11] Isaac Backus, *Truth Is Great and Will Prevail* (Boston, 1781), Appendix, 7.

mind the evolutionary and often pragmatic development of the Baptist position on church and state if we are to distinguish it from the more ideological and consistent positions of Williams, Jefferson, and Madison.

While Backus fought vigorously for the right of Separates and then of Separate Baptists to be exempt from compulsory support of the Standing Church and ministry, his early efforts were limited to broadening the definition of a bona fide dissenter to include the new Baptists, whom the legislature tried to classify as Separates, and to increasing the effective and honest administration of the tax exemption laws for Baptists. Liberty of conscience and freedom of religion represented for him, and for most Baptists prior to 1773, essentially a self-centered and denominationally oriented goal rather than an absolute or clearly enunciated principle. Nowhere did Backus argue on behalf of dissenters in general, as Williams and Jefferson so often did; nor did he join forces with other dissenting groups to work for separation on an interdenominational basis.[12] Always the Baptists worked with and for the Baptists. If their principles had a broader application, that was secondary to them, and it is as misleading to read our current theory into them as into the principles of Williams or Jefferson. Like all radical reformers, the Separate Baptists occasionally exalted their immediate personal claims into broad abstract principles. But in practice their goals were limited, their practices expedient. For example, they showed little concern for other new dissenting groups that arose in New England after the Great Awakening; in the opinion of the Separate Baptists, the Universalists, Shakers, Sandemanians, and Methodists were merely corrupt and dangerous heretics, not allies against the establishment. One of the most noted Separate Baptists, a minister who worked closely with Backus for the abolition of compulsory religious taxes, Valentine Rathbun, actually tried to persuade the people of Pittsfield in 1781 to banish all Shakers from that town.[13] Nor is there a word in all of Backus' published or unpublished writings concerning the famous lawsuit of 1783–1786 by which John Murray, the founder of the Universalists in America, won toleration and tax exemption for his sect in Massachusetts. Backus was positively vitriolic in his tracts attacking Universalists, Shakers, and Methodists, all of whom he considered as dangerous heretics to a Christian commonwealth as the Puritans had considered the Munsterite Anabaptists

[12] The one exception to this occurred in 1774 when the Baptists accepted an invitation by some leading Quakers in Philadelphia to join them in a protest to the Continental Congress. But this joint endeavor was limited to the one specific occasion, and it was prompted by the ulterior motives of the Quakers who hoped to thwart the radical efforts of the Congress by injecting this divisive note. (See McLoughlin, *Isaac Backus*, 128–32.)

[13] The motion supported by Rathbun in the town meeting at Pittsfield in 1781 is quoted in J.E.A. Smith, *History of Pittsfield* (2 vols., Boston, 1869), I, 454.

to be. He did not specifically urge their persecution, but neither did he urge their toleration. The same implacable hostility was displayed by nineteenth-century Baptists and Methodists against Mormons, Catholics, and Christian Scientists.[14]

Nor did Backus argue at first for complete disestablishment of church and state, for that would have committed the Baptists to opposing the established status of the Church of England at home. But the Baptists often found the king to be their strongest bulwark against Massachusetts' persecution, and they did not want to alienate him by attacking the church of which he was the head. It was only under the stimulus of the incipient revolt against England, and after the examples of civil disobedience provided by the Sons of Liberty against the Stamp Act, that Backus finally led the Baptists to adopt an uncompromising attitude against mere religious toleration.[15] It was not until September 1773 that the Baptists of New England finally took a stand for freedom of conscience as a natural or supernatural right and began a campaign of massive civil disobedience by refusing any longer to submit annual certificates of their dissenting persuasion in order to obtain exemption from religious taxes. And even then the line between church and state was drawn specifically in terms of compulsory religious taxation.

Many aspects of Separationism that we now associate with the tradition were still unresolved among the Baptists even at the time of Backus' death. Throughout the nineteenth century, in fact, the Baptists, like other evangelicals and the public at large, were quite ready to use the state to enforce their superior claims against Freemasons or the heathen Indians and Orientals. Francis Wayland, the Baptist president of Brown University, virtually preached a doctrine of religious survival of the fittest in the 1840's, and other evangelicals were still preaching Christian imperialism at the end of the century.[16] Few nineteenth-century evangelicals saw any inconsistency in supporting laws to enforce the Protestant Sabbath or prohibition, laws against blasphemy and profanity, laws against lotteries, gambling, theatergoing, dancing, and, ultimately, against the teaching of evolution. In recent years staunch neoevangelical supporters of Separation-

[14] Backus referred to Mother Ann Lee of the Shakers as "a common prostitute" and called John Wesley a Tory and a liar. Of course Williams bitterly attacked the Quakers, and Jefferson was equally hostile toward Calvinists and Catholics, but what Backus lacks is any clear-cut statement that, despite their theological errors, these new dissenters equally deserve religious liberty. Somehow he could not bring himself to include them as true religious believers.

[15] Even as late as the spring of 1775 Backus was urged by many Baptists to be cautious in taking the patriot side lest it lose them the good will of the King. (McLoughlin, *Isaac Backus*, 134.)

[16] See Francis Wayland, *The Elements of Political Economy* (Boston, 1852), 131–32, and Josiah Strong, *Our Country* (New York, 1886), Chap. XIV.

ism have cried out against the decisions of the Supreme Court preventing Bible reading and prayer in the public schools. Certainly Jefferson would have approved of these Court decisions, and so would Williams. But it seems certain that Backus would not. And it is the pragmatic middle ground of Backus on church and state, not the more consistent positions of Jefferson and of Williams, that prevailed in practice throughout most of American history.

As a Baptist Backus might be expected to have drawn upon the work of his illustrious predecessor, Williams, in evolving his pietistic theory of Separationism. Being a contemporary and later a political supporter of Jefferson, he might also have been expected to share some of his views about this matter. But in fact he drew little from either of them and developed his Separationist views on very different grounds. While he shared Williams' Calvinistic theology, he had no use for his Seekerism. While he shared Jefferson's Lockean defense of voluntarism, he deplored his deistic theology. Sidney Mead has rightly pointed out that the positive ideological thrust of Baptist Separationism from Reformation principles was less important in achieving Separationism in America than the practical necessities of the New World situation. But his claim for a "rationalist-pietist alliance" is subject to serious qualifications, especially in New England.[17] The rationalists in New England were Unitarians, and the Unitarians, as Backus knew, were stout defenders of the establishment. Backus evolved his principles and wrote his tracts against the New England establishment before he had even heard of Jefferson or Madison. As for Williams, he had held Baptist views for only about four months in 1639, and his repudiation of their views for the more radical stance of the Seekers made him no authority for the Baptists of New England.[18] His books were a rarity in America, and Backus did not read them until 1773.[19] It is ironic that Backus agreed with most Congregationalists that

[17] See Sidney E. Mead, *The Lively Experiment* (New York, 1963), 19, 40–44.

[18] Morgan argues that Williams was not, properly speaking, a Seeker (*Roger Williams*, 152). But whether he shared all of the official tenets of this group there still seems no other adequate term for his position after 1639. Williams' famous statement to John Winthrop after having left the Baptist denomination is also worth quoting here: "I believe their practice comes nearer the first practice of our great Founder Christ than other practices of religion doe, & yet I have no satisfaction neither in the authorities by which it [baptism] is done nor in the manner [immersion]; nor in the prophecies concerning the rise of Christ's Kingdome after the desolation of Rome &c." (Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 4th Ser., VI [1863], 274.)

[19] Backus first mentions reading Williams in his diary, Feb. 2, 1773, Backus Papers: "Met now with some writings of old Mr. Roger Williams which I was very glad of." The first publication in which Backus quoted Williams was his *Appeal to the Public for Religious Liberty* (Boston, 1773), 25–26. For some of the reasons why Backus did not often quote Williams, see Thomas B. Maston, *Isaac Backus: Pioneer of Religious Liberty* (Rochester, N. Y., 1962), 76.

Rhode Island was a poor example of the results of separation of church and state because its religious institutions were so poorly supported; he frankly called that colony "irreligious" and preferred to cite Pennsylvania as a more prosperous and respectable example of the blessings of voluntarism.[20]

But even setting aside the question of direct influence upon Backus of Williams or Jefferson, it is plain that there are striking differences in their respective approaches to the proper relationship of church and state.[21] Granted that all three opposed an establishment of religion that required conformity of conscience and uniformity of worship and that laid taxes upon all citizens for the support of one state church. But this kind of establishment existed nowhere in the American colonies in the eighteenth century. Williams had to fight against total conformity and uniformity in seventeenth-century New England, but neither Jefferson nor Backus faced this situation.[22] What was in existence in most of the colonies by 1750 was a preferred or privileged church that received official aid from the state but that granted broad toleration to dissenters. These dissenters were totally exempt from supporting the privileged Congregational churches in New England after 1730, and the collection of religious tithes was notably lax in the Anglican colonies. The problem of religious liberty consequently was more practical than ideological, especially after 1776. As Mead points out, the pietists and rationalists agreed that social morality and order, not conformity of belief and worship, was the only real church-state issue to be settled.[23] On this point the Unitarians of New England agreed with those latitudinarians in Virginia like George Washington, John Marshall, Richard Henry Lee, and Patrick Henry who believed that a general assessment tax upon all citizens to provide support for the church of the individual's own choice was the only feasible system in a poor

[20] Isaac Backus, *Policy as Well as Honesty* (Boston, 1779), 10.

[21] I agree with Miller's statement that "although Williams is celebrated as the prophet of religious freedom, he actually exerted little or no influence on institutional developments in America: only after the conception of liberty for all denominations had triumphed on wholly other grounds did Americans look back on Williams and invest him with his ill-fitting halo." (*Roger Williams*, 29.)

[22] It should be noted here that the Congregationalists of eighteenth-century Massachusetts always denied that their system was in fact an establishment of religion. They defined an establishment in terms of a confessional state in which conformity to a specific creed and ritual was required of all churches supported by law. Congregational churches were autonomous in creed and ritual.

[23] Mead, *Lively Experiment*, 59–70. Mead claims that under voluntarism the churches proved inadequate "to define, articulate, disseminate the basic religious beliefs essential for the existence and well-being of the society"; thus they had to turn the task over to the state via the public schools. I would argue that most nineteenth-century evangelicals saw the schools as merely an adjunct to the churches and placed their faith in revivalism in order to convert the nation to Christian morality and order. They relied, meanwhile, upon the power of moral suasion from the pulpits and the passage of wholesome laws to maintain the well-being of society.

country. Voluntarism was simply inadequate to build sufficient meeting-houses and support sufficient ministers to inculcate the principles of morality and obedience essential to a stable, honest, orderly social system. Williams had faced virtually the same situation in England in 1652 when the tolerant Protectorate also sought to lay religious taxes for the support of a variety of sects.[24]

In opposing the concept of a general assessment tax (Jefferson and Madison successfully, Backus and Williams unsuccessfully) the advocates of voluntarism may seem to have had much in common. Yet a closer examination of their statements on an ideal church and an ideal state indicates marked variations in their fundamental outlooks. Williams, for example, denied that there was any ideal church ordained by God, though he was convinced that the word of God had revealed Calvinism as the true form of orthodox belief.[25] Backus clearly believed that closed communion Calvinistic Baptists organized in a congregational polity but united in associations were the ideal "gospel church."[26] Jefferson passionately hated Calvinism and the priestcraft and believed that voluntarism would undermine the power of churches, priests, and superstitious creeds and free American minds for a natural theology without ministers or churches;[27] he denied flatly that America was or should be a Christian nation. Backus and the Baptists, like most nineteenth-century evangelicals, were convinced that America was not only a Christian nation but a Protestant one. Backus looked forward to the day when Baptist ministers and evangelists would convert all Americans to antipedobaptism. Williams denied that short of a new revelation or the millennium any form of

[24] For Williams' opposition to this system, see his *Fourth Paper Presented to Maior Butler* (London, 1652).

[25] For Williams' stalwart Calvinism, see Miller, *Roger Williams*, 28. Again I would agree with Miller that Williams never speaks "in the tones of modern liberalism. For him the ideological issue [of Separationism] is not central: the question is the meaning of Scripture. Were Cotton correct in saying that such-and-such is clearly demonstrable, Williams would have to agree that a good conscience ought to submit and allow the magistrate to help, just as we today believe that a judge can sentence unrepentant thieves." (*Ibid.*, 104.) In *The Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody* (London, 1644) Williams makes this concession to the Puritans: "Let Master Cotton now produce any such nation in the whole world whom God in the New Testament hath literally and miraculously brought forth of Egypt, or from one land into another, to the truth and purity of his worship—then far be it but I should acknowledge that the seducer is fit to be put to death." (Quoted *ibid.*, 183.)

[26] Backus devoted many of his energies to overthrowing the Arminian, Six-Principle Baptist position that grew up in and around Rhode Island after Williams' death, and he was a strong advocate of associationism for maintaining the good order and orthodoxy of his denomination of closed communion, Five-Principle Calvinist Baptists.

[27] It is hardly necessary to reiterate Jefferson's disdain of "the mountebanks calling themselves the priests of Jesus" and his fear of "the power and the profit of the priests. Sweep away their gossamer fabrics of factitious religion, and they would catch no more flies. We should all then, like the Quakers, live without an order of priests, moralize for ourselves, follow the oracle of conscience, and say nothing about what no man can understand, nor therefore believe." (Quoted in *Thomas Jefferson on Democracy*, ed. Saul K. Padover [Mentor ed., New York, 1954], 117–18.)

church or denomination should be formed; he even denied that God called any men to be ministers, pastors, or evangelists since the days of the Apostles, and hence no man should make his living by preaching the word of God.[28]

Unlike Backus and Jefferson, Williams had an essentially pessimistic and premillennial view of history: the world was in the hands of antichrist and would shortly come to a disastrous Day of Judgment.[29] This was far from the optimistic mood of the rationalist Jefferson or the pietistic Backus, each of whom foresaw the rising glory of America in his own terms. Nineteenth-century Americans preferred the pietistic vision of Backus to the secularistic one of Jefferson. And despite Jefferson's hope that Americans would all be deists by 1830, the fact that Congress in the 1790's supported chaplains in the army, navy, and Congress, that it placed "In God We Trust" on the coins, and happily supported the national days of fasting, prayer, and thanksgiving proclaimed by Presidents Washington and Adams indicates that Backus' vision was the more typical.

If Backus' difference with Jefferson is not obvious enough in these respects, one has only to contrast the bill he proposed for the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 regarding religious freedom with the statements of Jefferson and Madison on this principle:

> As God is the only worthy object of all religious worship, and nothing can be true religion but a voluntary obedience unto his revealed will, of which each rational soul has an equal right to judge for itself; every person has an inalienable right to act in all religious affairs according to the full persuasion of his own mind, where others are not injured thereby. And Civil rulers are so far from having any right to empower any person or persons to judge for others in such affairs, and to enforce their judgments with the sword, that their power ought to be exerted to protect all persons and societies within their jurisdiction from being injured or interrupted in the free enjoyment of this right under any presumption whatsoever.[30]

Jefferson and Madison never defined "true religion" as "a voluntary obedience" to God's "revealed will" in Scripture. They wished to free men's minds

[28] As Williams put it in his *Hireling Ministry None of Christ's* (London, 1652), 4, neither "the Begetting Ministry of the Apostles . . . or the Feeding and Nourishing Ministry of Pastors and Teachers . . . are yet restored and extant." He also denounced here the man who "makes a Trade of Preaching" and who demands "a maintenance" or "explicitly makes a covenant or bargaine" for his salary as a preacher. (*Ibid.*, 8.) Yet Backus, in his *The Liberal Support of Gospel Ministers, Opened and Inculcated* (Boston, 1790), explicitly defended the right of the minister to demand a fair salary from his congregation and even to excommunicate for covetousness any who failed to provide their proportionate share.

[29] For Williams' prediction that the true testimony of God's prophets and witnesses "is probably neer finished" and "the slaughter of the Witnesses, Revel. 11" is about to begin, "After which and their shame three years and a halfe, followeth their most glorious and joyfull Rising," see his *Hireling Ministry*, 2.

[30] The manuscript of Backus' proposed "Bill of Rights" for the Massachusetts Constitution is in Backus Papers; it is printed in Maston, *Isaac Backus*, Appendix C, 121–23.

from superstition and to measure true religion in terms of the universal laws of nature. As Mead points out, "Religion was defined as one's 'opinion'" in Jefferson's bill for religious freedom.[31] For him the Bible was neither more nor less God's revealed will than the books of Euclid and Isaac Newton. But disestablishment for Backus meant leaving Christ's kingdom free to propagate itself through the evangelistic ministry of the Word and the supernatural grace of the Holy Spirit. Both Jefferson and Backus wanted separation of church and state so that the truth would prevail, but for Backus truth came through the heart by grace while for Jefferson it came through the head by reason.

The views of Williams and Jefferson on Separationism have often been expounded, but the manner in which Backus evolved his position and the various inconsistencies in the Baptists' pragmatic approach to this problem in New England need more careful elaboration. Backus first became engaged in the movement for separation of church and state in 1748 when the parish in which his Separate church was located laid a tax to build a meetinghouse. Backus and all of his congregation were assessed for this tax to support the established Congregational church, and when the parish refused to heed their request for exemption, Backus called a conference in Attleborough in the spring of 1749 to which he invited the members of four Separate churches in the vicinity. At this meeting a petition to the General Court was drawn up asking that the Separates be granted the same privileges of tax exemption as the Baptists and Quakers. The petitioners pointed out that under the charter of 1691 "liberty of conscience is granted to all Christians except Papists," yet "if we pass not under the denomination of Churchmen . . . or Anabaptists or Quakers or do not worship on the Sabbath with the major part of the town or precinct where we live" then they "imprison some and put some in the stock[s] and also take away some of our goods and chattles."[32]

It is significant that neither in this petition nor in any subsequent petition did Backus and the Separates or Baptists ever state that they wished to have full religious liberty granted to "Papists." Williams in 1655 had specifically stated that "Papists, Protestants, Jews or Turks" should have the same freedom of religion, and the charter of Rhode Island made no ex-

[31] See Mead, *Lively Experiment*, 57. It must be admitted that in the years 1775–1785 Jefferson and Madison tried not to exaggerate but to play down their differences with the pietistic dissenters who supported disestablishment. It was in the years after 1800 that their deism became most pronounced in its hostility toward revealed religion and the priestcraft.

[32] Massachusetts Archives, Ecclesiastical, XII, 626.

ceptions in this regard nor denied any civil privileges to Roman Catholics. But Backus and the Separate Baptists, being children of Puritan heritage, looked upon Catholics the same way the Puritans had looked upon Anabaptists: as dangerous heretics and subverters of civil order. At most Backus held that their peaceable presence might be tolerated, but he saw no need at this time to grant them religious liberty in the form of exemption from religious taxes.

Backus' petition of 1749, limited though it was in its quest for toleration, was not granted by the General Court. Five years later this same petition was again presented by Backus and his brethren, and again it was turned down. So far as I can discover, Backus made no further pronouncements in public on church and state until he published *A Fish Caught in His Own Net* (Boston, 1768). This tract was a polemic in answer to the charges of the Reverend Joseph Fish, the Standing minister of Stonington, Connecticut, that the Separates and Separate Baptists were ignorant fanatics who deserved no countenance by the state. Here Backus first spelled out his theological position against compulsory religious taxation, quoting Biblical texts that he construed to ordain voluntarism and insisting that since Christ's kingdom was not of this world all man-made laws governing ecclesiastical affairs were contrary to divine laws: "For no man can serve two masters." He devoted less than 15 out of 129 pages in this tract, however, to the question of Separationism; most of the work sought to deny Fish's charges that the Separates were heretical in faith and disorderly in practice.

Two years later Backus published *A Seasonable Plea for Liberty of Conscience against Some Late Oppressive Proceedings Particularly in the Town of Berwick* (Boston, 1770). Of the 48 pages in this tract, 3 are devoted to some general statements on liberty of conscience and the remainder to protesting against the censure of some antipedobaptists in the Standing Church of Berwick. Since antipedobaptism was in his eyes commanded by God, it astounded him that a minister should censure a Christian who followed his conscience in adopting this principle. The thought uppermost in his mind here and throughout his writing was that the state, by forcing men to pay to support the false doctrine of pedobaptism, was thwarting or hindering the spread of Gospel truth and aiding in the spread of error.

Finally Backus issued his first and major treatise devoted wholly to the subject of religious liberty: *An Appeal to the Public for Religious Liberty against the Oppressions of the Present Day* (Boston, 1773). It is a strong and forthright statement of the Baptist or pietistic position on Separationism and deserves to rank with Williams' *Bloody Tenent* and Madison's *Remonstrance* as one of the great American expositions of this principle. It owes

something to John Locke,[33] a little to Williams,[34] much to Backus' reading of the Bible, but most of all to the historical experience of the Separate Baptists since 1748. This tract may be described as the Declaration of Independence of the Separate Baptists against the ecclesiastical tyranny of the Standing Order, for it was written in order to justify the policy of civil disobedience adopted by the Baptist churches at their annual association meeting that September. At this meeting the delegates from most of the Baptist churches in Massachusetts voted overwhelmingly to refuse any further compliance with the system of certificates and to suffer mass imprisonment if necessary in order to affirm their conscientious objections to compulsory religious taxes.

The gist of Backus' argument can be discerned in the five reasons he gave at the conclusion of this tract for the Baptists' decision to oppose the certificate laws:

1. Because the very nature of such a practice [giving in certificates] implies an acknowledgment that the civil power has a right to set up one religious sect above another.
2. Our legislature . . . claims the right to tax us from *civil obligation* as being the representative of the people. But how came a civil community by any ecclesiastical power?
3. Their laws require us annually to certify to them what our belief is concerning the conscience of every person that assembles with us as the condition of their being exempted from taxes to other's [*sic*] worship.
4. The scheme we oppose evidently tends to destroy the purity and life of religion. . . . bringing an *earthly power* between Christ and his people.
5. The custom which they want us to countenance is very hurtful to civil society. . . . when temporal advantages are annexed to one persuasion and disadvantages laid upon another. . . . Not only so, but coercive measures about religion tend to provoke emulation, wrath, and contention.

Backus himself never signed another certificate for any of his church members, but this test of massive civil disobedience was thwarted by the events leading to the outbreak of the Revolution. For the sake of unity most towns ceased to prosecute Baptists when the war began, and after 1778 the problem took an entirely new turn with the drafting of a new constitution for the state. Backus was not able during his lifetime, however, to persuade the people of Massachusetts, or of any other Puritan colony, to abandon the system of compulsory religious taxation. Instead Massachusetts adopted a general as-

[33] What it owes to Locke derives from his *Letters concerning Toleration* and not from his *Second Treatise on Government*, for in this tract Backus specifically repudiated the contract theory of government, another fact that highlights his divergence from the thought of Jefferson and Madison.

[34] He quotes two short paragraphs from *The Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody*. Backus, who rediscovered Williams' forgotten works, quoted him sparingly, and other writers on Separationism in this period almost never mention him.

sessment system in 1780 very similar to the one Patrick Henry proposed in Virginia several years later.

There is not space here to pursue the historical account of this problem. The point I wish to stress is that Backus and the Baptists of eighteenth-century New England thought primarily of religious liberty in terms of ending compulsory religious taxation and not in terms of a high wall of separation. In order to indicate how fuzzy the line between church and state remained for Backus and the Baptists, a few examples may be cited.

In 1766 in South Brimfield the Separate Baptists came to constitute a majority of the parish, and as such they were able to block the election of any minister of the Standing Order as the settled pastor of the parish. To resolve this problem the Congregationalists joined with some of the leading Baptists and agreed to vote for their pastor, James Mellen, as the Standing or official minister and to pay his salary by taxing all the property owners of the parish. Mellen accepted this proposal and was elected. Religious taxes were assessed for his support; those who refused to pay them, some of whom were Baptists, were arrested and taken to jail. The opponents of this scheme, however, fought back by taking the matter to court where they succeeded in proving that Mellen was not entitled to be a parish minister because he lacked a college degree or approbation by the Standing ministers of the county, which the law required for all parish ministers.[35] In 1770 Mellen's church, which considered itself Baptist, apologized to the other Baptists in the province for having agreed to allow their minister to be elected parish minister.

Backus, it must be said, deplored the whole incident, but obviously even the issue of compulsory religious taxation was not so clear-cut to many Baptists as some of their historians would have us believe. If Mellen had won his case, perhaps Baptists elsewhere would have tried to emulate "the South Brimfield Plan." The truth is that many Separate Baptists agreed with the Congregationalists that voluntarism simply was not an adequate method of providing support for religious worship. Backus himself admitted that the Baptists were frequently unable or unwilling to provide sufficient freewill offerings to build a meetinghouse or to pay a decent salary to their ministers.[36] One of the leading Separate Baptist ministers of Massachusetts, Ebenezer Hinds of Middleborough, a close friend and associate of Backus, went so far as to petition the legislature in 1788 requesting the civil authori-

[35] Isaac Backus, *A History of New England with Particular Reference to the Denomination Called Baptists*, ed. David Weston (2 vols., Newton, Mass., 1871), II, 143–44.
[36] See *ibid.*, *passim*, and Backus, *Liberal Support of Gospel Ministers*.

ties to force his congregation to pay his back salary.[87] Even though most Baptist ministers engaged in farming or some other trade to supplement their incomes, countless Baptist churches broke up and disappeared in these years because they could not provide subsistence for their minister and his family.

Backus might assert that God would "preserve His church even against the gates of Hell," but the fact was that the Baptists were in feeble circumstances in most New England communities. And being good Calvinists they recognized that human nature was too inherently selfish to part voluntarily with much money even for so good a cause as ministerial support. A secularist, like Jefferson, who ultimately placed his hope for democracy in a tax-supported public-school system, could ignore this problem. Seekers, like Williams, who declared (as Jehovah's Witnesses do today) that all denominations were wrong and all ministers lacked valid ordination, could be equally cavalier about the decay of church institutions; Williams said as much in his famous statement that the civil state would not be affected if all the churches broke up and disappeared.[88] But the Baptists, who insisted, as Backus did, that a true government must be a Christian government in which there was "a sweet harmony" between church and state,[89] had difficulty in refuting the hardheaded, practical arguments used against a voluntaristic system.

Another example of the Baptists' willingness to take advantage of state aid for religion in this period can be seen in the history of the town of Ashfield. The Ashfield affair is famous in Baptist history as an example of the worst kind of persecution of the Separate Baptists, and Backus worked hard to persuade the King to invalidate a Massachusetts law of 1768 that made the Baptists in Ashfield responsible for paying support to the parish minister despite the general tax exemption law. Yet part of the resentment against the Baptists in Ashfield stemmed from the fact that in the early years of the settlement of that town, when the Separate Baptists had been a majority of the inhabitants, they had elected one of their brethren, Ebenezer Smith, to be the settled minister of the town and laid claim to the plot of land reserved in all new townships for the first settled minister. They also claimed the right to the income from the plot of land laid aside for the support of the parish church, and they may even have had hopes of raising

[87] A copy of Hinds's petition is among the Backus Papers. Hinds also praised the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 as "the Best Constitution that the Baptist[s] have been under Since the Massachusett[s] Began," although Backus denounced it as making the Baptists' position worse than it had been since 1729. (See Hinds's letter to the Warren Baptist Association, Sept. 3, 1781, *ibid.*)

[88] Quoted in Miller, *Roger Williams*, 117.

[89] See Isaac Backus, *A Fish Caught in His Own Net* (Boston, 1768), 23.

money by taxation for their Baptist meetinghouse. In addition, they claimed that Smith, as the settled minister of the town, was exempt from paying civil taxes just as Congregational parish ministers were. The Congregationalists in Ashfield took the matter to law, however, and the courts ruled that Smith lacked the qualifications to be a parish minister. Thus the plans of the Baptists were thwarted, and the "persecution" began. But the fact remains that these Baptists too were not above attempting to derive such benefits from the state as they could get and from claiming the legal status and privileges of parish ministers.[40]

In the less rigid ecclesiastical systems of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont there are many examples of Baptist ministers who made good their claims to the ministerial plots in new towns because they were the first settled ministers in these towns. Elias Smith relates several instances in the 1790's where Vermont towns offered him their ministerial plots, and Job Seamans was actually installed as the settled minister of New London, New Hampshire, in 1788, and for several years he permitted the town to lay taxes for his support.[41] Backus disapproved of Seamans' being paid by taxation, but there is no record of his opposing the granting of ministerial plots to Baptists who were the first settled ministers in new towns.

After 1790 the Baptists, like other dissenters in New England, began to claim the right to use the parish meetinghouses and to share proportionately the income from the town's ministerial lands. There were numerous lawsuits involving such claims, and in many towns the Baptists were permitted to use the town meetinghouse for a certain number of Sundays each year in proportion to the number of their adherents in the parish. It all seemed perfectly just to the Baptists; since public tax money had built the meetinghouses and since the ministerial plots were a public provision for the support of religion, why should they not receive their fair share?[42]

But of all the issues on which the Baptists found themselves most bitterly divided in the latter part of the century, that of seeking incorporation by the legislature was the most hotly contended. The principal purpose of incorporation was obviously to compel Baptist congregations to provide adequate compensation for their pastors. Baptist leaders like Hezekiah Smith, one of the wealthiest men in Haverhill, flatly disobeyed the resolution

[40] For the Ashfield case, see Frederick G. Howes, *History of the Town of Ashfield* (Ashfield, Mass., 1913), and *Acts and Resolves*, IV, 1036 ff.

[41] For Smith, see *The Life, Conversion, Preaching, Travels and Suffering of Elias Smith* (Portsmouth, N. H., 1816) 205, 206; for Seamans, see Backus, *History of New England*, ed. Weston, II, 537–38.

[42] The result of this was often ludicrous as four or five denominations tried to divide up the fifty-two Sabbaths among themselves. Gradually after 1810 the towns decided that the town hall should be a wholly secular or civil building and that each denomination, including the Congregationalists, should build its own house of worship.

of the Warren Baptist Association in seeking incorporation for the church of which he was pastor in 1793.[43] Many other Baptist ministers did the same during the next forty years. The legislative records reveal that over forty Baptist churches had obtained legislative acts incorporating them by 1810.[44] Some incorporated Baptist churches in the 1790's and early 1800's sued their own members in court and distrained their goods for failing to pay their duly assessed share of the minister's salary.[45] The Congregationalists doubtless enjoyed the spectacle and delighted in seeing the Baptists admit the failings of voluntarism. Backus, let it be said, bitterly opposed incorporation, pointing out that the right of the legislature to incorporate some churches implied its right to deny incorporation to others. But his arguments were not always heeded.

Though Backus was consistent in opposing the actions of Baptist elders like Mellen, Ebenezer Smith, Seamans, and Hezekiah Smith, he was nevertheless far from having a clear-cut position on the precise line to be drawn between church and state. For example, he sided with the majority of the Baptists in the Warren Association in 1791 in voting to petition Congress (along with the Congregational clergy) for the establishment of a federal commission to license the publication of all Bibles in the United States. It never occurred to him that the right to license carried with it the right not to license.

Backus similarly praised the Constitution of Massachusetts because it required a religious oath of all officeholders: "No man can take a seat in our legislature till he solemnly declares, 'I believe the Christian religion and have a firm persuasion of its truth.' "[46] Many Baptists disagreed with Jefferson, Madison, and Williams that religious liberty should include the right to hold office even for Jews, Mohammedans, deists, atheists, and infidels.[47] Backus

[43] For an account of the confrontation between Hezekiah Smith and Backus on this matter, see *Life . . . of Smith*, 233–34. Another reason often given to justify incorporation of a Baptist church was that a series of court decisions after 1780 ruled that unincorporated dissenting churches in Massachusetts could not claim exemption from religious taxes. But most Baptist ministers found other ways around these decisions than by incorporation.

[44] It should also be pointed out that some confusion in the constitutional clauses over tax exemption implied that only an incorporated church or congregation could obtain the religious taxes paid by its members under the new general assessment procedures. The courts were not consistent about this, however.

[45] "The society at Haverhill was incorporated and from this it spread till cattle and horses were taken by force to pay baptist ministers for preaching." (*Ibid.*, 234.)

[46] Isaac Backus, *A Door Opened for Equal Christian Liberty* (Boston, 1783), 12. Backus later applauded the fact, however, that the federal Constitution prohibited any such oath of office for federal officeholders.

[47] The man who succeeded Backus as the leading spokesman for the Massachusetts Baptists, Elder Thomas Baldwin of Boston, stated in the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of 1820 that "He was willing that parishes should have power to tax all persons within their limites who are not enrolled in any other [religious] society." That is, he was willing that persons who belonged to no church or congregation should be taxed to support the parish church. (*Journal of Debates and Proceedings of the Convention* [Boston, 1853], 422.)

defended test oaths requiring Roman Catholics to forswear their spiritual allegiance to the pope before they could assume public office or, as he put it, to "disclaim the principles which are subversive of a free government."[48]

Similarly it never seems to have occurred to him that the inculcation of the Westminster Confession in the public schools of New England was in any way an infringement upon the rights of parents to bring up their children in their own religious faith. Backus, being a strict Calvinist, firmly believed that the Westminster Confession contained the only true interpretation of Scripture. To him the banning of religious training from the public schools of New England would have been the greatest wickedness—though he did not, of course, care to have infant baptism taught in those schools.[49]

Backus and the Baptists were also strong believers in the necessity of the so-called Puritan blue laws, which punished persons for profanity, blasphemy, or profanation of the Sabbath. In an unpublished sermon written some time after 1784 he praised and quoted a tract by a Baptist minister of London in which it was "deemed a kind of persecution by connivance when, for want of putting the laws into execution against Sabbath breaking, our magistrates permit the profane to disturb them that fear God in their closets and families."[50] He went so far as to condone the actions of his grandfather who, as justice of the peace in Norwich, had condemned two members of the seventh-day sect called Rogerenes to be whipped in 1725 because they were apprehended traveling through his jurisdiction on the Sabbath.[51]

And of course Backus saw nothing wrong with laws requiring public adherence to his own puritanical conceptions of morality: laws against gambling, card playing, dancing, and theatergoing. There is an amusing entry in his diary at the time of the burning of the Grand Theater in Boston in 1798. Backus had noted earlier that this theater had opened in direct violation of the laws against stage plays in Boston, and when it burned to the ground just as the company was preparing a grand spectacle of the de-

[48] Backus, *Truth Is Great*, 33.

[49] See *Life . . . of Smith*, 119–23, for an interesting example of the way in which public-school teachers imposed the Westminster Confession on all children even against the will of parents. Backus has no recorded statement on this issue.

[50] This manuscript sermon, entitled "The Man of Sin Revealed," also quotes a sermon by Benjamin Wallin, a Baptist minister in London, dated Oct. 9, 1774, 31–32, in which Wallin bemoans the fact that a recent "petition, signed by a great number of respectable persons, for some further check to the horrid impiety [of Sabbathbreaking] not barely failed of success but was treated with derision [by Parliament]." Wallin complained that "little regard is now paid to a day once held sacred through the nation, the pollution of which is an inlet to all manner of disorder and wickedness and proves fatal to millions." Backus agreed. (See Backus Papers.)

[51] "I saw a Book writ by John Bolls of New London Printed 1734 in the latter end of which was set down 2 Copies of a record from under my grandfather Backus's hand of his punishing said Bolls and Sarah Colver 2 Quakers on July 26, 1725 for their traveling on the day before, which was Lordsday. . . . Both were whipt for breach of Sabbath, which they called Persecution." (Backus' unpublished diary, Aug. 4, 1754, *ibid.*)

struction of Sodom and Gomorrah, Backus wrote that this was "a plain testimony against mocking God."[52]

The Baptists were also perfectly willing that the state, through its chief magistrates, should require certain days of fasting, thanksgiving, or prayer to be observed throughout the year, thereby turning weekdays into Sabbath when everyone was supposed to stop work or travel, close his business, and resort to religious worship in the meetinghouses. Backus regularly read the governors' proclamations of such days from his pulpit and observed them in his church. This was part of the harmony between church and state about which he and Jefferson would have violently disagreed. Jefferson and Madison, as Presidents, pointedly refused to issue fast and thanksgiving day proclamations as Washington and John Adams had done.[53]

There is some difficulty in finding a quotation in all of Backus' forty-two published works and his many unpublished letters and papers in which he directly and forthrightly opposed the law requiring compulsory church attendance by all citizens on the Sabbath. His only reference to this was published in a tract of 1783 when he said that he and his brethren did not necessarily agree with the law, but, he added, "we have had no controversy with our rulers about this matter."[54] If Backus, who was among the most radical of the Baptists on this subject, did not wish to push such a controversy, it seems clear that most of his brethren probably agreed with the Standing Order that such a law was essential to the good order of a Christian commonwealth.[55]

There is no neat way to sum up the respective contributions of Backus, Williams, Jefferson, and Madison to the development of the American tra-

[52] Backus' unpublished diary, Feb. 11, 1798, *ibid.*

[53] It is not clear whether Backus opposed the payment of chaplains by the state and federal legislatures though in 1793 he did express displeasure with the United States Senate for paying five hundred dollars each to two episcopal bishops for this purpose. (See Isaac Backus, *Testimony of the Two Witnesses* [Boston, 1793], 46.)

[54] *Id., A Door Opened,* 6.

[55] Some historians consider John Leland a more radical exponent of Separationism among the Baptists than Backus; others more or less equate the views of the two men. In my opinion Leland was too eccentric to be typical of the Baptists, especially of those in New England. Leland spent his most productive years in Virginia where he imbibed much of the spirit of the most radical dissenters, and his views of Separationism were decidedly nearer to those of Jefferson and Madison than to those of Backus. His eccentricity can be indicated by the fact that after his return to New England to settle in Cheshire, Massachusetts, in 1792 he refused to perform the Lord's Supper in his church because it seemed to him an empty ritual. (See the records of the Cheshire Baptist Church, Pittsfield Athenaeum.) Like Madison and Jefferson, Leland wanted a high wall of separation between church and state, opposing not only public fast and thanksgiving days but even laws against dueling, lotteries, or for the enforcement of the Sabbath. In sharp contrast to Backus, who believed that America was and should be a Christian nation, Leland stated, "The notion of a Christian commonwealth should be exploded forever." (*The Writings of John Leland,* ed. L. F. Greene [New York, 1845], 107.) Leland became a scandal among the New England Baptists when, after Backus' death, he opposed the foreign mission movement, the Sunday-school movement, and the effort to persuade Congress to prohibit the delivery of mail on Sundays.

dition of separation of church and state. Williams, it would appear, was the least influential of the four and probably the least representative, for few Americans since 1750 have been pessimistic premillennialists, Calvinist typologists, and anticlerical Seekers. Jefferson and Madison spoke for a rationalist-humanist element in American thought that has become increasingly influential in the twentieth century but that throughout most of our history has been the view of a small minority. But Backus probably represents most adequately the evangelical view of Separationism—the "sweet harmony" of a Christian nation—that has predominated. Historians would do well to re-examine his position and to give it its rightful place in future evaluations of this notable tradition.

Italy's Neutrality and Entrance into the Great War: A Re-examination

WILLIAM A. RENZI*

IN December 1908 Victor Emmanuel III, angered by the Austrian annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, strikingly revealed his attitude toward the Triple Alliance to the American ambassador at his court: "I am more than ever convinced of the utter worthlessness of treaties or any agreements written on paper. They are worth the value of the paper. The only real strength lies in bayonets and cannon."[1] It would be difficult to find more eloquent testimony to Italy's dubious position within the alliance. That country became its weak link; Italian diplomacy during the later years of the Triplice, therefore, is often limned in pejorative, negative, and even hostile terms. Rarely has more criticism been heaped on the foreign policy of a modern state.

Critics find one basic fault in Italian diplomacy: deliberate duplicity. Italy's diplomats are pictured as craftily placing a foot in both alliance blocs before the Great War, the attempt to deceive appearing obvious. In addition, the Italian government has been heavily censured for the tardy and dilatory fashion in which it declared its policy at the outbreak of the conflict. Luigi Albertini was foremost among the critics of Italian foreign policy during July and August 1914. The previous summer, in the course of the Second Balkan War, Rome had informed Vienna in unambiguous terms that it would not recognize the *casus foederis* of the alliance if Austria provoked a war with Serbia.[2] Albertini held that a similar *démarche* should have been made in 1914. Instead, "Italy slunk into neutrality by the back door, tender-

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[1] Ambassador Lloyd Griscom to Secretary of State Elihu Root, Dec. 9, 1908, Department of State Numerical Files, No. 9744/3–4, National Archives [hereafter cited as NA].

[2] *Dalle carte di Giovanni Giolitti: Quarant'anni di politica italiana*, ed. Claudio Pavone (3 vols., Milan, 1962), III, 90–91; Camera dei Deputati, Legislatura XXIV, Tornata del 5 dicembre 1914, *Discussioni* (Rome, 1915), 5650; Antonio Salandra, *La neutralità italiana: Ricordi e pensieri* (Milan, 1928), 449–52. The *casus foederis* of the alliance was operative if either Germany or Italy was the victim of an unprovoked attack by France. If one or more of the signatories was forced to declare war against any other single power, the others were pledged to maintain neutrality, although they could enter the conflict if they so desired. If two or more outside powers made war on any member of the pact, the *casus foederis* arose automatically. The alliance as it stood in 1914 is given in *The Secret Treaties of Austria-Hungary*, ed. Alfred Franzis Pribram (2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1920–21), I, 244–59.

ing apologies, cringing, still making promises [to its allies] which were to be flung back in her face when the day came for her intervention."[3] After several months of neutrality, Italy initiated a policy of "double blackmail"[4] by opening negotiations with both belligerent camps. It is a commonplace that it eventually sided with the *Entente* only because London, Paris, and Petrograd were willing to promise more than Vienna and Berlin. For the "predatory aim"[5] of obtaining Austrian lands that it considered irredenta, Italy chose the "devious path"[6] of "sacred egoism"[7] and entered the conflict by the back door.

This essay will attempt to show that the Italian diplomats were in fact no more deceitful or "Machiavellian" than their European counterparts. During the last decade a considerable amount of new documentation relevant to the diplomacy of Italian neutrality and intervention has been made available, and much of it has been published.[8] In the light of these new materials and certain older sources, Italian foreign policy during 1914 and 1915 can be seen as the culmination and solution of a problem that the diplomats in the Palazzo della Consulta had faced for nearly two decades. If the Italian

[3] Luigi Albertini, *The Origins of the War of 1914,* ed. and tr. Isabella M. Massey (3 vols., London, 1952–57), III, 314.

[4] Camillo Pellizzi, *Italy* (London, 1939), 37.

[5] Quote from Cyril Falls, *The Great War* (New York, 1959), 141.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] The phrase "sacro egoismo," employed by Prime Minister Antonio Salandra in a brief speech to the staff of the Italian Foreign Ministry in October 1914, was one of the most unfortunate pronouncements made by any civilian or military leader during the conflict. As reported in the press, it made a negative impression both in Italy and abroad. When British Ambassador Rennell Rodd in his *Social and Diplomatic Memories, 1902–1919* (London, 1925), 225, criticized Salandra for maintaining "that the war was not fought for the sake of humanity, for justice, for democracy," he touched on the heart of the matter. The conflict was rationalized by the *Entente* in moral and humanitarian terms. By asserting that Italy would follow instead only its national interests, Salandra unintentionally depreciated his government's policy. (The speech itself is given in Antonio Salandra, *I discorsi della guerra* [Milan, 1922], 3–4.)

[8] Whenever possible I have cited published materials in preference to unprinted documents available only in the various Italian archives. Renato Mori of the Archivio Storico, Ministero degli Affari Esteri (Rome), however, kindly permitted access to the Italian diplomatic documents for the years 1914 and 1915. Newly published primary sources include the following titles: Ministero degli Affari Esteri, *I documenti diplomatici italiani,* 4th Ser., *1908–1914,* XII, *(28 giugno–2 agosto 1914)* (Rome, 1964); 5th Ser., *1914–1918,* I, *(2 agosto–16 ottobre 1914)* (Rome, 1954); *Il carteggio Avarna-Bollati, luglio 1914–maggio 1915,* ed. Carlo Avarna di Gualtieri (Naples, 1953); Olindo Malagodi, *Conversazioni della guerra, 1914–1919* (2 vols., Milan, 1960), I; Ferdinando Martini, *Diario, 1914–1918* (Milan, 1966); Vittorio Emanuele Orlando, *Memorie, 1915–1919* (Milan, 1960); Mario Toscano, "Rivelazioni e nuovi documenti sul negoziato di Londra per l'ingresso dell'Italia nella prima guerra mondiale," *Nuova antologia,* CDVIC–CDVC (Aug.–Nov. 1965), 433–57, 15–37, 150–65, 295–312; G. B. Gifuni, "Tre memorabili giornate (maggio 1915)," *Il Risorgimento,* X (June 1958), 79–89; Brunello Vigezzi, "I problemi della neutralità e della guerra nel carteggio Salandra—Sonnino, 1914–1917," *Nuova rivista storica,* XLV (Sept.–Dec. 1961), 397–466; Corrado De Biase, "Il 'diario' dell ministro Vincenzo Riccio, 1915," *Nuova antologia,* CDLXV–CDLXX (Dec. 1955–May 1957), 527–46, 513–24, 89–100. There are in addition two secondary works written primarily from unpublished materials: Brunello Vigezzi, *L'Italia di fronte alla prima guerra mondiale* (1 vol. to date, Milan, 1966), I; Renzo De Felice, *Mussolini il rivoluzionario, 1883–1920* (Turin, 1965).

policy makers appeared guilty of deliberate duplicity, it was because of their nation's unique position in the prewar diplomatic milieu.

The Triplice was created in May 1882, and for over a decade Italy remained a relatively steadfast member of the alliance. When the Francophobe Francesco Crispi fell from power in 1896, the situation rapidly changed.[9] Franco-Italian relations, which had been frosty since France occupied Tunisia in 1881, immediately improved, and by 1902 the two powers had reached a definite rapprochement.[10] Camille Barrère, French ambassador in Rome from 1897 to 1924 and one of the chief architects of the rapprochement, later remarked that "there are times when the road from Paris to Rome leads through London."[11] There is no doubt that the formation of the *Entente Cordiale* in 1904 further weakened Italy's position in the Triplice, since friendship with Great Britain was perhaps the most basic touchstone in the Consulta.[12] Austrian penetration into the Balkans drove Italy closer to Russia, the third member of the *Entente*. Spurred by the Bosnian annexation, the two powers concluded the Racconigi Accord in 1909, wherein they agreed to lock Austria out of any further territorial gains in the Balkans.[13]

After 1896 relations between Rome and its formal allies seriously de-

[9] In January 1895 Crispi, clearly foreseeing the turn of the tide, warned Berlin: ". . . Italy will not leave the Triple Alliance as long as I am in power, I guarantee you. But if I fall from power, Italy's foreign policy will change direction." (*Die grosse Politik der europäischen Kabinette, 1871–1914* [40 vols., Berlin, 1922–27], VII, 139.)

[10] The history of the rapprochement with France is complicated and cannot be told here in detail. Briefly, in the fall of 1896 the two powers signed a convention that tacitly recognized French sovereignty over Tunisia, and in November 1898 an important economic agreement was concluded. The most significant step was the Accords of 1902: in an exchange of letters both powers agreed that if either became the victim of unprovoked aggression, the other would remain neutral. French President Émile Loubet received a warm welcome when he visited the Italian capital in April 1904, and the following July Paris severed relations with the Vatican, thereby indicating that the Roman question could no longer be considered an issue between the two states. Cordial relations continued through 1911. The following year friction flowing from Italy's war for Libya was manifest in several unfortunate maritime incidents with France, and Raymond Poincaré, who passed for an Italophobe, came to power. The best single volume on the rapprochement is Enrico Serra, *Camille Barrère e l'intesa italo-francese* (Milan, 1950).

[11] Quoted in François Charles-Roux, *Souvenirs diplomatiques: Rome-Quirinal, février 1916–février 1919* (Paris, 1958), 28.

[12] Friendship with Britain was imperative for Italy because of its long, unfortified coasts and its dependence on imports. The first treaty of the Triplice had been supplemented by separate ministerial declarations stating that the alliance was not to be considered as directed against Britain. In a subsequent renewal of the treaty the declarations were not repeated, but for all practical purposes Rome continued to consider them in force.

[13] The heart of the accord stated: "Russia and Italy must strive in the first place to maintain the *status quo* in the Balkan Peninsula; in any eventuality that may arise in the Balkans, they must uphold the application of the principle of nationality, to the exclusion of all foreign domination." (See Francesco Tommasini, *L'Italia alla vigilia della guerra: La politica estera di Tommaso Tittoni* [5 vols., Bologna, 1934–41], V, 477–96; Giovanni Giolitti, *Memorie della mia vita* [2 vols., Milan, 1922], I, 252–56; Alexander Savinsky, *Recollections of a Russian Diplomat* [London, 1927], 166–70; Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, *Materialy po Istorii Franko-Russkikh Otnoshenii za 1910–1914* [Materials on the History of Franco-Russian Relations for 1910–1914] [Moscow, 1922], 298.)

teriorated. Many points of friction with Austria developed, including increased rivalry in the Balkans, the growth of Italian Irredentism, and a military and naval arms race between the two allies.[14] An anti-Italian clique formed in Vienna, with Francis Ferdinand and Conrad von Hötzendorf as its two most important members. The latter, an ardent Italophobe and chief of the Austrian general staff during the later years of the alliance, made no secret of his desire to forestall what he considered to be the inevitable conflict with Italy by waging a preventive war against it.[15] Rome and Berlin were on more cordial terms, but the German government was frequently angered by Italy's flirtations with the *Entente*.[16] No more fitting example of Italy's true position in the alliance can be found than the antipathy that existed between William II and Victor Emmanuel III.[17] After 1911 relations between Rome and its allies improved to a modest degree; the improvement, however, was relatively short-lived and was caused primarily by Franco-Italian friction during the Italo-Turkish War.[18] By 1914 it was apparent that the Triplice was a military alliance in name only. Berlin had long since written Italy off as an ally in case of a general European war.[19]

On the eve of the Great War Italy's international position was thus highly ambiguous. For a number of reasons it maintained the alliance. Among Italian industrial and aristocratic cliques there was a great respect for German industrial and military achievement,[20] and German capital was

[14] The best survey of prewar Austro-Italian relations is William C. Askew, "The Austro-Italian Antagonism, 1896–1914," in *Power, Public Opinion, and Diplomacy,* ed. Lillian Parker and William C. Askew (Durham, N. C., 1959), 172–221.

[15] Although Francis Joseph fully appreciated the possibility of an eventual Austro-Italian conflict, he never accepted the concept of a preventive war. On one occasion he told Conrad: "My policy is a policy of peace; everything must fall in line with this policy. According to this sentiment my Minister of Foreign Affairs carries out my policy. It is very possible that it will come to this war, even probable. It will not be carried on, however, until Italy attacks us." (Quoted in Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf, *Aus meiner Dienstzeit, 1906–1918* [5 vols., Vienna, 1921–25], II, 281.)

[16] In November 1906 Chancellor Bernhard von Bülow, angered by Italy's conduct at Algeciras, actually told the *Reichstag:* "If Italy leaves the Triplice, we will permit Austria to declare war against it." (Quoted in André Tardieu, *La conférence d'Algésiras* [Paris, 1908], 468.)

[17] The Kaiser was primarily to blame for the antagonism since he adopted a condescending attitude toward the timid Italian monarch and frequently made deprecatory remarks about Victor Emmanuel and Italy in general. He is, for instance, seriously reputed to have referred to Queen Helen as a "peasant girl" and a "daughter of a Black Mountain cattle thief." (Quoted in Georg Alexander von Müller, *The Kaiser and His Court,* ed. Walter Görlitz [New York, 1961], 80.)

[18] See William C. Askew, *Europe and Italy's Acquisition of Libya, 1911–1912* (Durham, N. C., 1942), 272–74 *et passim.*

[19] Bülow wrote the Kaiser in March 1905, for example, that Italy could not be counted on in case of war, concluding: "However, it will be a not unimportant gain for us if Italy remains neutral instead of going with France." (*Grosse Politik,* XX, Pt. 1, 95; see also Paul von Hindenburg, *Aus meinem Leben* [Leipzig, 1920], 73; Hermann von Kuhl, *Der deutsche Generalstab in Vorbereitung und Durchführung des Weltkrieges* [Berlin, 1920], 154–55 *et passim.*)

[20] Thomas N. Page, American ambassador in Rome from 1913 to 1919, records with basic verity: "When the [world] war broke out, the entire force of the Consulta, from the

playing a significant role in developing Italian industry.[21] Had Rome terminated the arrangement, its allies might have made economic reprisals; in addition, the Consulta could not definitely rule out the possibility that, in such an eventuality, Conrad's plan for a preventive conflict might not be given serious consideration.[22] The old dictum still held true that only two basic relationships between Italy and Austria were possible: alliance or war.[23]

Yet Italian national interests also dictated cordiality with the *Entente*. The rapprochement with France was a natural and necessary counterbalance to the Triplice. No Italian government could risk Britain's displeasure, while friendship with Russia served as a potential brake on Austria's Balkan ambitions. By 1914 no other major European state was in so dangerous or precarious a position. In a Europe that was essentially bipolar, the Consulta followed the difficult course of preserving significant ties with both alliance blocs. If this could not be the result of each particular *démarche,* it had to be part of the same over-all policy process. Few if any of the Italian diplomats were guilty of deliberate duplicity. They followed, instead, a policy of duality, since they could not afford the security of a definitive commitment. It is in this prewar context that the events of 1914 and 1915 must be placed.

When Austria delivered its ultimatum in Belgrade on July 23, 1914, Italy was faced with its greatest diplomatic crisis since Villafranca. Italian

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Minister almost down to the youngest under-secretary and functionary, had been reared in the dogma that the Triple Alliance was Italy's Ark of Safety. . . . This view was especially supported by two elements in Italy: one among the Business class of the North, the other among the 'Blacks,' or Vatican supporters among the Noble class in Rome." (*Italy and the World War* [New York, 1920], 142.)

[21] See Francesco Nitti, *Il capitale straniero in Italia* (Bari, 1915), 42–53 *et passim*. German commercial and industrial interests in Italy were significant enough to warrant special attention in both Paris and London after Italy entered the war. Paul Claudel was dispatched to Rome in November 1915 on a mission to study methods for "the reconquest of the fields abandoned . . . to German enterprise." (Louis Chaigne, *Vie de Paul Claudel et genèse de son oeuvre* [(Paris), 1961], 146; Paul Claudel *et al., Correspondance, 1897–1938* [(Paris), 1952], 283–84.) At the end of 1915 the British considered similar measures. Ambassador Rodd wrote Sir Edward Grey on Dec. 24 concerning the "fostering of Anglo-Italian trade," alluding to "the steps which our German rivals are taking to maintain the trade connections which they had established in Italy so successfully as to threaten to exclude the competition of all other nations." (Dispatch 920, Foreign Office/368/1313, Public Record Office [hereafter cited as FO, PRO].)

[22] The Consulta knew that Francis Joseph would probably never agree to a preventive war, but the heir to the throne, Francis Ferdinand, was believed to be an ardent Italophobe. As early as 1905 Victor Emmanuel admitted to the American ambassador in Rome that Francis Joseph's death would definitely increase the possibility of an Austro-Italian conflict. (George Meyer to Secretary of State John Hay, dispatch 467, Feb. 17, 1905, NA.) Each year the aging Emperor's health became a matter of increasing concern in Rome, and this concern in part explains the premature renewal of the Triple Alliance in 1912 when its expiration date was actually July 8, 1914. (See Giuseppe Avarna to Antonio Di San Giuliano, telegram 8499, Dec. 31, 1911, busta 15, fasc. 25, Carte Giolitti, Archivio Centrale dello Stato [hereafter cited as ACS]; Pansa to Di San Giuliano, telegram 8139, Dec. 17, 1911, busta 15, fasc. 25 bis, *ibid.*; Rodd to Grey, dispatch 48, Feb. 6, 1915, FO/371/2372, PRO.)

[23] The author of this maxim was probably Count Constantino Nigra. (See *Secret Treaties,* ed. Pribram, II, 136; Günther G. Jagow, *Ursachen und Ausbruch des Weltkrieges* [Berlin, 1919], 27.)

Foreign Minister Antonio Di San Giuliano had not been informed in advance of the actual content of the ultimatum, but for several days prior to its delivery he had been fully aware of the potential explosiveness of the international situation.[24] An Austro-Serbian conflict, with danger of escalation into a general European war, was a distinct possibility. This would directly affect Italian interests. Certainly Di San Giuliano did not wish to see Serbia crushed. Prime Minister Antonio Salandra wrote that "Serbia's defeat, with or without territorial diminution," would have reduced it "to vassalage and impotency" and would have signified:

> The definitive hegemony of Austria in the Balkans, and through it the triumphant invasion of Germanism into the Balkan Peninsula. We would have lost all hope of territorial expansion, and we would have lost the Adriatic in a commercial and military sense.[25]

On the other hand, Di San Giuliano could not afford to antagonize Vienna and Berlin. Since 1870 the myth of German military invincibility had exercised powerful influence in Rome.[26] If the Consulta refused to recognize the *casus foederis* of the alliance and its allies subsequently won the war, Italy's postwar fate might well be disastrous. As long as men of Conrad's views remained in power, the Italian government could only fear the result of Austrian and German victory. Even cobelligerency with its allies could be expected to yield little real profit. On August 2 Di San Giuliano outlined to his ambassadors in Vienna and Berlin the probable consequences of such a policy:

> It is superfluous to recount the sad consequences that a defeat of the Triple Alliance would produce. Even if it gained a partial victory, it would not be able to give us adequate compensations; and if the alliance won a decisive victory and reduced France and Russia to impotency for many years, there would be neither the interest nor the desire to give us compensations in proportion to our sacrifices.[27]

[24] Di San Giuliano analyzed the Austro-Serbian problem in July 1914 with considerable knowledge and insight. One of his principal sources of information was his close friend German Ambassador Hans von Flotow, from whom he knew that Austria intended to address substantial demands to the Serbian government, and as early as July 14 he expressed serious preoccupation concerning Austro-Serbian relations to a number of his ambassadors. (*Österreich-ungarns Aussenpolitik von der bosnischen Krise 1908 bis zum Kriegsausbruch 1914* [8 vols., Vienna, 1930], VIII, 494; *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 4th Ser., XII, 155–56.) The staff of the German embassy as well as Flotow himself betrayed anxiety concerning Austrian intentions. British Ambassador Rodd told Grey in a private letter of July 20 that a "feeling of uneasiness" was evident among the embassy personnel, concluding: "They seem to anticipate that the Austro-Hungarian Government is about to address a very strong communication to Servia [*sic*], and fear that Servia [*sic*], having a very swelled head, and feeling confident of the support of Russia, will reply in a manner which Austria can only regard as provocative." (FO/800/65, PRO.)

[25] Salandra, *Neutralità italiana,* 87.

[26] *Ibid.,* 140.

[27] *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 5th Ser., I, 2–3.

Victor Emmanuel III feared that German victory would bring the entire Continent under the domination of Berlin.[28] Salandra, carrying the monarch's fear to its logical conclusion, wrote: "The kingdom of Italy, if . . . victorious with them [the Central Powers], would at best have been reduced to first among the vassal states of the [German] empire."[29]

For Di San Giuliano the latter days of July 1914 were ones of both mental and physical anguish. A seriously ill man,[30] he sought refuge from the heat of Rome at the resort of Fiuggi Fonte, fifty miles southeast of the capital.[31] From the first he had no doubt as to what his policy must be.[32] Under any circumstances it would have been difficult to lead Italy to war on the side of the hated Austrians. Given the circumstances of 1914 it was almost impossible. For many Italians Austria appeared to be acting the role of an irresponsible aggressor.[33] It seemed likely, in addition, that Vienna would ignore and thus violate the terms of the alliance. Under its seventh article Vienna was required to reach previous agreement with Rome before it undertook territorial acquisition in the Balkan Peninsula, and the Austrians were also obligated to provide Italy with territorial compensation in proportion to its own gains in the Balkans. Di San Giuliano knew that the Austrian leaders would be reluctant to make him privy to their plans, much less allow him to claim Italy's irredenta as compensation.

More tangible factors also dictated a pacific policy. In 1915 the Italian Army might have been better prepared for war; in 1914 its condition was worse.[34] Serious warfare was, furthermore, continuing in Libya.[35] When it

[28] Martini, *Diario*, 401. Conversely, the King held that *Entente* victory would result in European hegemony being shared by three separate centers of power.

[29] Salandra, *Neutralità italiana*, 88.

[30] Since the age of twenty Di San Giuliano had suffered from severe attacks of crippling gout, having inherited the disease from both of his parents. (Rodd to Grey, dispatch 406, Oct. 16, 1914, FO/371/2007, PRO; Daniele Varè, *Laughing Diplomat* [New York, 1938], 63–64.)

[31] *Documenti diplomatici italiani*, 4th Ser., XII, 27, 78–79.

[32] Di San Giuliano is usually pictured as a firm partisan of the Triplice, and there is no doubt that he had labored to improve relations with Vienna and Berlin. Yet in 1914 he never seriously considered cobelligerency with the Central Powers. His was a plastic mentality, capable of quick response and adaptation. Rodd described him as being possessed of "a certain cynical irony which he found it difficult to repress." Varè expressed much the same opinion: "He was the greatest cynic I have ever known. To hear him talk, you would imagine that he believed in nothing and in nobody." (Rodd to Grey, telegram 406, Oct. 16, 1914, FO/371/2007, PRO; Varè, *Laughing Diplomat*, 63.)

[33] This attitude is clearly demonstrated in the Italian press. (See esp. "La pace in pericolo," *Corriere della Sera* [Milan], July 25, 1914; *La Tribuna* [Rome], Aug. 6, 1914.) I concur with Albertini's opinion that the Italian government would have met a veritable avalanche of opposition had it attempted recognition of the *casus foederis*. (See *Origins of the War*, III, 348.)

[34] No one has stressed this fact more than Luigi Cadorna, chief of the Italian general staff through Caporetto. (See his *La guerra alla fronte italiana* [2 vols., Milan, 1921], I, 13–27 *et passim*.)

[35] In August 1914 there were over fifty thousand Italian troops serving in Libya. (Ferdinando Martini, *Lettere, 1860–1928* [Milan, 1934], 489; Luigi Cadorna, *Altre pagine sulla grande guerra* [Milan, 1925], 47–99; Martini, *Diario*, 11.)

became apparent that Britain would follow France and Russia into the conflict—and the Italian leaders were convinced that this had been a probability from the first—yet another weight was placed on the scales.[86] The specter of hostilities against the combined English and French fleet was an eventuality that the Italian Navy clearly indicated it could not face.[87]

Neutrality was a necessity; the difficulty lay in implementing this policy. Both Vienna and Berlin asked Rome to recognize the *casus foederis* of the alliance. Di San Giuliano felt that it was not operative, primarily because Austria would be responsible for any conflict engendered by its ultimatum to Serbia.[88] But the summer of 1914 was not that of 1913. Austria clearly had German support, and a general European war was much more likely. The Consulta could scarcely afford to follow the precedent of 1913 and alienate its allies (the probable victors) with a definitive, explicit statement disavowing Austrian aggression. Instead, Di San Giuliano adopted a policy of caution, seeking to articulate and justify his position gradually, thereby softening the blow as much as possible.

On July 24 his course was set. That morning Di San Giuliano, Salandra, and German Ambassador Hans von Flotow were gathered in the Foreign Minister's hotel at Fiuggi Fonte. Official notification of the actual content of the Austrian ultimatum was delivered at the Consulta in Rome, and it was hastily telephoned to them.[89] In discussing its content Flotow himself exclaimed: "Vraiment, c'est un peu fort!" Although the exact details of the ensuing and quite lively conversation will never be known in complete detail, the following is definitely established: Di San Giuliano unequivocally stated that Italy was not obliged to be a cobelligerent if the ultimatum led to war, since Rome had not been consulted beforehand and, more important, because Austria was acting as an aggressor and would be the author of the conflict. Vienna was obliged to compensate Italy, however, under the terms of Article VII for any gains it might make in the Balkans, and if suitable

[86] Di San Giuliano informed his ambassadors in Berlin and Vienna on July 29 that Britain would definitely fight at France's side if war came, and on Aug. 3, in discussing Italy's declaration of neutrality with Malagodi, the Foreign Minister stated: "Our decision depended necessarily on that of England." (*Documenti diplomatici italiani*, 4th Ser., XII, 435; Malagodi, *Conversazioni*, I, 17; see also *ibid.*, 15–16; Salandra, *Neutralità italiana*, 90–94, 133; *Die deutschen Dokumente zum Kriegsausbruch* [4 vols., Charlottenburg, 1919], II, 142.)

[87] Thaon Di Revel to Salandra, Aug. 1, 1914, busta 2, fasc. 16, Carte Salandra, ACS; Salandra, *Neutralità italiana*, 182; *Documenti diplomatici italiani*, 5th Ser., I, 2–3; *Deutschen Dokumente*, III, 104–105; Martini, *Diario*, 11; Eric von Falkenhayn, *The German General Staff and Its Critical Decisions, 1914–1916* (New York, 1920), 74.

[88] As early as July 14 Flotow reported to Berlin that Di San Giuliano had expressed this opinion in muted form. (*Deutschen Dokumente*, I, 67.)

[89] The Austrian Foreign Office informed Rome one day in advance that demands would be made in Belgrade, but the content of the ultimatum was made known to the Italian government the day after it was delivered in the Serbian capital. Berchtold thought this "perfectly adequate as an act of courtesy toward an unreliable ally." (*Österreich-ungarns Aussenpolitik*, VIII, 520–22.)

compensation were offered, the possibility remained that Italy might enter a subsequent war at the side of its allies.[40] These twin themes were the basis of Italian policy throughout the remainder of the diplomatic crisis.[41]

In Vienna, where the unreliable Italian allies were occasionally deprecated as "rabbits,"[42] Foreign Minister Leopold von Berchtold was reluctant to offer Italy compensation. Under pressure from Berlin to modify his attitude, he proposed a compromise formula by August 2 in which Italy would receive compensation that could not include Austrian territory only if it became a cobelligerent.[43] In the face of this intransigence Di San Giuliano gradually defined his policy. He consistently emphasized that Italy was not obligated to recognize the *casus foederis,* while at the same time raising the issue of compensation and hinting at the possibility of Italian intervention. Even after Italy's declaration of neutrality he was careful to leave the door open for possible cobelligerency if suitable compensation were offered.[44]

Kajetan von Mérey, the Austrian ambassador in Rome, termed this a policy of "blackmail," and from the Austrian viewpoint his appraisal was perhaps justified.[45] Di San Giuliano, however, felt that he was simply asserting Italy's just claims under the terms of the alliance. In addition, he could not definitely rule out Italian participation in the conflict on the side of the Central Powers. If Germany and Austria won a decisive victory, it would be in Italy's best interests to enter the war and accept whatever might be offered as reward. Finally, Di San Giuliano no doubt hoped that emphasis on the issue of compensation would encourage moderation in Vienna vis-à-vis Belgrade.[46]

By August 1 it was apparent that at least for the moment Italy would not follow its allies into the conflict. On the morning of August 3 the Stefani news agency carried the official declaration of neutrality. An attempt to offend no one, it benignly stated:

[40] *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 4th Ser., XII, 314–15; Salandra, *Neutralità italiana,* 75–78; *Deutschen Dokumente,* I, 168–69, 180–82. In regarding Austria as the aggressor and still recognizing the possibility of cobelligerency, Di San Giuliano came close to committing an act of bad faith since the Accords of 1902 pledged Italy to maintain neutrality vis-à-vis France if France were the victim of unprovoked aggression.

[41] The treaty of alliance did not link the two issues, and compensation would be due Italy regardless of its attitude toward the *casus foederis.*

[42] Ludwig Reiners, *In Europa gehen die Lichter aus* (Munich, 1954), 256. The remark referred to the supposed high Italian birth rate.

[43] *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 4th Ser., XII, 459–60, 474–75, 484, 503, 507, 509–10; *ibid.,* 5th Ser., I, 7–9; *Deutschen Dokumente,* III, 20, 72–73; *Diplomatische Aktenstücke zur Vorgeschichte des Krieges 1914: Ergänzungen und Nachträge zum österreichisch-ungarischen Rotbuch* (3 vols., Vienna, 1919), III, 87–88; *Österreich-ungarns Aussenpolitik,* VIII, 846–48, 961. Berchtold was induced to consider compensation for Italy only because "ein grosses Spiel handelt." (*Ibid.,* 846–48.)

[44] *Diplomatische Aktenstücke,* III, 121; *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 5th Ser., I, 97–98.

[45] *Diplomatische Aktenstücke,* III, 106–107, 131–33.

[46] See also Askew, "Austro-Italian Antagonism," 220–21.

Finding some of the powers of Europe in a state of war, and Italy being in a state of peace with all the belligerent powers, the government of the King and the citizens and subjects of the kingdom have the obligation to observe the duties of neutrality, according to existing legislation and the principles of international law.[47]

The calculated risk had been taken. If the Central Powers won a decisive victory, Di San Giuliano knew that the anti-Italian clique in Vienna might well demand that Italy be punished for its decision. For the moment all he could do was to prepare for any eventuality. On August 13 he wrote Salandra:

In my opinion we must not forget that Austria and Germany will probably win and, since this probability exists, we need to improve our relations with them. . . . At the same time we will cultivate relations with the other side, especially with England.[48]

The next day he repeated the same theme to Salandra: "The military situation and thus the political situation is still uncertain; therefore we will maintain a prudent reserve, and keep good relations with all the belligerents."[49] The dualism that had characterized prewar Italian diplomacy was still a necessity. But for the first time a solution might be forthcoming. On August 15 Di San Giuliano advised Salandra that they must await "the outcome of the great battle on the Franco-German front."[50] The verdict of the battlefield was anticipated with considerable anxiety in Rome.

The expected decision came on September 6–9, with the Battle of the Marne. It made an incalculable impression in Italy. "The spell was broken," wrote Salandra, the myth of German invincibility shattered.[51] The *Entente* now seemed the likely ultimate victors.[52] For intensely nationalistic leaders like Salandra, the opportunity that presented itself could not be ignored. "It seemed to me that the historic moment had arrived for attaining perfect national unity and for extending Italy's boundaries to the limits consecrated

[47] *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 5th Ser., I, 18.
[48] *Ibid.,* 136–37.
[49] *Ibid.,* 142.
[50] *Ibid.,* 152.
[51] Salandra, *Neutralità italiana,* 190.
[52] Abundant evidence verifies Salandra's assertion concerning the influence of the battle: Malagodi, *Conversazioni,* I, 20–21; Augusto Torre, "Ricordi di Antonio Di San Giuliano," *Nuova antologia,* CDLXIII (Jan. 1955), 39; Rodd, *Memories,* 215; Page, *Italy and the War,* 166; Matthias Erzberger, *Souvenirs de guerre* (Paris, 1921), 38; Bernhard von Bülow, *Memoirs, 1909–1919* (London, 1931), 192; Luigi Albertini, *Venti anni di vita politica* (5 vols., Bologna, 1951), Pt. 2, I, 337–38; Giorgio Rochat, "La preparazione dell'esercito italiano nell'inverno 1914–15 in relazione alle informazioni disponibili sulla guerra di posizione," *Il Risorgimento,* XIII (Feb. 1961), 16; Jules Laroche, *Au Quai d'Orsay avec Briand et Poincaré, 1913–1926* (Paris, 1957), 24; Giampiero Carocci, *Giolitti e l'età giolittiana* (Turin, 1961), 174. Despite Russia's defeat at Tannenberg, Di San Giuliano wrote Salandra on Oct. 6: "The Russians are having difficulties, but they . . . can be overcome. The latest Russian victory over the Germans appears to be authentic. You will also see that the condition of the Austrian Army is poor." (*Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 5th Ser., I, 538.)

by nature and tradition," he later wrote.[53] To achieve this goal, Italy would have to abandon neutrality to fight Austria. Di San Giuliano was of the same basic opinion. As early as August 9 he wrote Salandra and alluded to "if not the probability, at least the possibility" of a war against Austria,[54] later adding that it was necessary "in order to realize the great national goal, namely the achievement of Italy's natural boundaries."[55] The Foreign Minister was convinced that only active belligerency would suffice. On October 12 the journalist Olindo Malagodi queried him concerning Italy's postwar fate if it remained a neutral. He replied:

> [We would be] in a fine position! We would reap all the hatred of the Central Powers, who will attribute their defeat to our defection, and all the ingratitude of the other side, which will not care to remember benefits gained because of our neutrality.[56]

There is little doubt that Di San Giuliano would eventually have led Italy into the conflict; his last conversation with British Ambassador Rennell Rodd on October 11 indicates rather firm resolve to do so.[57] Five days later Di San Giuliano died in his apartment at the Consulta. With his demise Salandra temporarily emerged as the author of Italian foreign policy. After holding the portfolio of foreign affairs for twenty days, Salandra remade his cabinet. The Consulta was entrusted to Sidney Sonnino, his friend and former parliamentary mentor. Sonnino made a negative impression on many of his contemporaries, primarily because of his abundant and obvious self-confidence and his great reserve.[58] Salandra asserted, however, that by

[53] Salandra, *Neutralità italiana,* 191. Salandra had imbibed the ultranationalistic currents that flourished among certain Italian intellectual circles after the *Risorgimento.* It is interesting to note that in April 1914 he replied to intimations that he was a militarist and warmonger by stating on the floor of the Italian Chamber: "I have three sons who are the only hope, the sole purpose of my life. At this moment they are all in the army of the first line. And do you believe that I could want war, that I could madly lead the nation into military adventures? But if the nation desires war, they will leave in the same manner as the sons of the proletariat (Bravo!), singing with the young poet, who died for the defense of Rome: 'We are ready for death, Italy has called!'" (Camera, Legislatura XXIV, Tornata del 5 aprile 1914, *Discussioni* [Rome, 1914], 2276.)

[54] *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 5th Ser., I, 83–84.

[55] *Ibid.,* 500–501.

[56] Malagodi, *Conversazioni,* I, 23.

[57] Rodd reported to Grey: "he begged me to urge the following points for your consideration. He understood that you could make no definite engagements as long as attitude of Italy was hypothetical. But, if psychological moment arrived, as he thought it would arrive, when to prevent Italian interests in Adriatic, especially at Trieste, being compromised by menace of too great a Slav extension, Italian Government could, with good reason, call country to secure those interests by joining us, it would be necessary to act rapidly. Up to last moment conviction entertained by Germany and Austria that Italy would remain neutral should be encouraged." (Rodd to Grey, telegram 443, Oct. 12, 1914, FO/371/2008, PRO; see also *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 5th Ser., I, 561–62.) John A. Thayer in his *Italy and the Great War: Politics and Culture, 1870–1915* (Madison, Wis., 1964), 311, doubts that Di San Giuliano would have brought Italy into the war.

[58] See Francesco Nitti, *Rivelazioni: Dramatis personae* (Naples, 1948), 373–90; Carlo Sforza, "Sonnino and His Foreign Policy," *Contemporary Review,* CXXXVI (Dec. 1929), 721–32; Jules Destrée, *Figures italiennes d'aujourd'hui* (Brussels, 1918), 1–28. Prince von Bülow,

November 1914 Sonnino agreed that only intervention against Austria could guarantee fulfillment of Italian ambitions,[59] and in a certain sense his personality was well suited for the conduct of the protracted negotiations ahead.

The responsibility both men shouldered was tremendous. As early as August 11 Victor Emmanuel approved intervention in principle,[60] and in September Salandra told Colonial Minister Ferdinando Martini: "The King . . . will accept the decision of the government, whatever it may be. If it is for war, he has told me he will go to war. . . ."[61] Salandra could only conclude that the monarch "will never pronounce himself clearly" on the issue of war or peace.[62] Victor Emmanuel was, in essence, content to remain in the background and leave the conduct of foreign affairs to his ministers.[63] With the partial exception of Martini, the cabinet was told as little as possible concerning foreign affairs, while the Parliament was kept completely in the dark.[64] Both men had moments of doubt, hesitation, and anxiety concerning the course they were pursuing, as their correspondence clearly indicates.[65] To the last both were reluctant to play the "terrible card" of war.[66] But they were continually spurred by a number of highly vocal war factions, by the Italian press, and by the *Entente,* and the government never flagged in its hasty preparations for war.

As the end of the year approached, they sensed that the moment for serious *pourparlers* had arrived.[67] On December 11 Sonnino's ambassador in Vienna, Giuseppe Avarna, opened formal negotiations with Berchtold for compensation under the terms of Article VII. Avarna made it clear that the

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sent to Rome in December 1914 as Flotow's replacement, was reputed to have remarked concerning Sonnino: "In a country of chatterboxes I have to deal with the only man who does not speak!" (Quoted in Jacques Bainville, *Italy and the War* [London, 1916], 193; see also Page to Secretary of State Robert Lansing, Dec. 4, 1915, Decimal Files, No. 763.72/2325.5, NA; Herbert Vivian, *Italy at War* [London, 1917], 21.) An official British Foreign Office publication gave the following comment on Sonnino: "He was silent and trustworthy, but, though respected, was unpopular in Italy; and his maintenance in power was due to two reasons: that the British and French Governments supported him, in order to prevent the return to the [Italian] Foreign Office of the Giolittian Tittoni; and that the Italians believed no one else was capable of obtaining so much from their Allies." (Foreign Office, *Italy* [London, 1919], 26–27.)

[59] Salandra, *Neutralità italiana,* 364 *et passim.*

[60] *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 5th Ser., I, 109.

[61] Quoted in Martini, *Diario,* 104.

[62] Salandra to Sonnino, Mar. 16, 1915, busta 2, fasc. 19, Carte Salandra, ACS.

[63] Prone to timidity, the monarch confessed to Salandra in May 1915 during the days of uncertainty that preceded Italian intervention that he had not wished to succeed his father to the throne, and he actually spoke of the possibility of abdication. (Gifuni, "Tre memorabili giornate," 81–85.)

[64] The *Verbali del Consiglio dei Ministri* for 1914 and 1915 (XI), deposited in the ACS, clearly indicate that the cabinet was not informed of major foreign policy decisions from September 1914 until May 1915.

[65] See Vigezzi, "Problemi della neutralità e della guerra," *passim.*

[66] Salandra to Sonnino, Mar. 16, 1915, busta 2, fasc. 19, Carte Salandra, ACS.

[67] Salandra, *Neutralità italiana,* 456.

Consulta now asked territorial compensation as insurance that Italy would remain neutral, and not as the prerequisite for intervention.[68] After the launching of the Anglo-French attempt to force the Dardanelles, which seemed the overture to the partition of Turkey, the *Entente* was formally approached.[69] In London Ambassador Guglielmo Imperiali delivered to Grey on March 4 a memorandum containing conditions for Italian intervention on the side of the Allies.[70] Five days later Grey notified Paris and Petrograd of the Italian *démarche*.[71] The Consulta was now engaged in simultaneous negotiations with both blocs of belligerents.

It is a commonplace that Rome reached agreement with the *Entente* only because they were the highest bidders. The very tenor of the negotiations casts doubt on this assumption. In Vienna Sonnino offered to exchange territorial compensation for continued neutrality, while in London he was willing to pledge armed intervention. If Salandra and Sonnino thought *Entente* victory over the Central Powers probable, what value would promises made by the defeated coalition have at the eventual peace conference? If Austria had been persuaded to cede territory before the termination of hostilities, could Britain, France, and Russia be expected to recognize such a *fait accompli?*

Either possibility seemed doubtful. The *Entente* was initially grateful for Italian neutrality, but by August 10, 1914, the Italian ambassadors in all three *Entente* capitals had been directly or unofficially informed that only armed intervention could guarantee fulfillment of Italian territorial ambitions.[72] This theme was persistently repeated by numerous *Entente* leaders,[73] by a barrage of *Entente* propaganda in Italy, and by a campaign for Italian intervention conducted by segments of the *Entente* press.[74] In Feb-

[68] Sonnino to Bollati and Avarna, telegram 1, Dec. 9, 1914, Avarna to Sonnino, telegram 4, Dec. 12, 1914, busta 5, fasc. 44, Carte Salandra, ACS.

[69] The Consulta was well informed concerning *Entente* military plans vis-à-vis the Straits. On Jan. 2, 1915, Ambassador Camillo Garroni in Constantinople told Sonnino: "The Ottoman government in the last few days has received confirmation of the assembling of a large Anglo-French squadron at the Dardanelles, with the apparent purpose of forcing them." (Telegram 24, Jan. 2, 1915, busta 4, fasc. 31, *ibid.*) There is no doubt that the Dardanelles campaign created an immediate and profound impression in Rome. On Mar. 9 Ambassador Page informed Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan that "an important Italian statesman" had observed to him that the campaign "undoubtedly tends to ripen matters." (Decimal Files No. 763.72/1705, NA; see also *Carteggio Avarna-Bollati*, ed. Avarna di Gualtieri, 70; Jules Destrée, *En Italie avant la guerre* [Brussels, 1916], 110.)

[70] Antonio Salandra, *L'intervento: Ricordi e pensieri* (Milan, 1930), 156–60; Imperiali to Sonnino, telegram 62, Mar. 4, 1915, Telegrammi riservati speciali di gabinetto in arrivo [hereafter cited as telg. ris. spec. gab. in arrivo], 1915, CDXXIV, Archivio Storico, Ministero degli Affari Esteri; memo from Imperiali to Grey, Mar. 4, 1915, FO/371/2507, PRO.

[71] Grey to George Buchanan and Francis Bertie, telegram 41/28, Mar. 10, 1915, *ibid.*

[72] *Documenti diplomatici italiani*, 5th Ser., I, 63, 71–72, 81–82, 86–87, 95–96.

[73] Imperiali informed Rome on Nov. 20, for example, that Admiral John Fisher had spoken to a member of the embassy staff and urged intervention as the only policy compatible with Italian interests. (Telegram 11471, busta 8, fasc. 71, Carte Salandra, ACS.)

[74] On *Entente* propaganda in Italy, see Julien Luchaire, *Confession d'un français moyen* (2 vols., Florence, 1965), II, 14–39.

ruary 1915 Ambassador Andrea Carlotti in Petrograd transmitted to Sonnino a typical excerpt from a Russian journal, which read in part:

> Today Italy knows well that the earth usurped by the Habsburgs can only come into its possession again when it has been bathed in the blood of its sons; this is crude but historic law, *dura lex sed lex,* which has never been denied.[75]

If the Consulta were to ignore this advice and reach agreement with the Central Powers on the supposition that they might not be decisively defeated, the Italian government seriously doubted that they would cede promised territories at the close of the conflict or permit Italy to retain areas already given during the war. Imperiali telegraphed from London on August 7 that the staff of the departing German embassy had warned that upon termination of the conflict Berlin would avenge Italy's decision for neutrality, and a number of similar reports soon reached Rome.[76] The Italian government attached definite significance to them, as did the Italian military. Luigi Cadorna, commander in chief of the army, thought that the victory of the Central Powers could only mean disaster for Italy: "Without any apology whatsoever we would have to suffer their vendetta," he wrote his wife on September 18.[77] Fear of Austrian and German reprisal was so great that by spring 1915 the Italian command was seriously concerned about the possibility of an Austrian surprise attack before Italy could enter the war.[78] In conclusion, Salandra's memoirs, while often to be taken *cum grano salis,* may be read literally when he asserts that the negotiations in Vienna were intended as a ruse.[79] There could have been no better way to deceive the Central Powers concerning the Consulta's true intentions and at the same time to alarm the *Entente* and thus heighten their ultimate receptivity.[80]

[75] Carlotti to Sonnino, dispatch 647/137, Feb. 23, 1915, pacco 221, Ministero degli Affari Esteri. Carlotti identified the paper as the *Birsgevia Viedomosti.*

[76] *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 5th Ser., I, 62–63; see also *ibid.,* 68; Salandra, *Neutralità italiana,* 165.

[77] Luigi Cadorna, *Lettere famigliari,* ed. Raffaele Cadorna (Milan, 1967), 102.

[78] Salandra, *Intervento,* 116; Cadorna, *Guerra alla fronte italiana,* I, 53; Ufficio storico della R. Marina, *La marina italiana nella grande guerra* (8 vols., Florence, 1935–42), I, 374–75.

[79] See esp. Salandra, *Neutralità italiana,* 174–77, 457, and *Intervento,* 116, 131–34. A British Foreign Office publication of 1919 provided the following comment on the negotiations: "The Italian Government probably never contemplated the acceptance of their demands, and dallied with them only until the *Entente* had guaranteed Italy all that she asked as compensation for going to war against her former allies and until the Italian military preparations were completed." (Foreign Office, *Italy,* 28.) Rodd, after reading the Italian Green Book on the negotiations, told Grey: "The point which a study of the correspondence . . . to my mind brings out most strongly, is that Baron Sonnino, while studious to provide a logical and consistent justification for Italy's denunciation of the Triple Alliance, never really intended to come to any agreement with the Austro-Hungarian Government. . . . In his conversations with me Baron Sonnino never disclosed the actual course which these negotiations were taking; but he always gave me to understand that it was practically out of the question that Austria could ever offer terms which could be acceptable to Italy, and the documents published in the Green Book go, as I have said, to prove that he never intended that these negotiations should have further results than those of gaining time and of providing Italy with a plausible case." (Rodd to Grey, dispatch 178, May 26, 1915, FO/371/2375, PRO.)

[80] Almost from the start the negotiations were an open secret, and speculation was rife in the *Entente* capitals concerning the nature and extent of Austrian concessions to Italy. On oc-

From the outset the talks gave little promise of success; they were highly protracted and were marked by a conspicuous lack of enthusiasm on both sides. Avarna in particular entertained no illusions concerning his government's probable intentions, as is indicated by his correspondence with Riccardo Bollati, the Italian ambassador in Berlin.[81] Furthermore, as early as January 25, 1915, Avarna wrote Sonnino to inquire which power should be entrusted with the care of Italian interests in Austria in case of war,[82] and by that date his pessimism was well justified. Although Berchtold was reticent even to admit Italy's right to compensation, Sonnino had made it clear on January 6 that he wanted Austrian territory under the terms of Article VII.[83] The government at Vienna considered this an impossibility, fearing that it would set a highly dangerous precedent vis-à-vis the other "unredeemed" nationalities of the Dual Monarchy.[84]

The attitude prevalent in Berlin was more generous. The German leaders thought that Italy held the key to the Balkans. They feared that Italian belligerency would precipitate Rumanian intervention into the *Entente* camp, which would in turn affect the attitude of the other Balkan neutrals.[85] Consequently they urged Vienna to make any concessions necessary to ensure continued Italian neutrality. There was even serious talk of ceding German territory to Austria as compensation for its own cessions to Italy.[86] Francis Joseph nevertheless remained adamantly opposed to surrendering any portion of his domains to Italy; on more than one occasion he frankly stated he would abdicate first.[87]

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casion relatively accurate information was obtained, as is shown by the following communication: "Russian Minister asks me to telegraph following information which he has obtained. . . . On March 7th Austro-Hungarian crown council in spite of opposition of Emperor resolved to offer Italy Trentino and Austrian territory as far as the Isonzo. . . ." (Lord Acton, Bern, to Grey, telegram 68, Mar. 16, 1915, *ibid.*)

[81] On Dec. 23, 1914, for example, Bollati wrote Avarna: "War against our allies of yesterday and today is inevitable; we would need a miracle to prevent it, and I do not know where one would come from." In his reply of Jan. 7, 1915, Avarna stated: "I persist in believing along with you that this exchange of views [concerning Article VII] is condemned at least for the present to certain failure, for the reasons that I have already explained to you." (*Carteggio Avarna-Bollati,* ed. Avarna di Gualtieri, 39, 43.)

[82] Avarna to Sonnino, Jan. 25, 1915, pacco 236, Ministero degli Affari Esteri.

[83] Sonnino to Avarna and Bollati, telegram 1, Jan. 7, 1915, Telegrammi riservati speciali di gabinetto in partenza [hereafter cited as telg. ris. spec. gab. in partenza], 1915, CDXXVII, *ibid.*

[84] Avarna to Sonnino, telegram 26, Jan. 23, 1915, telg. ris. spec. gab. in arrivo, 1915, CDXXIV *et passim, ibid.*

[85] See Glenn E. Torrey, "The Rumanian-Italian Agreement of 23 September 1914," *Slavonic and East European Review,* XLIV (July 1966), 403–20, and "Rumania and the Belligerents, 1914–1916," *Journal of Contemporary History,* I (July 1966), 180.

[86] Bollati to Sonnino, Mar. 19, 1915, telegram 133, telg. ris. spec. gab. in arrivo, 1915, CDXXIV *et passim,* Ministero degli Affari Esteri; *Carteggio Avarna-Bollati,* ed. Avarna di Gualtieri, 76–77, 85, *et passim;* Paul K. Freiwirth, "Germany and Austria-Hungary as Allies, 1914–1916," doctoral dissertation, University of Maryland, 1961, 89–114.

[87] *Documenti diplomatici italiani,* 5th Ser., I, 7–9; *Carteggio Avarna-Bollati,* ed. Avarna di Gualtieri, 56.

In mid-January Stephan Burián replaced Berchtold as Austrian Foreign Minister, but his appointment failed to produce any change in the Austrian attitude toward compensation for Italy.[88] Burián quickly proved, if anything, to be even more recalcitrant that Berchtold—so much so that Avarna, who fervently hoped that war could be avoided, felt constrained to warn Sonnino that Burián might simply be stalling for time.[89] After several weeks of German pressure in Vienna, a crown council met on March 8 at Schönbrunn Palace. Its members decided that Italy could be offered a modest portion of the southern Trentino.[90] Sonnino had scarcely been informed of this concession when he asked that any territories given as compensation be ceded immediately.[91] He knew it was unlikely that Vienna would agree. By now his intentions were becoming obvious. In Berlin, Foreign Minister Gottlieb von Jagow bluntly told Bollati: "If the royal [Italian] government . . . maintains firm its demand for immediate cession of territory, the supposition that it does not desire a favorable result from the negotiations would unfortunately be justified."[92]

Berlin continued to urge conciliation in Vienna and moderation in Rome. Finally, at the very end of the negotiations, the Consulta was informed on May 19 that any areas decided upon could be ceded one month after a detailed, definitive accord had been reached.[93] But to the last Austria was reluctant to compensate its Latin ally.[94] On the day that Italy declared war on Austria, Bülow, the former Chancellor who was then ambassador in Rome, told his Austrian counterpart: " 'We were just not meant to succeed. We can say to ourselves, as Bismarck said to Prince Alexander of Battenberg when he was a candidate for the Bulgarian throne: "At least we shall have interesting memories." ' "[95]

The negotiations with the *Entente,* while marked by considerable dis-

[88] Contrary to rumor current at the time, Berchtold's retirement was not directly related to his attitude toward the issue of compensation. Avarna believed that the principal reason for his replacement was dissatisfaction with his lack of initiative, especially because Berchtold did not express his opinion on policy matters to the Emperor and was content simply to request the monarch's instructions. (Avarna to Sonnino, telegram 15, Jan. 16, 1915, telg. ris. spec. gab. in arrivo, 1915, CDXXIV, Ministero degli Affari Esteri.)

[89] Avarna to Sonnino, telegram 70, Feb. 23, 1915, *ibid.*

[90] Stephan Burián, *Austria in Dissolution* (London, 1925), 50–51.

[91] Sonnino to Avarna and Bollati, telegram 87, Mar. 10, 1915, telg. ris. spec. gab. in partenza, 1915, CDXXVII, Ministero degli Affari Esteri.

[92] Bollati to Sonnino, telegram 127, Mar. 16, 1915, telg. ris. spec. gab. in arrivo, 1915, CDXXIV, *ibid.*; see also Bollati to Sonnino, telegram 128, Mar. 17, 1915, telegram 187, Apr. 2, 1915, telegram 214, Apr. 12, 1915, *ibid.*

[93] Salandra, *Intervento,* 291–96; undated memo, busta 2, fasc. 18, Carte Salandra, ACS.

[94] In brief, Vienna eventually proved willing to concede most of the Trentino, boundary rectifications in the Isonzo region, the title of "Imperial Free City" for Trieste, and recognition of Italian sovereignty over Valona.

[95] Quoted in Karl von Macchio, *Wahrheit! Fürst Bülow und ich in Rom, 1914–1915* (Vienna, 1931), 134.

cord, saw the Consulta willing to moderate its demands in order that agreement might be reached. The Italian territorial claims, which formed the heart of the note of March 4, were considerable: the entire Trentino and South Tirol to the Brenner Pass, boundary rectifications in the Isonzo area, Istria, Trieste, all of Dalmatia, and the Albanian port of Valona.[96] Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Sazonov raised strenuous objections, primarily because the Italian claims were not compatible with the interests and aspirations of the southern Slavs. Grey and French Foreign Minister Théophile Delcassé, although not without their own reservations, forced Sazonov and Sonnino to compromise.[97] Rome agreed, in essence, to relinquish half of Dalmatia, while Sazonov acquiesced to Italian ownership of the remainder. On April 26 the Pact of London was signed.[98] This agreement was the Italian memorandum of March 4, corrected to indicate all the changes the diplomats had agreed upon, with one important addition: in exchange for the concessions promised, the Consulta agreed to declare war against the Central Powers within one month; Italy would have to be a belligerent by May 26, or Sazonov might raise new objections and declare the pact void.

The Italian government faced one final task. Despite the fact that war was to be made against Austria—the traditional enemy—the majority of Italians and their elected parliamentary representatives were firmly neutralist.[99] Their opposition was both ignored and blunted. Interventionist demonstrations erupted during the middle of May in the peninsula's major cities, principally inspired by a number of small but effective war factions.[100] Awed by the crowds in the piazzas, the Italian Chamber passed a bill on

[96] The note contained numerous other requests. In brief, the Consulta asked for the Dodecanese Islands and a further share of the Turkish Empire if it were partitioned, a portion of any eventual war indemnity, enlargement of Italy's African colonies if the German colonies were divided among the victors, a loan from Britain, and assurance that a papal representative would not be seated at the eventual peace conference. (For a detailed account of the negotiations, see Mario Toscano, *Il patto di Londra* [Bologna, 1934], and "Rivelazione e nuovi documenti sul negoziato di Londra"; W. W. Gottlieb, *Studies in Secret Diplomacy during the First World War* [London, 1957]; Michael Boro Petrovich, "The Italo-Yugoslav Boundary Question, 1914–1915," in *Russian Diplomacy and Eastern Europe, 1914–1917*, ed. Alexander Dallin *et al.* [New York, 1963], 162–93.)

[97] Delcassé later remarked that "Italy put a pistol to our heads," while Grey reflected: "In War you will have secret treaties. Many things regarded as criminal are regarded as inevitable in time of war." (Quoted in Henry Wickham Steed, *Through Thirty Years, 1892–1922* [2 vols., New York, 1924], II, 66; David Lloyd George, *Memoirs of the Peace Conference* [2 vols., New Haven, Conn., 1939], II, 502; see also Eduard Beneš, *Souvenirs de guerre et de révolution* [2 vols., Paris, 1928–29], I, 378–79.)

[98] The designation "treaty" was avoided by the negotiating powers, lest it indicate that parliamentary approval of the agreement was necessary.

[99] Salandra himself admits this fact in *Intervento*, 216.

[100] It is unlikely that the *raisons d'être* of the demonstrations will ever be completely explained. The best essay on the subject is Brunello Vigezzi, "Le 'radiose giornate' del maggio 1915 nei rapporti dei prefetti," *Nuova rivista storica*, XLIII–XLIV (Sept.–Dec. 1959; Jan.–Apr. 1960), 313–44, 54–111. During the historic grand council meeting of July 24–25, 1943, Benito Mussolini defended his policies by alluding to the events of May 1915: " 'Another point

May 20 by a secret vote of 407 to 74 that gave the government the necessary powers in case of intervention. A declaration of war was delivered on May 23 in Vienna.[101] The next day Italy embarked upon Salandra's "sacred war."[102]

In July 1931 Benito Mussolini wrote Salandra to thank the former Prime Minister for a gift copy of the second volume of his memoirs.[103] Of all the comments the *Duce* might have made concerning Italian intervention, it is interesting to note that he chose to reproach Salandra for not having brought Italy into the conflict at an earlier date: "In the earliest phases of the war the numerous battles might have above all else served to demonstrate the sometimes sublime valor of the Italian soldier."[104] Salandra, with what was perhaps both a greater knowledge and a more acute sense of history, was far more conscious of the final significance of Italian intervention.

For nearly two decades the Consulta had attempted to orient Italian foreign policy around two essentially opposite poles. Italy, termed a Great Power only out of courtesy, had to maintain significant ties with both alliance blocs. The catalyst of war provided a solution. By the end of 1914 Salandra and Sonnino, spurred by the nationalist war factions as well as the *Entente* and assured the passive support of the King, had decided to ally Italy as a cobelligerent with the *Entente*. Perhaps it was the wrong decision at the wrong time. Few will deny that the conflict strained every important fabric of Italian society, and that the war and the disillusionment that followed helped immeasurably to prepare the stage for the Italy of Mussolini and Fascism.

But in the spring of 1915 this was not foreseen. Salandra and Sonnino could, instead, contemplate the future with optimism. The prewar diplomatic dilemma had been solved. Italy would emerge from the conflict as a member of the victorious coalition, while Austria would no longer be a serious rival in the Balkans or in the Adriatic. As reward for its belligerency,

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of the capitulationists is that "the people's heart is not in the war." . . . Was the people's heart in the 1915–18 war, by any chance? Not in the least. The people were dragged into the war by a minority which succeeded in winning over three cities—Milan, Genoa and Rome—and some minor towns such as Parma. . . . There was no sort of "sacred unity." The country was divided into neutralists and interventionists, and this division continued even after Caporetto.'" (Quoted in F. W. Deakin, *The Brutal Friendship: Mussolini, Hitler, and the Fall of Italian Fascism* [Harmondsworth, Eng., 1966], 485.)

[101] Italy had less of a quarrel with Germany and in violation of the Pact of London did not immediately declare war against that nation. Only in 1916 were the Allies able to persuade Rome to deliver a declaration of war to the German government. (See C. Jay Smith, *The Russian Struggle for Power, 1914–1917* [New York, 1956], 424–25.)

[102] Salandra, *Discorsi della guerra*, 36.

[103] *Id.*, *Intervento*.

[104] Benito Mussolini MSS, T-586, reel 1088, frame 066987/1, NA.

Italian unification would be completed. The state of which Count Camillo Cavour, Giuseppe Garibaldi, and an entire generation of post-*Risorgimento* nationalists had written and dreamed would be a reality. From the viewpoint and retrospect of his generation, Salandra did not exaggerate when he judged the Pact of London as "the greatest, if not the first completely spontaneous act of foreign policy executed by Italy after the *Risorgimento*."[105]

[105] Salandra, *Intervento*, 186.

The Dissolution of the German Democratic Party in 1930

ATTILA CHANADY*

THE German Democratic party (*Deutsche Demokratische Partei,* DDP) was the first of the major political parties in the Weimar Republic to go down in the fierce struggle for survival. It was dissolved voluntarily by its own leadership in November 1930, two and a half years before the liquidation of the other parties by the National Socialists. A large section of its organization continued to exist within the framework of the new State party (*Deutsche Staatspartei,* SP), formed by leading Democrats and certain liberal reformers on November 9, 1930, a day after the official dissolution of the DDP and twelve years after the proclamation of the republic.[1] Although the State party is sometimes considered as the continuation of the DDP, the formal dissolution of the latter and the adoption of the name "State" party represented an unmistakable landmark in the history of the Weimar Republic. The end of the DDP marked clearly the end of the Democratic attempt, begun in November 1918, to reorient German liberal thinking and to build up a viable, democratic-liberal mass party in Germany. The DDP began its career, moreover, as the party that was committed most unequivocally to the basic principles of the Weimar Constitution. It liked to regard itself as the champion and the guardian of the new democratic state with which it was indeed associated by friend and foe alike. Its decline after 1919 and its ultimate dissolution in 1930 can be regarded as symptoms of the more general malaise of the Weimar Republic. Its failure to stand its ground in the fight for its ideals was symbolic of the failure of the democratic experiment in postwar Germany. Thus the whole process that culminated in the final party conference of the DDP in November 1930 can also be re-

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[1] On the German State party, see Erich Matthias and Rudolf Morsey, "Die Deutsche Staatspartei," in *Das Ende der Parteien 1933* (Düsseldorf, 1960); Sigmund Neumann, *Die Parteien der Weimarer Republik* (Stuttgart, 1965); on the founding of the party, see K. H. Beeck, "Die Gründung der Deutschen Staatspartei in Jahre 1930 im Zusammenhang der Neuordnungsversuche des Liberalismus," doctoral dissertation, University of Cologne, 1957.

garded as part of the wider process of the *Auflösung der Weimarer Republik* and deserves close attention.[2]

The DDP was an offspring of the German Revolution of November 1918. It was launched in response to the revolutionary events a few days after the collapse of the monarchy and the proclamation of the republic, at a time of grave national crisis. Theodor Wolff, editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt,* and his friends who took the initiative in forming the DDP were not all active members of the existing liberal parties.[3] Claiming that with the disappearance of the monarchy all political parties of the imperial era had become obsolete, they wanted to create an entirely new organization on the basis of democratic-republican principles. They rejected most emphatically the idea of a mere merger of the two liberal parties, the Progressives (*Fortschrittliche Volkspartei,* FVP) and the National Liberals (*Nationalliberale Partei,* NLP), which, in their view, were bankrupt and compromised by their own past. They opposed with great vehemence the participation in the DDP of Gustav Stresemann and those National Liberals who had supported annexations and unrestricted submarine warfare during the war.

The attitude and the objectives of Wolff's group decisively influenced the formation of the DDP. By its quick action it forestalled a possible official union between the Progressives and the National Liberals. In the process of creating the new party, however, the group was joined by the majority of the FVP and a large section of the NLP. Among the former members of these parties, there were many who conceived of the DDP as an all-embracing liberal *Sammelpartei* that would "fulfill the historic task" of ending the traditional feud between the social-minded Progressives and the more nationalistic Right-wing liberals.[4] Indeed some of the leaders of the FVP and the NLP had tried to effect a liberal union before the Revolution and con-

[2] Karl Dietrich Bracher's pioneer work on the end of the Weimar Republic, *Die Auflösung der Weimarer Republik: Eine Studie zum Problem des Machtverfalls in der Demokratie* (Villingen, 1960), does not deal with the Democratic party in any detail. As yet the history of the DDP has not been written, but see B. B. Frye, "The German Democratic Party 1918–1930," *Western Political Quarterly,* XVI (Mar. 1963), 167.

[3] The DDP was launched by a manifesto to the "men and women of the new Germany" published in the *Berliner Tageblatt,* Nov. 16, 1918; the manifesto was drafted by Wolff, editor of the paper since 1906, and signed by sixty persons, including Professors Albert Einstein, Hugo Preuss, and Alfred Weber, by the chairman of the Progressive party, Otto Fischbeck, and by prominent publicists and professionals. The "Democratic group" associated with Wolff included Weber, Hjalmar Schacht (a "Young Liberal"), and others whom Wolff does not name in his account of the events. On the founding of the DDP, see Otto Nuschke, "Wie die Deutsche Demokratische Partei wurde, was sie leistete und was sie ist," in *Zehn Jahre deutsche Republik,* ed. Anton Erkelenz (Berlin, 1928); Theodor Wolff, *Through Two Decades* (London, 1936); Gustav Stresemann's account of the founding of the People's party, in *Die Entstehung der Deutschen Volkspartei* (Berlin, 1919); also Wolfgang Hartenstein, *Die Anfänge der Deutschen Volkspartei 1918/20* (Düsseldorf, 1963); Henry Ashby Turner, Jr., *Stresemann and the Politics of the Weimar Republic* (Princeton, N. J., 1963).

[4] Nuschke, "Wie die Deutsche Demokratische Partei wurde," 27; Friedrich Meinecke, "Die Kulturfragen und die Parteien," *Friedrich Meinecke Werke* (6 vols., Darmstadt, Munich, and Stuttgart, 1958), II, 386.

tinued with their efforts to achieve this aim after the founding of the DDP, even though the irreconcilable nature of the conflict between the class-conscious Right-wing liberals and the Left-wing democratic liberals was quite obvious. Most of the prominent leaders of the DDP after 1919 took up an intermediate position and maintained that while their party was a new venture based on democratic-republican principles and independent of the prewar liberal parties, it was also necessary for it to include within its ranks all German liberals. This point of view was highly illusory. The two objectives—the creation and development of a new democratic-republican party and the union of all German liberals (that is, the FVP and the NLP, and later the DDP and the German People's party)—could not be reconciled. Their existence side by side in the program of the DDP was a disruptive force operating within the party from its very inception.

The first improvised program of the DDP, presented to the German electorate in December 1918 and January 1919, was formulated under the influence of the revolutionary events.[5] Its central theme was the unconditional acceptance of the republic and the social and political equality as proclaimed by the Revolution. At the same time it demanded in the strongest terms that all further changes be effected within a legal framework, that is, by a constituent assembly.

In the second half of 1919 the DDP adopted a more comprehensive program.[6] The most fundamental feature of this final program was the attempted reorientation of German middle-class liberalism in accordance with the teachings of Friedrich Naumann. The reorientation involved an adaptation to the changed conditions of twentieth-century industrial society in postwar Germany both in an ideological and an organizational sense. At its first conference in July 1919 Naumann was elected as the first chairman of the party; after his untimely death a few weeks later, his spirit was constantly evoked by his successors. His pleas that liberals should fight for their social and political rights, that "industrial subordinates" should be educated to be responsible and active "industrial citizens," and that an ideological bridge should be built to link the bourgeois liberals with the working classes were all incorporated into the general Democratic program. It was also under his influence that the provisional leadership of the party de-

[5] See the various electoral proclamations in December 1918 in Johannes Hohlfeld, *Dokumente der Deutschen Geschichte und Politik* (9 vols. to date, Berlin, 1952), III, 1–2; *Ursachen und Folgen des deutschen Zusammenbruchs 1918 und 1945 bis zur staatlichen Neuordnung Deutschlands in der Gegenwart*, ed. Herbert Michaelis and Ernst Schraepler (12 vols. to date, Berlin, n.d.), III, 175–77; Nuschke, "Wie die Deutsche Demokratische Partei wurde," 31.

[6] See the official program of the party, dated December 1919, in *Bericht über die Verhandlungen des ersten ausserordentlichen Parteitags der Deutschen Demokratischen Partei* (Berlin, 1920), Appendix.

cided at the end of 1918 to create an efficient organizational apparatus in a state of "permanent mobilization" and with a sound financial foundation that would be better suited to the demands of the new age.[7] Most Democrats shared Naumann's passionate patriotism which, though it led to the petulant rejection of the Versailles Peace Treaty in 1919, was certainly different from the Pan-German "Poltergeist" type of chauvinism.[8]

Certain important aspects of the party's program and objectives were less directly associated with Naumann's name. A basic principle, the championship of the republic, was laid down by the founding fathers of the DDP. Other prominent Democrats tried to develop this principle and infuse a certain popular content into it by calling for mass celebrations of the new state and its constitution.[9] Constitutional reform, aiming at the creation of a "decentralized unitary state," was the great ideal of Erich Koch-Weser, party chairman from 1924 to 1930, who fought untiringly against the particularism rampant in some of the smaller German states (*Länder*). His ideas constituted the basis of the official DDP reform projects.[10] In the sphere of foreign policy, the party advocated international rapprochement and adopted Walther Rathenau's "policy of fulfillment" and, after Rathenau's assassination, supported Stresemann's attempts to improve Germany's international relations.[11]

Naumann's cherished legacy might well have blended with republicanism and the idea of European reconciliation into a harmonious Democratic

[7] On Naumann, see Theodor Heuss, *Friedrich Naumann, Der Mann, Das Werk, die Zeit* (Stuttgart, 1937), esp. 443–516; on the organization of the new party, see *Akten der DDP*, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, R45 III/1, III/9; also Ernst Portner, "Die Demokratische Partei als Massenpartei," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, XI (Apr. 1965), 150–61.

[8] Friedrich Naumann, "Deutsche Demokratie," *Die Hilfe*, XXV (No. 32, 1919); on the Democrats' reaction to the treaty, see Erich Koch-Weser's diary entries for June 1919, in his collected papers, *Nachlass von Erich Koch-Weser*, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, XVII, 171–77; Wolff, *Through Two Decades*, 274–78; Nuschke, "Wie die Deutsche Demokratische Partei wurde," 34–36; and Carl Petersen's (chairman after Naumann's death in 1919) report to the first party conference in July 1919, in *Bericht über die Verhandlungen des ersten ordentlichen Parteitags der Deutschen Demokratischen Partei* (Berlin, 1919), 23–25.

[9] See, e.g., the editorial "Zum Jahrestag der Reichsverfassung," *Der Demokrat*, III (June 30, 1922), 398, and "Zwei Reden zur Verfassungsfeier" (two speeches on the Constitution by Koch-Weser and Wilhelm Külz), *ibid.*, VII (Aug. 12, 1926), 287–90.

[10] Koch-Weser was a lawyer of Protestant middle-class stock and had been mayor of Bremerhaven and Kassel and a liberal member of the Prussian *Herrenhaus* before 1918, with extensive experience in local government and administration. (See his *Einheitsstaat und Selbstverwaltung* [Berlin, 1928].) In this connection it should be noted that Preuss, "father" of the Weimar Constitution, former Left-wing member of the Progressive party, and founding member of the DDP, went much further than Koch-Weser when he envisaged the division of Prussia into *Reich* administrative districts. His conception of the unitary state, as explained in his first draft of the Constitution, was rejected by many in the DDP, in particular by the southern and southwestern German Democrats with federalist traditions. (See Heuss, *Friedrich Naumann*, 463; *id.*, *Profile* [Tübingen, 1963], 264; Gerhard Schulz, *Zwischen Demokratie und Diktatur* [1 vol. to date, Berlin, 1963], I, 123–73.)

[11] *ABC der DDP*, ed. Oswald Riedel (Brandenburg, 1927), 46; *Jahresbericht, 1921/2* (Berlin, 1922); proclamation of the DDP, Jan. 11, 1923, in *Deutscher Geschichtskalender*, XXXIX (1923), Pt. 1, 229–30; Erich Koch-Weser, "Erlebtes und Erreichtes," *Der Demokrat*, VI (Dec. 17, 1925), 536–42.

ideology. Behind an ostensible unity in the party, however, there were deep discord and a wide spectrum of political and socioeconomic ideas and concepts. The cleavage separating the group around Wolff from some of the former class-conscious liberals was already apparent in November 1918. During the acrimonious debates on the permanent program at the first two party conferences in 1919 further, equally fundamental differences were exposed. Subsequently, these differences led to a series of debilitating and prestige damaging secessions of individual members and factions.[12] The departure of die-hards and disgruntled liberals unfortunately did not result in a more homogeneous and viable organization. Throughout its history the DDP was troubled by internal conflicts and friction. In 1926 Koch-Weser found the situation in the party "precarious and unpleasant," the task of holding it together "almost impossible," and his own position as leader practically hopeless.[13]

Conflict in the DDP grew out of inbred socioeconomic prejudice and distrust, political and ideological differences, and personal feuds. A striking example of friction caused by class-conscious antagonism was the case involving Anton Erkelenz, Naumann's disciple and chairman of the Managing Committee and of the Committee of Workers and Employees in the DDP. Erkelenz was a dedicated Democrat who embodied the "spirit of Naumann" perhaps more than any other member of the party. He always stressed the need for dispersing authority, for the profound democratization of the army and the civil service, and for unselfish and undaunted work in the interest of the republic. And yet, he was a self-made man, a parvenu in the eyes of many of his colleagues. Because he represented workers and employees, the industrialists and businessmen in the party opposed his election as chairman of the Managing Committee in 1921. His notions of economic democracy, his alleged cosmopolitanism, and his insistence on army reform were regarded with suspicion or were even condemned outright. In later memoirs, some of his colleagues still spoke of him disparagingly or gave little credit to him and his role in the history of the DDP.[14]

A conflict with most eroding effects on the party concerned the attitudes

[12] There were two major waves of secessions from the DDP during the early years of the republic: the first during 1919–1920, the second in 1924. The departing Democrats were in most cases Right-wing liberals who joined the People's party. (See the text of a statement by seceding Democrats in *Nachlass Gustav Stresemann*, microfilm No. 24, Australian National University, Canberra, A.C.T., CCXIII, 138957–59, 138963, 138968–69; *Ursachen und Folgen*, ed. Michaelis and Schraepler, VII, 320–21; *Der Demokrat*, V [Oct. 23, 1924], 284–87; *Deutscher Geschichtskalender*, XL [1924], Pt. 2, 222–23; Hartenstein, *Anfänge der Deutschen Volkspartei*, 200–203.)

[13] *Nachlass von Erich Koch-Weser*, XXXIV, 233, 249–51, 379–81.

[14] See, e.g., Wilhelm Cohnstaedt, editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, in a letter to Friedrich Payer, Aug. 23, 1921, in *Nachlass Friedrich Payer*, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, XIV, 63–64; Otto Gessler, *Reichswehrpolitik in der Weimarer Zeit*, ed. Kurt Sendtner (Stuttgart, 1958), 409.

of members toward the republic and the old monarchy and thus transcended more specific questions associated with liberalism. Eugen Schiffer, who left the DDP in 1924, considered himself a monarchist with a deeply rooted faith in order and organic development and, at a later date, referred contemptuously to the Weimar Republic as a "miserable work."[15] Otto Gessler, best known as Minister of Defense, was a *Vernunftrepublikaner* (republican by reason, not by conviction) who admitted that his "political passion was not for the Weimar Republic" but that his "heart belonged to the past, to the Bismarck *Reich*." The democratic republic "with its dull atmosphere, its plight in international affairs, and the whole party feud" was for him a dire necessity, and he served it only with "the ethos of a public servant." His loyalty remained with the House of Wittelsbach and with the "spirit of Potsdam," which he tried to infuse into the officer corps of the *Reichswehr*. His attitude toward the Left Wing of the DDP was uncompromising and highly prejudiced. He described his unflagging critics in that section of the party as "doctrinaire pacifists and literati with deeply rooted complexes," "blinded doctrinal fanatics," and "emotional radicals."[16]

The fundamental nature of the factional differences in the DDP often prevented the formulation of clear policies, hindered effective propaganda, and created the impression of irresolution. The never-ceasing search for compromise solutions made the leadership of the party an "art of the possible." How narrow the confines of this art were can be gauged by the depth of the factional cleavages and by the extremely precarious position of the DDP in German national politics. By 1928 popular support had dwindled from the promising 18.6 per cent in the 1919 election to 4.9 per cent.[17] At the same time, the incessant wrangling between individuals and groups in the party and the accompanying public polemics continued to damage its public image.

The results of the general elections in May 1928 were a great disappointment for the DDP. It polled 1,505,700 votes, about 400,000 fewer than in

[15] See the memoirs of Eugen Schiffer, *Ein Leben für den Liberalismus* (Berlin, 1951), esp. 206, 226, 234.

[16] Gessler, *Reichswehrpolitik*, ed. Sendtner, 170–74, 336. Gessler's special targets were the "Democrats of the Frankfurt line," Georg Bernhard and the *Vossische Zeitung*, the *Berliner Tageblatt*, and the pacifist organizations *Bund Neues Vaterland* and *Liga für Menschenrechte;* see also Werner Stephan, "Zwischen Bismarcks Tod und Hitlers Untergang," unpublished manuscript, 264; and *Nachlass von Erich Koch-Weser*, XXXIV, 381.

[17] Support for the DDP in the general elections was as follows: 1919: 18.5 per cent, 75 seats; 1920: 8.2 per cent, 39 seats; May 1924: 5.3 per cent, 28 seats; December 1924: 6.3 per cent, 32 seats; 1928: 4.9 per cent, 25 seats. The results of elections in the various German states *(Landtagswahlen)* show a similar pattern, although in some districts, notably in Württemberg, the party remained relatively strong. (For details of election results, see *Die Wahlen zur Nationalversammlung* [Berlin, 1919], and *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, CCXCI [Berlin, 1920], CCCXV [Berlin, 1928], CCCLXXII [Berlin, 1931].)

December 1924. The parliamentary representation of the party decreased from 32 to 25. The verdict of the voters should not, of course, have been unexpected. In spite of the optimistic belief in some party circles that the nadir in the fortunes of the DDP had been passed, there were many portents of further trouble ahead: the steady decline of support at the grass-roots level, the state of the organization, the increasing difficulty of holding the various factions together, and the secession of small but important groups of Democrats during 1926 and 1927, including those led by Wolff, Hjalmar Schacht, and Gessler.

A possible panacea for the Democratic malaise was seen in a merger with the People's party. The idea of such a merger had been an old and persistent theme ever since the founding of the DDP and the DVP at the end of 1918. Those Democrats who favored liberal unity at the time never ceased pressing for reconciliation and cooperation with Stresemann and his party. The topic was frequently discussed in the meetings of the Executive and Managing Committees and in the various publications of the DDP under the heading "rumors of fusion" (*Fusionsgerüchte*).[18] The desire to fuse was, however, not very strong in the leadership. The memory of the bitter antagonism that developed at the end of 1918 and in 1920 again as a result of the role of the *Deutsche Volkspartei* (DVP) in the Kapp *Putsch* rankled. Stresemann's monarchist sentiments and the intransigence of the Right Wing of his party also proved to be insurmountable obstacles in the way of a genuine rapprochement.

An attempt to end the old liberal division was made by Schiffer and his *Liberale Vereinigung* in 1924. Schiffer conceived of the liberal association as a supraparty organization that would facilitate the meeting and cooperation of all liberals irrespective of party ties and unhampered by party prejudice. But the ideological basis of the association, derived as it was from Schiffer's own political philosophy, was not compatible with the Democratic party program.[19] Doomed to failure in 1924 by Schiffer's leading role, the liberal unity movement was revived in 1928 under the leadership of August Weber and with the support of such prominent personalities as Gessler, Wilhelm Groener, Siegfried von Kardorff, Friedrich Meinecke, and Hermann Oncken.[20] The mutual distrust, however, was still intense. The internecine strife continued, and so did the many personal attacks on leading

[18] See, e.g., *Akten der DDP*, R45 III/18, 18–40, III/19, 27–28; *Der Demokrat*, I (Nov. 4, 1920), 37.

[19] See note 15, above.

[20] The *Liberale Vereinigung* was not dissolved after 1924, but remained quiet and without political influence until 1928; its chairman after 1926 was the Democrat Fischbeck. (See August Weber's unpublished memoirs, *Lebenserinnerungen*, 1956, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, 112–13.)

Democrats by members of the DVP and the liberal association. Only the simultaneous defeat of the DDP and the DVP in 1928 could create a favorable background for their union or forced marriage. Thus it was after the elections that the two party leaders, Koch-Weser and Stresemann, met and discussed the matter seriously. Whether they could have succeeded is mere speculation; their talks were cut short by Stresemann's illness and death in 1929.[21]

The seriousness of the position of both the DDP and the Weimar state after 1928 was recognized in Democratic circles; the weakness of the political Center, caught between the rising tide of Right-wing extremism and Left-wing radicalism, was obvious. There was, however, much hesitation regarding the steps toward an "innovation" or "rejuvenation." A number of political groups outside the DDP and the DVP tried to take the initiative in rousing and gathering the liberal bourgeoisie, but most of these stood nearer to the People's party and to certain reform groups within it.[22] Democracy did not seem to be a rallying point; the movements aimed at the reforming of the political structure of the non-Catholic "bourgeois Center" went in the direction of a moderate conservatism or conservative liberalism. For the DDP, reform of this kind would have meant sacrificing some of its dearest ideals. Its leadership was in favor of reform, but it was a reform of the Democratic program in certain details and its careful adaptation to the circumstances that it wanted. That it did not want to break with its own past and principles was evident from the character of the new economic program presented by Gustav Stolper at the party conference at Mannheim in 1929.[23] Some Democrats, however, were not satisfied with half measures and wanted either to begin again or press forward with negotiations for a merger with the DVP.

This attitude was most pronounced in the ranks of the Democrats in Baden and Württemberg, two traditional liberal strongholds. In Baden, leading local Democrats saw little hope for the survival of liberalism as a

[21] *Ibid.*, 111, and *Nachlass von Erich Koch-Weser*, CI, where there are many references to the proposed *Parteifusion*. According to Weber, Ernst Scholz, Stresemann's successor, and the Right Wing of the DVP regarded a merger possible only in terms of an "unconditional submersion of the DDP in the DVP"; Weber also claimed that only one-third of the DVP parliamentary group supported Stresemann in respect to the proposed merger.

[22] The *Februar-Klub* in West Germany, the *Heidelberger Arbeitsgemeinschaft für jungdeutsche Politik*, the *Reichsgemeinschaft junger Volksparteiler*, the *Quiriten*, and the *Junge Front der staatsbürgerlichen Sammlung* in Berlin.

[23] Stolper's economic program was, for all practical purposes, a restatement of the original DDP ideals and economic policies. His speech, delivered when he presented his draft program to the DDP party conference in Mannheim on Oct. 5, 1929, was published under the title *Die wirtschaftlich-soziale Weltanschauung der Demokratie* (Berlin, 1929); see also *Akten der DDP*, R45 III/7, 185–95, 234–40, and Toni Stolper, *Ein Leben im Brennpunkt unserer Zeit, Wien Berlin New York, Gustav Stolper 1888–1947* (Tübingen, 1960), 481–87, Appendix with the text of Stolper's main theses.

political force after 1928 unless the DDP merged with the DVP and even with the Economic party (*Wirtschaftspartei*). They actively and wholeheartedly supported the supraparty movement *Die Front,* a "project for the union of the parties of the bourgeois Center . . . based on liberal values."[24] Fearing a Right- or Left-wing dictatorship in the country and the radical polarization of German politics, they demanded from all "liberal-minded citizens" a greater sense of discipline, better organization and propaganda, and firmer unity; otherwise, they prophesied, the liberal bourgeoisie would go down and perish between big business and reaction on the one hand and the proletariat on the other. This was an unmistakable approach to Stresemann's original point of view, which had called for the class-conscious representation of the interests of the bourgeoisie, rejecting the radical-democratic principles of the DDP leadership. It was also a reflection on the particular, separate position of the southwest German Democrats in the whole party. The Baden and Württemberg branches had their own traditions, were politically and sociologically less amorphous, were anchored deeper in the local middle class and linked more firmly with certain bourgeois interest groups, such as small- and medium-size industry, trade and commerce, than the DDP in the rest of Germany.[25]

The outcome of this situation in Württemberg was an increased cooperation between the DDP and the DVP and the Swabian Democrats' entry into the Right-wing state government in 1930. Under the influence of pressure group activity, the overriding objective of the party became, in the words of its local chairman, Peter Bruckmann, "positive government work . . . especially in the economic field."[26] The decision to accept a portfolio in the Center-DNVP-DVP cabinet was, however, by no means unanimous and in fact led to the resignation of Friedrich Payer, one of the most prominent and oldest members. The principles and tactical issues involved in the Württemberg move were hotly debated in Democratic circles throughout the country.

The intensity and acrimony of these debates reflected a terrible dilemma. The Democrats were caught between the currents of seemingly irresistible Right- and Left-wing radicalization. In Württemberg as elsewhere, many of them responded to the steadily deterioriating situation by pressing harder

[24] See *Nachlass Hermann Dietrich,* Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, CCXXXIX ("Die Front 1929"), esp. 1, 3, 7–8, 41; *Die Front* was loosely associated with the various liberal groups mentioned above, but it was not officially supported by the DDP.

[25] See Waldemar Besson, *Württemberg und die deutsche Staatskrise 1928–1933* (Stuttgart, 1963), 33.

[26] On this, see official account by the Württemberg branch of the DDP and Bruckmann's statement, both dated Jan. 22, 1930, and both addressed to the central office in Berlin, in *Nachlass von Erich Koch-Weser,* CIV, 1–19, 33–39; also Payer's explanation in a letter to the DDP in Berlin, Feb. 3, 1930, *ibid.,* 85–95.

than ever for liberal unity and going for at least a short distance with the current in the direction of the Right. These men regarded the merger between the DDP and the DVP and a sharper delimitation of the Left as primary conditions for survival. They implored the leaders of the party to take the initiative toward "closing the ranks"; they talked disparagingly of anyone in the DDP, and especially in its Left Wing, who was skeptical of a liberal union or even opposed it outright.[27] Others, however, particularly the majority of the central leadership in Berlin, conceived otherwise of the party's future.

To the outside world, the national party conference of the DDP in 1929 demonstrated a strong determination to carry on under the Democratic banner without the help of other political groups. The new economic program drafted by Stolper and accepted with enthusiasm by the delegates signified no departure from the original principles of the party. But while officially and ostensibly the party remained in favor of retaining its own identity and attempting a certain "regeneration from within," its chairman, Koch-Weser, and a number of his close associates were already negotiating behind the scenes, secretly seeking a fresh course—"over the dead body of the DDP," if necessary. Under the impact of the stinging defeat of 1928, frustrated by internal strife, and unable to see any positive sign of improvement in the political situation, they began discussions with the *Jungdeutscher Orden* (Young German Order) and certain liberal reformist groups, with the aim of forming a new party.[28]

Koch-Weser's great speech at the conference in 1929 did not give any indication of his schemes, but it revealed a restless, changing frame of mind and a deep, eroding disenchantment and pessimism.[29] After a well-received eulogy on Stresemann, who had died the day before, the chairman discussed three major issues: the rising radicalism and polarization in German

[27] An important mouthpiece of these Democrats was the periodical *Deutsche Einheit*, which made a rather sharp turn to the Right after the 1928 elections, forcing one of its prominent editors, Senator Peter Stubmann of Hamburg, to resign. (See the editorials "Schliesset die Reihen," X [May 26, 1928], 446–50; "Demokratie und Liberalismus" [June 2, 1928], 466–68; "Grosse republikanische Partei oder deutsche liberale Partei" [June 9, 1928], 486–90; and Stubmann's "Zur Entwicklung der deutschen Mittelparteien," in which he announced his resignation after eight years of service [June 30, 1928], 547–48.)

[28] On the Young Germans, see Klaus Hornung, *Der Jungdeutscher Orden* (Düsseldorf, 1958); the Young German League, led by Artur Mahraun, was a romantic and patriotic organization, originally a Right-wing, paramilitary youth movement *(bündisch)* politically near to the Nationalist party. After Mahraun left that party it became more moderate and prorepublican. In 1929 it formed its own political branch, the *Volksnationale Vereinigung* with the view of entering parliamentary politics. (See also Erich Eggeling, *Partei oder Bewegung?* [Berlin, 1930], *passim*.)

[29] Text of the speech at the Mannheim conference, Oct. 4, 1929, in *Akten der DDP*, R45 III/7, 17–55.

politics, the "failure" of the parliamentary system, and the precarious economic situation. Beneath his arguments lay the bitter realization that the ideals of his party, and the very idea of democracy, had lost and were still losing ground. He put most of the blame on the German political parties and the way they practiced parliamentarism which, in his view, had become a "poor version of the old bureaucratic system." The state, Koch-Weser said, was relegated to a secondary position under the control of aging, undisciplined parties and egotistic interest groups. The remedy, as he saw it, was constitutional reform, including the strengthening of *Reich* unity, the abolition of proportional representation, and the increase of presidential powers, accompanied by an "energetic presidential initiative" that would end the loathsome practice of government formation—"sheer horse dealing" —which Koch-Weser associated with "partyism."

The shift to the Right, so manifest in the chairman's attitude, was equally marked in the case of Gertrud Bäumer and in the party's Committee for Commerce, Industry and Trade. In Bäumer's case this shift took the form of a spiteful and regrettable polemic against the "spirit of Preuss"—the "radical, metropolitan and cosmopolitan spirit of Berlin"—which, according to her, permeated the Left Wing of the DDP.[80] The industrialists, too, reacted to the election defeat in 1928 by turning more sharply against the Left Wing, blaming it for the DDP's continuing decline. They demanded a clearer dissociation of the party from the Socialists and more willingness to come to terms with the People's party. They attacked the so-called "socialistic reform tendencies" and "politics of charity" of those Democrats who were "under pressure of trade-union propaganda." Already in 1926 they had demanded more influence in the party leadership, instead of a mere advisory function in special economic matters; toward the end of 1928 they were determined to play a more decisive role in the shaping of the DDP's future.[81]

Koch-Weser's exasperation with the parliamentary system and the mounting pressures in his party, the increasingly conscious emphasis by some Democrats on the interests and authority of the state and its President, and the various, fundamentally different conceptions of the party's future were the background against which further developments took place in the

[80] Gertrud Bäumer, "Konsequenzen des Wahlausfalls," *Die Hilfe,* XXXV (No. 12, 1928). To the same effect, Heuss, who was ideologically related to Bäumer, and an editorial in *Deutsche Einheit,* both condemning the "radical, metropolitan" Berlin spirit associated with Preuss; Heuss to Koch-Weser, Oct. 29, 1924, *Nachlass von Erich Koch-Weser,* XCII, n.p.; "Grosse republikanische Partei."

[81] Confidential statement to the members of the Committee of Commerce, Industry and Trade, Oct. 9, 1928, and minutes of the executive meetings of the same committee, Oct. 22, 1928, Nov. 2, 1928, *Nachlass Hermann Dietrich,* CCXXVIII, 161–67, 259–85.

DDP during the first half of 1930, leading ultimately to dissolution in November of that year. These developments were complicated and accelerated by the momentous domestic events in Germany: the Great Coalition collapsed in March and was succeeded by a government whose authority was based on presidential decrees; the depression, with its symptoms of unemployment and declining production, was intensifying; the *Reichstag* was dissolved in July, and the Nazi movement was rapidly advancing and threatened to absorb most supporters of the Protestant middle-class parties.

The central leadership of the DDP began the new year by issuing a solemn appeal to all sections of the party to maintain discipline and unity and strive for effective, coordinated work, instead of publishing views contrary to official policies or negotiating with outside groups independently.[32] This appeal was made in response to the crisis in Württemberg and the controversy in party ranks following it. It was followed up by another official statement in March in which the entry of "certain" Democrats into the *Volksnational* movement was regretted and regarded as a flagrant violation of party discipline and the directives laid down in the January appeal.[33] The vague but obvious references in this statement to the internal ferment created an atmosphere of deep confusion in the party. In a meeting of the Managing Committee early in May all rumors of a fusion with the DVP were denied by Koch-Weser who condemned the very idea of a "mere merger of existing parties," favoring, as he put it, the creation of something entirely new.[34] Although with this he almost revealed his clandestine contacts with the Young Germans, this still was not known to anyone outside his own narrow circle of "conspirators." How oblivious some of the leaders were to Koch-Weser's schemes was suggested by their severe criticism of Ernst Lemmer and his social-republican circle (*Sozial-republikanischer Kreis*) for a milder form of the offense that the chairman had been committing for months: independent action. Lemmer had founded his circle with the purpose of attracting young people to the DDP and bolstering their democratic convictions. The group had distinctly Left-wing tendencies in that it aimed at a "bourgeois-socialist synthesis" and rejected the idea of cooperation with the moderate-conservative splinter parties and the DVP.

By May 1930, then, developments in the DDP had reached a critical stage. Although the central office was still trying to talk the turmoil out of existence, prominent Democrats wrote about it openly. Bäumer, in a series

[32] "An die Mitglieder und Wähler der DDP," *Der Demokrat*, XI (Jan. 5, 1930), 1–2, and official circular of the central office in Berlin, Jan. 22, 1930, in *Akten der DDP*, R45 III/43, 1–63.

[33] See Circulars 1–6, issued by the central office in Berlin, Jan.–Apr. 1930, *ibid.*

[34] The Managing Committee on the political situation, May 5, 1930, *Der Demokrat*, XI (June 6, 1930), 201–203.

of articles, pleaded for a reorientation of the bourgeois parties, including the DDP, and for the abandoning of their rigid forms which frustrated all attempts to transcend traditional barriers between them.[85] Others, notably Erkelenz Hermann Schäfer, and Karl Johann von Voss, called for more dedicated work for the cause of democracy under the Democratic banner. They claimed that the DDP had always been a "state party" and the right place for state-conscious citizens whose political aspirations were adequately expressed by the party's program. Thus there was no need for a merger or other drastic moves.[86]

The first overt official reference to the *Sammlungsbewegung* going on behind the scenes was made at a tumultuous meeting of the Executive Committee on May 25. This meeting was similar to others in which party members were urged to work harder in the interests of the fatherland, to maintain "personality values," and to show more solidarity and confidence in the leadership. The committee adopted by 118 to 25 votes the following resolution:

> The DDP appreciates the significance of the political goal of strengthening the republican and democratic Center against Right and Left . . . by bringing together forces of kindred convictions. Faithful to its traditions, it is prepared to cooperate in this, but in doing so it also realizes that a mere initiative by adjacent parties without agreement regarding social and cultural principles would not lead to that goal. For that reason, the DDP regards the strengthening and securing of its own foundations as its immediate task. . . .[87]

This resolution marked a transition in the official attitude of the DDP. It allowed room for the diverse tendencies in the party, for those who wanted to rejuvenate it from within and those who wanted it to join the *Sammlungsbewegung*. As its 118 supporters undoubtedly differed in their interpretation of what constituted a "kindred" force, the resolution conspicuously refrained from specifying any particular group with which the DDP was supposed to conduct negotiations. Koch-Weser was certainly not authorized to deal with the Young Germans on behalf of the party.

The dissolution of the *Reichstag* on July 18 gave these developments a dramatic twist. As general elections were called for September 14, preparations for a campaign had to be made immediately. Responding to this challenge, Koch-Weser, Bäumer, leaders of the Young Germans, *Die Front*, *Februar Klub*, and certain nonsocialist trade-unionists met on July 23 and,

[85] Gertrud Bäumer, "Die innenpolitische Gärung," *Die Hilfe*, XXXVI (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 1930).

[86] Anton Erkelenz, "Die Krise der Parteien," *ibid.* (No. 17, 1930), and "Bekenntnis zur parlamentarischen Demokratie," *ibid.* (No. 18, 1930); Hermann Schäfer, "Angriffsziele fortschrittlicher Volkspolitik," *ibid.* (No. 20, 1930), and "Fortschrittliche Volkspolitik," *ibid.* (No. 21, 1930); Karl Johann von Voss, "Und doch die Demokratische Partei," *ibid.* (No. 28, 1930).

[87] *Akten der DDP*, R45 III/14, 100–101; *Der Demokrat*, XI (June 5, 1930), 251–57.

after a few days of intense negotiations, agreed to launch the new State party on July 28. The proclamation announcing this was signed by "fifty leading personalities from all walks of life."[38]

For the DDP in general, the founding of the State party came as a great shock. As we have seen, Koch-Weser's role in the antecedents had not been known. He had not acted in his capacity as chairman. He had opposed a movement on the party level; what he had wanted was a new organization created by "free and unprejudiced" liberal personalities, a movement from below, as it were, an initiative similar to that of the Wolff group in 1918. Thus he had not asked for the approval of his party. It was different, however, when the future of the DDP came to be discussed at a meeting of the Executive Committee on July 30. Koch-Weser wanted the DDP to place its apparatus at the disposal of the SP and eventually to fuse with it completely. Because of the limited time available for the election campaign, he had to persuade his fellow Democrats to make a decision at once.

Koch-Weser was an experienced lawyer and parliamentarian and a brilliant speaker with a quick grasp of the essentials of political situations. He was also a clever debater, always ready for incisive repartee, and he was used to being at bay and having to extricate himself from often hopeless difficulties. In the party he had to defend and justify his peculiar mode of leadership—personal dictatorship, as one of his colleagues put it—on many occasions.[39] Now he needed all his skill and reasoning power to overcome a spirited, indignant, and mistrustful opposition.

He began by apologizing to the Executive Committee for his high-handed and unauthorized action, justifying it at once by a melancholic reference to the failure of the party to fulfill the expectations of its founding fathers.[40] Then he went on to define the character and the objectives of the SP. This, he admitted, was daring and hazardous, but he thought that without taking risks the reorientation, which had long been the common desire of all Democrats, was not possible. Thus, he felt that, in the final analysis, he had acted in their best interests. Carried away by this self-assurance, he added that it was, after all, better for the Democrats to leave their fate in the hands of their leaders. The SP, he went on, was a new creation formed by a combination of experienced Democrats and certain "latent youthful forces not compromised by the old and existing feud and

[38] *Ibid.* (Aug. 5, 1930), 328–29. From the DDP the most prominent signatories were Koch-Weser, Bäumer, Dietrich, Hermann Höpker-Aschoff, Wilhelm Külz, and August Weber. (See also Artur Mahraun, *Die Deutsche Staatspartei* [Berlin, 1930], 37.)

[39] *Nachlass von Erich Koch-Weser,* XXXVI, 61–63; meeting of the Managing Committee, Mar. 23, 1930, *Akten der DDP,* R45 III/21, 31.

[40] For the proceedings at the meeting, see *ibid.,* 14, 103–27, and *Der Demokrat,* XI (Aug. 5, 1930), 329–35.

animosity between the parties." It would try to gather loyal republicans dedicated to the work of "progressive development of state institutions" and to the principle of private property. It would be independent of the pressure and influence of trade-unions, entrepreneurs' and capitalists' organizations, and other socioeconomic interest groups. It would fight against radicalism of any kind, be that Left or Right Wing. Toward the Social Democrats it would take up an objective attitude and would not enter into any alliance against them. It would be a party of reform and would regard as one of its first tasks the initiative for a plebiscite on electoral and *Reich* reform.

Koch-Weser's outline did not reveal any basically new political features. He conceded this when he said that the only difference between the old and the new party would lie in the SP's more enthusiastic application of democratic principles and in its greater fighting spirit. Structurally, however, the SP would have presented features unlike those of the DDP. As a result of the conflicts associated with these features, the new venture did not survive in the form conceived by the signatories of the inaugural proclamation.

At first, of course, the circumstances forced the DDP leadership into reluctant submission. In the absence of a reasonable alternative, it decided to accept Koch-Weser's precipitate action and support the SP during the election campaign. A vote against the *fait accompli* would have caused infinite confusion in the rank and file of the DDP, not to speak of the electorate. The recognition of this fact played an important part in swinging the executive behind its chairman and led to the adoption, against four votes, of the following resolution:

> The Executive Committee of the DDP approves of the founding of the State party and places its own organization at its disposal for the election campaign. The Executive Committee expects from the State party that it will most resolutely strive to unite all forces of kindred conviction for common political work.[41]

This resolution did not conceal the bitterness and frustration of many Democrats in the Executive Committee who condemned Koch-Weser's personal brand of leadership. Nor did it prevent these Democrats from expressing in no uncertain terms what they thought of the Young German movement. It was, they said, a romantic, racist, and chauvinist group of people who should not have been trusted by the DDP. They also felt that the new venture, begun as it was by some Democrats, Young Germans, and a few other individuals, without the participation of the People's party or the moderate Nationalists who had seceded from Alfred Hugenberg's

[41] *Deutscher Geschichtskalender,* XLVI (1930), 454; see also diary entry for July 29, 1930, *Nachlass von Erich Koch-Weser,* CV, 99–105 (the whole volume concerns the founding of the SP).

DNVP, could hardly have a wide mass appeal. Indeed, well-coordinated planning by politicians representing a much wider section of the population would have been a *conditio sine qua non* for success. A revolution, like the one that had helped Wolff launch the DDP effectively in 1918, was also absent. Nor was there harmony between the coalescing groups. The agreement between Koch-Weser and the leader of the Young Germans, Artur Mahraun, was only tentative and needed the confirmation of the DDP and the Young German organization.[42]

In the leadership and the provincial branches of the DDP the response to the founding of the SP varied and ranged from tacit acceptance to outright condemnation and flat refusal to cooperate. Erkelenz, long chairman of the Managing Committee, and a group of his friends from the Left Wing of the party, quit the DDP and joined the Social Democrats.[43] Most of the pacifists seceded, too, and subsequently founded the *Unabhängige Demokratische Vereinigung* (Independent Democratic League) and then the Radical Democratic party. The disaffection also extended to other sections of the party. The chairman of the DDP in Düsseldorf-West, Dr. Dechamps, wrote to Koch-Weser and vented his indignation about the "undemocratic way in which the party was maneuvered into this situation." Invitations to the crucial meeting of the Executive Committee (of which he was a member), he alleged, had been sent to him and to others in Düsseldorf only two days in advance. Because of the short notice and the poor timing—it was not possible for many businessmen to leave their work on the thirtieth of the month—many prominent local leaders were not present when the far-reaching decision to support the SP was made. For his part, he would certainly not join this new organization.[44]

The signs of disintegration were strangely misinterpreted by Koch-Weser's supporters. In a comment on the secession of Left-wing members, Bäumer welcomed the loss of the "egotistical and self-righteous orthodoxy that had always been a danger to the party and isolated it from the outside world."[45] Her assessment of the situation was most unrealistic and typical

[42] The agreement concerned a temporary joint leadership, consisting of Koch-Weser, Mahraun, Josef Winschuh, and Glimm, and a temporary action committee. Vague agreement was also reached concerning DDP principles and "due consideration of Young Germans" when questions of leadership and election nominations were discussed in districts where they were especially strong, such as Thuringia, Saxony, Hanover, Schleswig-Holstein, and Westphalia. All details, and the final constitution, however, were left to an SP conference that was to take place after the elections.

[43] Correspondence between Bäumer and Erkelenz, published under the heading "Staatspartei und Sozialdemokratie," *Die Hilfe,* XXXVI (No. 33, 1930); see also Eggeling, *Partei oder Bewegung?* 18.

[44] Dechamps to Koch-Weser, July 29, 1930, *Nachlass von Erich Koch-Weser,* CV, 79–89.

[45] Bäumer's reply to Erkelenz, *Die Hilfe,* XXXVI (No. 33, 1930); "Ein offener Brief," *ibid.* (No. 35, 1930); "Im Parteiapparat gefangen," *ibid.* (No. 34, 1930); "Heraus aus der parteipolitischen Verkrampfung," *ibid.* (No. 31, 1930).

of a theoretical-liberal approach to politics. As often in the past, she again implored all Democrats to place the interests of the state and nation above those of the parties (including the DDP); once again, she lashed out against the evil influence of socioeconomic pressure groups. Her judgment of the character of the Young German movement was, as it turned out, an inexcusable political blunder. In her words, the DDP faced the "task of uniting with a movement that, in its own language, expresses the democratic idea by the word 'volksnational,' and that is a democratic movement of other forces and different coloring, very closely related to Naumann's national socialism." Such a union, she added, could only benefit the DDP in which the older components were "frozen in fruitless rationalization," without strong personal bonds and without a strong sense of personal obligation and community spirit.

The outcome of the elections in September 1930 did not vindicate the expectations of those who had launched the SP. Their enterprise failed to elicit a substantial response from the Protestant middle classes; the SP did not make inroads into the domain of the DVP or the moderate conservative groups. It received fewer votes than the DDP alone in 1928.[46] This defeat and the all too painful realization that the SP was a spent force before it could gain political momentum created much bitterness and a near panic in the DDP. Koch-Weser withdrew from active leadership, allegedly for medical reasons, but his malady was more spiritual and political than physical. The Prussian Democrats Hermann Höpker-Aschoff and Oscar Mayer took the helm of the party and tried to steer it toward a better, but unrealizable, future. There was a further, small-scale exodus from the rank and file, including nine deputies of the outgoing Parliament.[47]

Democrats and Young Germans blamed each other for the SP's ignominious showing in the elections. Whereas the latter tended to ascribe whatever local successes the party had achieved in some parts of Germany to the "new elements" in it, the Democrats, and especially those who had opposed Koch-Weser and his *coup d'état* in July, felt completely abandoned by the Young Germans. They complained that Mahraun's claim of nationwide support had not been substantiated by the results of the election, and they were indignant about the rampant anti-Semitism in the ranks of the Young Germans, which had made it difficult for Jewish or half-Jewish Democrats to get nominations or to sign the official proclamations of the

[46] The SP received 3.8 per cent of the total votes in 1930, the DDP 4.9 per cent in 1928; the difference amounted to about 200,000 votes. For the 1930 election results, see *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, CCCLXXXII (Berlin, 1932).

[47] This was revealed in a meeting of the Managing Committee, Sept. 27, 1930, *Akten der DDP*, R45 III/22, 109. Those who left included Willy Hellpach, DDP presidential candidate in 1925.

SP and even exposed them to frequent frontal attacks in their press. There was also some bitter personal feeling against Mahraun, whose self-appointed position as the extraparliamentary leader of the SP was regarded in the DDP as usurpation of authority. The pain caused by these unpleasant circumstances was all the more stinging because the DDP had provided virtually all the facilities—organization and finance—for the running of the election campaign. Now, it seemed, the party was stranded hopelessly, with only the unknown ahead.

Two overriding, interacting issues had to be dealt with promptly by the Democratic leadership: the DDP's strained relations with the Young Germans and the question of its corporative entry into the SP. At the end of September the Executive and Managing Committees were, broadly speaking, divided into two uneven sections, one opposing a hasty dissolution of the DDP, the other pressing for it.[48] Both groups demanded further negotiations with the Young Germans regarding the final constitution of the SP, but whereas the opponents of dissolution recommended caution and pleaded against an automatic transfer of the DDP into the SP, others, notably Koch-Weser, Bäumer, Höpker-Aschoff, and Werner Stephan, wanted to convene a special conference immediately in order to effect an official, final dissolution.[49] The chief arguments against a corporative entry into the SP were based on the opposition to Mahraun's personality, the anti-Semitism and chauvinistic foreign policy of the Young Germans, and the fear that the Democrats would be subordinated to the "new elements" in the SP. In reply to these points the advocates of dissolution claimed that the continuing existence of the DDP would represent yet another chapter in the tragedy of German liberalism. In their view, moreover, this was impossible because the elections had been contested only by the SP; thus the new *Reichstag* deputies could not speak for the DDP. Koch-Weser also felt that his old party could not be held together as such and that its defeat would have been even more catastrophic had it contested the elections under the Democratic banner. Others again pleaded for the abandoning of the "narrow party point of view" in the hour of national crisis and for a complete and unhesitating fusion with the SP.

A resolution adopted by the Managing Committee on September 27 and the accompanying conditions attached to an offer of further negotiations

[48] *Ibid.*, 109–32; the whole political position of the DDP and the SP was discussed at this meeting under the chairmanship of Meyer.

[49] According to the constitution of the party it could be dissolved only by a majority decision of the conference. The outspoken opponents of dissolution included Georg Bernhard and Richard Frankfurter, a Berlin lawyer who was prominent in the leadership of the party organization.

with the Young Germans reflected clearly the deep divisions in the Democratic leadership. The resolution was worded skillfully so as not to alienate Mahraun, but at the same time it also stressed that certain "sacred principles" of the DDP were not negotiable. The conditions laid down for further contacts with the Young Germans were, moreover, uncompromising and corresponded more or less to the demands of the opposition in the Managing Committee. It was stipulated that the leadership of the SP organization should not be in the hands of Mahraun alone, that all changes in the program effected or proposed by Mahraun should be revoked, that all criticisms of Democrats by Young Germans should cease at once, and, finally, that the DDP would only be dissolved if the political organizations of the Young Germans, the *Volksnationale Vereinigung,* were likewise disbanded.[50]

Negotiations between the DDP and the Young Germans continued to be unsuccessful. The Democrats insisted upon the acceptance of their stiff conditions; the Young Germans rejected them and demanded in turn controlling positions in the SP. They sent an ultimatum to the DDP leadership, and, when this was returned scornfully, left the SP en bloc on September 30.[51] The Democrats, together with a number of individuals from the liberal reform groups, *Reichsbanner* and Christian trade-unions, were left behind to decide the fate of both the DDP and the SP.

The decision was made at the last meeting of the Managing Committee of the DDP on October 16 and, finally, at the "dissolution conference" held at Hanover on November 8.[52] On both occasions the crucial question debated was again whether to persevere with the SP without the Young Germans or, reversing the earlier decision, to retain the identity of the DDP and try to rebuild it and regain its lost prestige and momentum. The obstacles in the way of a smooth solution were enormous. The circumstance that had led to the creation of the SP, the *coup d'état* methods employed, the lamentable failure in the elections, and the break with the Young Germans were most unfavorable factors burdening the new party from the outset. Weighing heavily against the continued existence of the DDP were the mere presence of the SP, the membership in it of certain liberals who would never have joined the DDP, and, of course, the fact that the party was so irreparably discredited in the eyes of many of its former supporters and voters. Its halfway disintegration between July and November and the

[50] *Akten der DDP,* R45 III/22, 132.

[51] See Höpker-Aschoff's report to the meeting of the Managing Committee, Oct. 16, 1930, *ibid.,* 140–43.

[52] For the protocols of the meeting and the conference, see *ibid.,* 139–64, R45 III/8, 2–54.

almost complete collapse of its organization in many parts of the country made its future, and the future of the SP, extremely precarious.[58] Koch-Weser resigned formally from all posts in the party, though he did not relinquish his *Reichstag* seat immediately as demanded by the local branch of Potsdam, his electoral district. At the same time, following the earlier secessionists, a growing number of other Democrats, including such prominent members as Otto Fischbeck, Dernburg, Bernhard, and Philipp Wieland, were turning their back on the old organization.

The two final meetings of the DDP leadership were held in an atmosphere of great tension. There were much indecisive talk, a bitter consciousness of failure, a sense of frustration, mourning, and nostalgia. No clear course was indicated for the future; there were no signs of a "liberal-democratic rejuvenation." A group of pacifists still in the party, led by Professor Ludwig Quidde, pleaded for loyalty to the DDP on the grounds that the SP had started its career disastrously and departed regrettably from democratic principles. The majority of those present, however, agreed that the DDP was too debilitated, less popular than ever, and had no chance of survival. Although even Koch-Weser and Höpker-Aschoff admitted that the common venture with the Young Germans had been a mistake—Koch-Weser ended his political career by apologizing to the conference for his misjudged action—the consensus of the delegates was in favor of carrying on with the SP. The vote for the latter ranged from an enthusiastic dedication to the "new cause" by Bäumer and Dietrich to the rather reluctant choice of the lesser evil by others. In fact, Dietrich not only pleaded wholeheartedly for the automatic merger of the DDP with the SP, but also threatened that in case of further bickering and disagreement he and the whole Baden branch of the party would resign.

The final resolution calling for the dissolution of all Democratic organizations, local and regional branches, and for their fusion with the SP was passed against sixteen votes. It ended formally the history of a party that had identified itself unequivocally with the German democratic republic created at Weimar in 1919. Twelve years after the Revolution, the "party of the republican constitution" faded out of existence. The following day, the SP was officially constituted by former Democrats and by those who had come to it from other political quarters. In a sense, their creation was but an artificial prolongation of the self-immolated DDP. It had no power, no

[58] It was estimated in the meeting of the Managing Committee that 80 per cent of the DDP organization in Germany was not functioning properly. (*Ibid.*, R45 III/22, 151.) Senator Stubmann stated that the organization of the DDP in Hamburg, still intact early in July, collapsed after the July crisis. (*Ibid.*, 152.)

popular appeal, no sociological basis, and no future. But its approach to politics rested on the support and acceptance of a semiauthoritarian system of government, represented by Heinrich Brüning and based on presidential powers. Its structure, too, was essentially different from that of its predecessor, which had lost much of its substance and shed its entire Left Wing before it was joined by men of liberal but not of Democratic convictions. Thus its two-and-a-half-year history should not be regarded as a mere continuation or even conclusion of the history of the DDP. Its failure, however, was as much a symptom of the Weimar Republican malaise as the ignoble end of the Democratic experiment in 1930.

Completing Japan's Political Reorientation, 1947–1952: Crucial Phase of the Allied Occupation

JUSTIN WILLIAMS*

THE desire of the Japanese to forget the Allied occupation, which lasted from September 1945 to April 1952, is matched only by our lack of interest in it. But this curious state of affairs does not alter the fact that the occupation was "perhaps the most remarkable peacetime diplomatic experiment we have ever conducted," or that it "drastically affected the entire fabric of Japanese society and life."[1] Nor does it mean that the full story of that historic confrontation between West and East has already been told.

On the contrary, many aspects of the occupation have been glossed over, but none more conspicuously than Japan's progress toward democracy during the five years following the effective date of the American-inspired Constitution in May 1947. Most students of the subject persist in the belief that during the first two years or so of the occupation the "peaceful and responsible government" contemplated by the authors of the Potsdam Declaration was established.[2] It is the purpose of this study to correct that erroneous impression by rendering more intelligible the salient features of the final five years of "Japan's American Interlude."

The reader should bear in mind that although General Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) from the beginning of the occupation until his dismissal in April 1951, executed occupation policy in masterful fashion, he did not make it. Policy goals, political and otherwise, were fixed in Washington by the high-level State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee, known as SWNCC. That body's fundamental policy for occupied Japan was outlined in five papers: the Potsdam

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[1] *The United States and Japan*, ed. Herbert Passin (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1966), 2.

[2] See, e.g., Robert E. Ward, "The Legacy of the Occupation," *ibid.*, 30–33; Hugh Borton, *Japan's Modern Century* (New York, 1955), 421–23; Frederick S. Dunn, *Peace-Making and the Settlement with Japan* (Princeton, N. J., 1963), 70–76; Robert A. Fearey, *The Occupation of Japan: The Second Phase, 1948–1950* (New York, 1950), 3. In 1947 Douglas MacArthur recommended that the military occupation be ended, but not that Japan's sovereignty be restored; the democratization program, he thought, at that time, should be continued under the supervision of a United Nations commission. (*Nippon Times*, Mar. 19, 1947.)

Declaration, July 26, 1945; the Initial Post-Surrender Directive, September 6, 1945; the Basic Post-Surrender Directive, November 3, 1945 (commonly referred to as Joint Chiefs of Staff-JCS-1380/15); SWNCC 228, "Reform of the Japanese Governmental System," January 7, 1946; and United States Interim Directive Number 96 for stabilizing Japan's economy, December 11, 1948.[3] But these five papers did not constitute a comprehensive plan for achieving the assigned goal. They suggested no order of priorities, failed to indicate how the trappings of a democratic society might be fitted into the Japanese scheme of things, gave no hint of what the reconstructed Japan would resemble, and set no time limit for completing the job. These details were left to the discretion of the Supreme Commander. Consequently MacArthur, with the help of his staff, decided on the content and timing of the prescribed educational, land, industrial, and labor reforms, on criteria for removing ultranationalists, on matters pertaining to elections, civil rights, and constitutional revision. And when the new Constitution became operative, MacArthur's headquarters (GHQ)—notably the Government Section under Brigadier General Courtney Whitney and his deputy, Colonel Charles L. Kades—turned to the task of helping to structure the new system of government and to make it work. This involved, among other things, reviewing and readjusting the relationships between GHQ and the Japanese government.

The informal method by which the Supreme Commander performed his task after the first months of the occupation would have been impossible without the wholehearted cooperation of the Japanese bureaucracy, the only group capable of running the government. Pursuant to the Emperor's request,[4] Japanese officials obediently, if not always cheerfully, accepted both the new Constitution and major responsibility for its implementation. But because they were unfamiliar with Western democratic principles and practices, all levels of the Japanese bureaucracy looked to their GHQ counterparts for guidance. Not always waiting for GHQ instructions, they frequently sought GHQ counsel. As Professor Kenzo Takayanagi viewed the scene in 1950:

[3] The first-, second-, and third-mentioned papers are in a number of standard works on the occupation. SWNCC 228 is in Theodore McNelly, *Sources in Modern East Asian History and Politics* (New York, 1967), 177–86, and its significance is discussed in Justin Williams, "Making the Japanese Constitution: A Further Look," *American Political Science Review*, LIX (Sept. 1965). The ten-point economic stabilization program prescribed by Interim Directive No. 96 is outlined in MacArthur's Dec. 19, 1948, letter to Premier Shigeru Yoshida, which was released to the press.

[4] Imperial Rescript, Sept. 2, 1945, in Government Section, SCAP, *Political Reorientation of Japan, September 1945 to September 1948* (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1949), II, Appendix A, 6.

the . . . American lawyers . . . are generally very eager . . . to confer on the Japanese the benefits of the best law they know. Japanese officials are, like many Japanese intellectuals, curious to learn something novel and are generally inclined for that and other reasons to follow their advice. . . . It is largely in such a peaceful and semi-academic atmosphere that the Anglo-American law is now making its way into Japan.[5]

To underscore the submissiveness of Japanese officials to the strange democratic concept and their diligence in trying to master it, Takayanagi added: "[Japanese] Experts in many fields are now being despatched to the United States . . . to study the imported institutions in their homeland."[6]

A typical example of the Japanese bureaucracy's cooperation was the mid-1947 agreement on cabinet orders entered into between the Cabinet Legal Bureau and the Government Section. The rationale for the agreement was explained in this internal Government Section memorandum:

Under the Meiji Constitution the bulk of Japanese legislation was accomplished by . . . Imperial Ordinance. . . . until May 3, 1947 it gradually became customary for this Headquarters to accomplish its objectives by means of the Imperial Ordinance. . . . Now that the legislative process is vested entirely in the Diet it is anticipated that an attempt will be made by executive agencies to accomplish by Cabinet order what actually amounts to legislation. . . . It is therefore recommended . . . that all Cabinet orders . . . relating to Diet legislation, prior to promulgation, will be submitted to the Government Section for approval or for coordination with the appropriate GHQ staff section.[7]

Accordingly the Cabinet Legal Bureau agreed to submit to the Government Section a weekly list of all cabinet orders of a substantive nature "for approval prior to their promulgation."[8] Thirteen months later, in August 1948, the requirement for prior GHQ approval was eliminated; henceforth it was sufficient to forward copies of promulgated cabinet orders certified by the Attorney General "to be in strict compliance with the directives of the Supreme Commander, the Constitution, and the laws of Japan."[9]

The system devised to maintain surveillance over the legislative process was also simple and effective. It rested on a 1946 agreement with the Central Liaison Office (CLO), which provided that the CLO would furnish to the Government Section, in English, texts of all legislative bills proposed by the cabinet prior to their submission to the Diet, texts of all member bills

[5] Kenzo Takayanagi, "Reception of Foreign Law in Japan," address delivered at Lincoln's Inn, London, Eng., Aug. 5, 1950, and published in *Seiji-Keizai-Ronso,* II (Oct. 1951), 2–11.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Frank E. Hays memo to Whitney, May 5, 1947. Copies of all GHQ memos, reports, correspondence, press releases, and other unpublished documents and papers cited are, unless otherwise indicated, in my personal files; most of the original documents can be found at the Douglas MacArthur Museum, Norfolk, Virginia.

[8] Frank Rizzo memo, June 23, 1947. The agreement was approved by Kades, July 8, 1947.

[9] This Aug. 5, 1948, revised agreement was signed by Tatsuo Sato for the Attorney General and by me for the Government Section.

submitted to the Secretary General of each house for introduction, daily written summaries of Diet deliberations including the agenda for the next day's session, and the daily edition of the *Official Gazette*.[10] The agreement was never changed; under it the two units staffed by the CLO who were assigned to cover legislative activities in the Diet supplied a constant flow of pertinent information to the Government Section, which disseminated it to the Supreme Commander and the several staff sections of GHQ.[11] The CLO units also served as the channel of communication on legislation between the Government Section and the Diet; no bill was introduced in either chamber, or amended after introduction, until authorization was given by the Government Section through one of the CLO bodies.

In exercising its staff responsibility for all matters relating to the Diet, as fixed by a 1947 GHQ order,[12] the Government Section ran into difficulty, not with the Japanese government, but with other GHQ staff sections, particularly the Economic and Scientific Section (ESS). At issue was the shifting of greater responsibility for legislation to the Japanese cabinet and Diet. To this end the Government Section recommended prompt GHQ clearance for introduction in the Diet of all legislative proposals—bills and amendments—that did not violate specific occupation directives and policies.[13] ESS, on the other hand, objected to clearing legislative proposals with fiscal implications until all details of funding had been settled, and it refused to permit such proposals to be amended after their submission to the Diet.[14] The differences between the two most important staff sections of GHQ were never settled because the Supreme Commander refused to intervene. Though sympathetic to the Government Section's side of the argument, MacArthur feared that the economic stabilization program, unless rigidly controlled by GHQ, would, as he informed Premier Shigeru Yoshida, be obstructed by "improvidential political conflicts, unobjective labor strife, and destructive ideological pressures."[15] But he did nothing to dissuade Whitney from exerting pressure on ESS and the Chief of Staff.

Caught between the insistence of the ESS on "a true balance in the consolidated budget," as prescribed by Interim Directive Number 96 of December 1948, and the Government Section's emphasis on "a legislative body, fully representative of the electorate, with full power to reduce, in-

[10] Guy J. Swope memo to Whitney, May 11, 1946.

[11] In the period June 1946–March 1952, 722 Government Section "Diet Reports" were prepared, under my direction, from this information and distributed within GHQ.

[12] GHQ Staff Memo No. 29, "Staff Responsibility for Japanese Legislation," Mar. 20, 1947.

[13] Whitney memo to Chief of Staff, Sept. 3, 1948.

[14] Sherwood Fine paper for General Matthew B. Ridgway, "Summary and Evaluation of Japan's Economic Recovery under the Occupation," Apr. 1952.

[15] MacArthur letter to Yoshida, Dec. 19, 1948.

crease or reject any items in the budget or to suggest new items," as set forth in SWNCC 228 of January 1946, the Chief of Staff searched for a compromise solution. Finally, in 1951, he ruled that amendments proposed by the Diet to the government's budget would be reviewed by ESS and cleared by GHQ "if they do not violate the SCAP's budgetary policy" and that "other legislative proposals . . . which contain budgetary implications [would] be cleared provided . . . appropriate budgetary measures have been assured."[16]

A concrete case will show how the two sections reacted to the Chief of Staff's decision. In February 1951 the cabinet submitted for GHQ clearance the Trust Fund Bureau Fund Bill, which had been prepared by the Finance Ministry to implement a recommendation made by ESS special consultant Joseph Dodge. GHQ clearance was promptly given, and the bill was introduced in the Diet. A month later GHQ received a proposed amendment to the measure from the Finance Committee of the House of Representatives. ESS rejected the amendment on the ground that it violated Dodge's recommendation. The Government Section referred the matter to the Chief of Staff, inviting attention to "excessively rigid control of the type which should no longer be exercised over the Japanese at this stage of the Occupation."[17] ESS countered by charging the Government Section with conducting

> a harassing campaign designed to break down resistance of responsible Occupation agencies to Japanese attempts to crack existing economic policy. . . . The concept that the Supreme Commander will permit the reversal of the economic stabilization accomplished in Japan through the investment of approximately $2 billion of U. S. funds in acceptance of the academic premise of liberalizing political freedom . . . would appear to be most tenuous.[18]

The Chief of Staff acted promptly to resolve the issue by reiterating that "amendments . . . [will] be cleared . . . if they do not violate the SCAP's budgetary policy."[19] This permitted Whitney to release the disputed amendment "for consideration by the Diet."[20]

While developing procedures to facilitate cooperation between Japan's bureaucracy and that of GHQ, the Government Section watched the progress toward democracy of Japan's first four governments under the new Constitution: Tetsu Katayama's, Hitoshi Ashida's, and Yoshida's second and

[16] Chief of Staff memo to ESS and the Government Section, Mar. 30, 1951.
[17] Whitney memo to Chief of Staff, Mar. 29, 1951.
[18] ESS memo to Chief of Staff, Mar. 31, 1951.
[19] Chief of Staff memo to ESS and Government Section, Mar. 31, 1951.
[20] Whitney memo to ESS, Apr. 1, 1951. From December 1947 to November 1951, GHQ processed 1,613 legislative bills prepared by the Japanese. Of these, 1,405 were approved and 208 disapproved. An additional 176 bills would have been disapproved had the Government Section not cleared them over the objections of various staff sections. (Feb. 2, 1952, legislative summary prepared by Helen Loeb.)

third. Had it not been for this concern, the unstable political condition under Katayama and Ashida in 1947 and 1948 might well have carried over into 1949 and 1950, casting doubt for years to come on the country's capacity for self-government. That this did not happen, that the government began to function in a responsible manner by 1949, was due essentially to the levelheadedness of the Japanese electorate, whose sentiments increasingly found expression in the conservative Democratic Liberal party; it was also due to the Government Section's persistent efforts to condition politicians to the unfamiliar requirements of popular rule.

In order to accomplish the main objectives of the occupation, conversion of those in power to the ways of self-government was no less essential than the new Constitution itself. Unless Japan's leaders could demonstrate both ability and willingness to operate the new system of government while the occupation was in progress, Japan's independence might be postponed indefinitely; in 1947 MacArthur and others conceived of United Nations supervision of the country for perhaps a generation.[21] The question, then, was how to develop democratic procedures in a relatively short period.

Government Section strategy was to achieve this end through the instrumentality of what was regarded as the progressive minority. This explains why Whitney and his staff were partial to the Katayama-Ashida-Takeo Miki coalition of Socialists, Democrats, and People's Democrats, which held the reins of power for some sixteen months in 1947–1948, and why these political parties were fortified by the full weight of MacArthur's prestige and popularity. It was not by accident that MacArthur pointedly characterized Katayama's selection as emphasizing "the 'middle of the road course' of Japanese internal politics."[22] When Katayama resigned as Premier in February 1948 rather than dissolve the House of Representatives and call for a parliamentary election, MacArthur commented, to the dismay of the Liberals, that the "action now being taken is in full accord with democratic procedure."[23] To counter the Liberal party's move to drive a wedge between factions of the coalition parties over the Katayama cabinet's proposed bill for temporary state control of coal mining, a Socialist measure, MacArthur wrote the Premier: "There is no objection to its presentation to the Diet for consideration on its merits, without prejudice of any kind from this headquarters."[24]

The Government Section also supported attempts by the progressive forces to question arbitrary practices of previous Japanese governments.

[21] *Nippon Times*, July 3, 1947; Borton, *Japan's Modern Century*, 421.
[22] *Political Reorientation*, II, Appendix F, 34.
[23] *Ibid.*, 44.
[24] *Ibid.*, Appendix E, 9.

One such attempt was in the form of a parliamentary investigation to expose big industrialists, *zaibatsu,* who had allegedly looted public property worth billions of yen between the surrender on August 14, 1945, and the arrival of the occupation forces two weeks later. In July 1947 the House of Representatives created a Special Committee for the Investigation of Concealed and Hoarded Goods, the first committee of investigation ever appointed by the Diet, to delve into the government's disposal and handling of these vast stores of supplies and materials. Because of inexperience, limited powers, and lack of funds, the committee made little headway during the first months of its existence. But, under a new resolution drafted by Kades and adopted by the House of Representatives in December 1947, the reconstituted Nonpartisan Special Committee on Irregular Property Transactions was empowered to "make full and complete investigation" of the looted war supplies, to subpoena witnesses, administer oaths, and take testimony, and to spend up to 250,000 yen provided from the House contingent fund.[25] William Costello, Columbia Broadcasting System's Tokyo representative, who carefully followed the work of this committee, found that it "had first irritated, then alarmed the *zaibatsu.*" He agreed with the committee chairman who declared in 1948 after months of exhaustive hearings that "the moral support provided by this committee has encouraged procuratorial officials who otherwise might not have ventured to take action against powerful feudal forces."[26]

Directing the attention of a receptive Japanese public to deep-rooted practices that appeared to be inconsistent with the new democratic order was another Government Section method of assisting the reform elements. Perhaps the best example of this was the *oyabun-kobun* outcry engendered by Kades in the fall of 1947. Supported by a cross section of GHQ officials, he announced that "a hidden government" based on the *oyabun-kobun* (parent-child or leader-follower) relationship threatened to "wreck every effort to democratize this people."[27] When the excitement caused by the announcement died down, it was found that there did exist in fact "a formidable 'machine' made up of racketeers who are secretly tied up with certain politicians."[28]

But the Government Section's main strategy for influencing the course of events was to maintain in office the existing coalition of parties at least until the next parliamentary election became mandatory in the spring of 1951. Despite the fact that this unharmonious party grouping fell apart in

[25] *Ibid.,* I, 307–13; II, Appendix E, 10.
[26] William Costello, *Democracy vs Feudalism* (Tokyo, 1948), 164–76.
[27] *Nippon Times,* Nov. 23, 1947.
[28] *Ibid.,* Dec. 3, 1947.

October 1948 because of inexperience, dissension, and scandal, the Government Section sought, nevertheless, to shore it up again under the leadership of veteran Diet member Takeshi Yamazaki, Democratic Liberal party chief secretary, former Speaker of the House of Representatives, and a MacArthur favorite. Kades took appropriate steps to determine that the move was feasible. Dr. Ashida gave assurance of his support, and Yamazaki, encouraged by influential Democratic Liberals Jiro Hoshijima and Kikuichiro Yamaguchi, seized the opportunity to stand for Premier against the president of his party, Yoshida.[29] Then, only hours before the scheduled October 14 vote in the House of Representatives that would have made him chief of state, Yamazaki abruptly removed himself from contention by resigning his Diet membership. Later that day he explained to an official of the House secretariat:

> The very idea . . . of a party official competing with the head of the party for any position . . . is repugnant to the politicians and the people alike. . . . Rank and file members were convinced . . . that Mr. Yoshida, particularly after his 9 October conference in the Dai Ichi Building, was the choice of the Supreme Commander.[30]

Fully aware of the Government Section's covert support of Yamazaki, MacArthur, as befitted his position, took a neutral stance. In a ninety-minute interview on October 9 with Miki, People's Democratic party president, immediately following a shorter conference with Yoshida, the Supreme Commander significantly made no attempt to dissuade the coalition leader from supporting Yamazaki's candidacy.[31] Thus Yamazaki failed to be named Premier solely because he quit the race, and he quit because he had been deserted by his Democratic Liberal colleagues Hoshijima and Yamaguchi. The result was that Democratic Liberal party President Yoshida had outmaneuvered not only the coalition parties and the dissidents in his own party but GHQ as well.

It would be wrong, however, to conclude that Yoshida's victory weakened the will or the capacity of GHQ to keep the Japanese government on a democratic course. The supreme test of GHQ's firmness of mind was made in December 1948, some two months after Yoshida replaced Ashida as Premier. The minority Yoshida government was determined to dissolve the House of Representatives and hold a general election. Complicating an

[29] I served as go-between, first consulting Ashida alone and then Yamazaki, Hoshijima, and Yamaguchi together. All were enthusiastic about the project.

[30] Justin Williams memo to Whitney, Oct. 14, 1948.

[31] Miki's long stay in the Dai Ichi Building, combined with his refusal to divulge what he discussed with the Supreme Commander, "has caused more speculation among the present government parties and more uncertainty within the Democratic Liberal Party than any incident since the resignation of the [Ashida] Cabinet." (Williams memo to Whitney, Oct. 12, 1948.)

already tense and awkward situation was GHQ insistence that dissolution await Diet approval of six legislative bills, including the bill to amend the National Public Service Law, and a supplementary budget to provide, among other things, wage increases for government workers. Yoshida let it be known that upon passage of the six bills he would invoke the power of the Emperor under Article VII of the Constitution to dissolve the House, postponing consideration of the supplementary budget to a later date. As a result Socialist floor leader Inejiro Asanuma appealed frantically to Whitney for protection against Yoshida's intention "to operate under the Meiji Constitution," insisting that GHQ "take a stand on the wage issue . . . before dissolution of the House of Representatives." Enlisted to help the Socialists, Tokyo University President Shigeru Nambara saw no way out of the tangle "except for the House to defy the Cabinet by refusing to be dissolved even if Mr. Yoshida attempts to dissolve it under Article 7, a move which would place Japan in a state of revolution." His suggestion for saving the situation was to "prevent arbitrary dissolution of the House until the supplementary budget can be deliberated."[32] The date was November 26.

Next morning at 9:30 Whitney and Kades visited Yoshida at the Premier's official residence to inform him of MacArthur's desire that he "work out a compromise with the opposition parties." MacArthur's suggestion, Whitney said, was for the cabinet to present the controversial pay bill to the Diet "upon condition that, once the present program plus the pay bill is enacted into law, the opposition would raise no further barrier to the dissolution of the Diet by passing a resolution of non-confidence under Article 69 of the Constitution."[33] On this basis the issue was finally resolved.

Following the landslide of the Democratic Liberal party in January 1949 and the formation of the third Yoshida cabinet, GHQ braced for an expected heavy attack on occupation reforms. The new Premier, however, singled out for radical and immediate modification only two occupation programs, one of which was the purge. In February he asked MacArthur to depurge two men needed for economic posts; MacArthur replied: "It would not be within the proper scope of my authority to sanction purgees for Cabinet office without concurrence of the Far Eastern Commission which it would be quite impossible to secure."[34] Refusing to consider other requests by Yoshida for release of "suitable persons from the purge, on the result of which will depend . . . future political alignments in Japan,"[35] MacArthur told a June 1950 conference of GHQ section chiefs that "there

[32] Williams memos to Whitney, Nov. 8, 24, 26, 1948.
[33] Kades memo, Nov. 27, 1948.
[34] Yoshida letter to MacArthur, Feb. 2, 1949; MacArthur letter to Yoshida, Feb. 4, 1949.
[35] Yoshida letter to MacArthur, Aug. 9, 1949.

would be no relaxation" of the purge.[36] Not until the fourth anniversary of the new Constitution, May 3, 1951, when John Foster Dulles was far advanced with plans to restore Japan's independence, was the purge policy modified. On that date General Matthew B. Ridgway, the new Supreme Commander, authorized the Japanese government not to depurge anyone but "to review existing ordinances issued in implementation of directives from this headquarters."[37]

Yoshida also asked for changes in the reorganized police system to permit coordination of the various police branches and units and to "place them under unified control . . . for swift, vigorous and effective action."[38] MacArthur replied: "I do not believe that the failure of coordination between the national and local police units . . . is due to the manner of their organization or definition of their powers as provided by the law, but rather is a question of the proper education of the personalities involved."[39] The Police Reorganization Law remained intact for the duration of the occupation.

Efforts to direct the several Japanese governments along democratic lines coincided with the initiation by GHQ of projects to refine and enlarge areas of the previously implemented democratization program, particularly those areas related to political parties, civil service, elections, and local autonomy. In each instance new legislation was required.

The Government Section's project to have a political parties law enacted by the Diet is a good example of a debatable reform that in the end was wisely left to the discretion of the Japanese. Intended to "check the inordinate multiplication of so-called political parties in Japan,"[40] the political parties bill drafted by the Home Ministry at the request of a Government Section official pleased neither the Japanese people, the politicians, nor a majority of the Government Section's division chiefs. The matter was brought to a climax when veteran Representative Takao Saito told a September 1947 caucus of the Democratic party that popular support for a particular political party could not be prohibited by law and that no country had ever enacted a political party law. Following the Saito comments the Japanese press openly denounced the proposed bill, with the result that the

[36] Marcel Grilli, "Control of Antidemocratic Elements" (Jan. 1952), a chapter in the Government Section's unpublished "Political Reorientation of Japan, 1949–1952," 10.

[37] *Ibid.* At the close of the occupation there were still 8,710 purgees. (Hans H. Baerwald, *The Purge of Japanese Leaders under the Occupation* [Berkeley, Calif., 1959], 79.)

[38] Yoshida letter to MacArthur, Aug. 6, 1949.

[39] MacArthur letter to Yoshida, Aug. 8, 1949.

[40] P. K. Roest memo to Whitney, Nov. 25, 1946.

House of Representatives special committee on elections decided to replace it with election management and corrupt practices bills.[41]

The National Public Service Law of 1947 was amended as suggested by the Supreme Commander in his July 22, 1948, letter to Premier Ashida. Revision of this law did not, as some have supposed, indicate a shift in the emphasis of American policy toward Japan. It was not, as the Yamazaki affair of October 1948 demonstrated, a lessening of GHQ support for the democratically inclined elements of the population. Instead it was the product of a forthright move by public administration expert Blaine Hoover, chief of the Government Section's Civil Service Division, to bring the 1947 law up to date. Contemporary events, particularly the injurious effects of an almost continuous series of strikes and other labor dispute tactics by organized government employees of the railway, communications, salt, camphor, and tobacco monopolies, "gave practical demonstration of the importance of strengthening the provisions of the law."[42]

Hoover's draft revision of the law was vehemently opposed by ESS labor expert James Killen, who took issue with Hoover "on such questions as . . . the meaning of collective bargaining as applied to government workers, and the use of strikes or dispute tactics against the government."[43] Hoover rested his case on the position of Franklin D. Roosevelt, that "a strike of public employees . . . is unthinkable and intolerable" and that "the process of collective bargaining as usually understood, cannot be transplanted into the public service."[44] MacArthur, after studying the briefs of both men and listening to their oral arguments, decided in favor of Hoover, whose version was approved by the Diet in November 1948.

MacArthur consistently refrained from demanding that imperfections in Japan's esoteric election law be corrected. In his view the election law reflected "Japanese thought and Japanese initiative and as such, however imperfect, will stand impervious to the strains [of future] nationalistic pressures."[45] Japanese newspaper editors and GHQ officials alike bitterly complained, nevertheless, that the law infringed the rights of the candidates, the voters, and the press. To still the complaints, Whitney, in a mid-January 1949 meeting with representatives of GHQ's Information and Education Section, Japan's National Election Management Commission, the Attorney General's office, and National Rural Police Headquarters, advised

[41] Roest memo to Whitney, Jan. 15, 1947; C. P. Marcum memo, July 21, 1947; *Tokyo Shimbun*, Sept. 30, 1947; *Asahi Shimbun*, Nov. 9, 1947; *Jiji Press*, Nov. 14, 1947.
[42] *Political Reorientation*, I, 254, 258–59; letter of July 22, 1948, *ibid.*, II, Appendix B, 8c.
[43] *Ibid.*, I, 258.
[44] *Ibid.*, II, 582.
[45] Courtney Whitney, *MacArthur, His Rendezvous with History* (New York, 1955), 244.

the Japanese officials present to "construe all laws which you are called on to administer in the light of constitutional mandates . . . to insure preservation of individual liberties guaranteed by the Constitution."[46] Reflecting Whitney's advice, the National Election Management Commission announced that the "Constitution guarantees the press freedom to express opinion . . . [which] imposes . . . the obligation to perform its functions as a responsible medium of public information, at all times giving paramount importance to the promotion of the interests of the people."[47]

A year later, in January 1950, Whitney was again placed in the position of defending Japan's highly restrictive election law. But once more he held to MacArthur's opinion that "GHQ interference . . . might easily produce diametrically opposite results from those desired." Careful not to denigrate a set of election regulations that the Japanese regarded as a compact between political parties and factions to restrain iniquitous electioneering practices and to create a condition of relative equality between rich and poor candidates, he told members of the Special Election Law Committee of the House of Representatives that it was up to the Japanese people to correct defects in the law.[48] The Japanese draft of the Public Offices Election Bill became law in April 1950, ending attempts by GHQ officials to Americanize Japan's election system.

GHQ did not handle skillfully the local tax revision bill. Drafted by the Japanese government at the request of the Supreme Commander,[49] this measure, based on recommendations of a special United States study mission headed by Professor Carl Shoup, was designed to place the finances of local governments on a sound financial foundation. In September 1949 Premier Yoshida assured MacArthur that the taxation program as recommended would be submitted to the next Diet.[50] But no sooner had the local tax bill been negotiated with "quarters concerned"—euphemism for GHQ—than the Premier, sensing trouble ahead, made known his qualms in a prophetic March 18, 1950, letter to General MacArthur, which said:

> The . . . bill for revision of the Local Tax Law . . . will have a very hard going in the months ahead, what with the June election for the House of Councillors looming. . . . I would propose that the flat rate of 1.75 percent be enforced for the first half of 1950, and . . . be made a . . . [flexible] rate for the second half. . . . the measure I propose is economically sound as it is politically efficacious. . . .[51]

[46] Marcel Grilli, "Popular Elections" (Feb. 1952), a chapter in the Government Section's unpublished "Political Reorientation of Japan, 1949–1952," 16.
[47] *Ibid.*, 17.
[48] *Ibid.*, 18–19; Williams memo to Whitney, Dec. 6, 1949.
[49] MacArthur letter to Yoshida, Sept. 15, 1949.
[50] Yoshida letter to MacArthur, Sept. 16, 1949.
[51] Yoshida letter to MacArthur, Mar. 18, 1950.

MacArthur's reply, reflecting the position of ESS in which Whitney had been persuaded to concur, said: ". . . I am fully aware of the political problems posed by the tax reform program but . . . [Japan's] best interests . . . will be served by its enactment without modification in its major provisions."[52] On May 1, the day before the session closed, the House of Councillors defeated the local tax bill by a vote of 102 to 73.[53]

Faced with this unprecedented, unexpected, and highly embarrassing action by the legislative branch, an angry MacArthur summoned Whitney and General William F. Marquat, ESS chief, to explain what went wrong. They could only plead that many councilors, anticipating the June election, stood more in awe of their constituents than of a united GHQ. Aware that the bill's defeat resulted from GHQ's refusal to permit the Diet to amend it, MacArthur directed Whitney to prepare a statement defending the action of the House of Councillors and expressing confidence that "once the coming election is out of the way, the Diet will proceed . . . to discharge its . . . responsibility in implementation of this phase of the Economic Stabilization Program."[54]

At the beginning of the Eighth Extraordinary Diet in July, the local tax bill was resubmitted, but with a difference: whereas the provisions of the earlier version had been dictated by ESS, the new version was a compromise worked out, at MacArthur's request, by personal representatives of Whitney, Marquat, and Yoshida.[55] As a consequence, on July 22 the House of Representatives, after adopting amendments proposed by the People's Democratic party, passed the bill by a vote of 226 to 74, and nine days later the House of Councillors gave its approval by a vote of 145 to 82.[56]

Notwithstanding GHQ's strict and consistent adherence to United States policy as defined in the five papers mentioned above, the view prevails that the basic occupation objectives "underwent a series of very important changes" in 1947 and 1948, that Washington lost its enthusiasm for democratic reform and reversed its original position on economic rehabilitation. The supposition is that these changes were products of the cold war, made to meet a desperate need of the US for a Far Eastern ally to replace the sinking republic of China, and that in making them America forsook the

[52] MacArthur letter to Yoshida, Mar. 21, 1950.
[53] Williams, "Diet Report" No. 60 (7), May 1, 1950.
[54] MacArthur press release, May 3, 1950. Rizzo and I also attended the MacArthur meeting with Whitney and Marquat.
[55] Yoshida was represented by Eisaku Sato, Marquat by Harold Moss, and Whitney by me.
[56] Williams, "Diet Report" No. 27 (8), July 24, 1950; No. 37 (8), July 31, 1950.

Japanese progressive elements and opportunistically embraced those who had previously been regarded as reactionary.[57]

Let us consider the last point first. Those who assume that there was a "sharp fall-off in the 'revolutionary' content of SCAP activities"[58] overlook the fact, as previously explained, that in the fall of 1948 GHQ, in defiance of strong Japanese opinion, tried to deny power to the conservatives by setting up a Yamazaki coalition government of Socialists, Democrats, People's Democrats, and renegade Democratic Liberals. They also forget that the occupation leaders, well aware of the inherent weaknesses of the Katayama and Ashida governments, could not prevent the overwhelming victory of the Democratic Liberal party in the January 1949 parliamentary election and that the Japanese electorate, not GHQ, repudiated the coalition parties. They fail to appreciate, furthermore, that, just as GHQ in 1946 persuaded the first Yoshida government to adopt a democratic constitution, in 1949 it might persuade the third Yoshida government to make the democratic system work. The record of democratic Japan's progress under conservative governments from 1949 to the present time speaks for itself.

But there is some evidence to support the contention that American occupation objectives underwent a change in 1947–1948 in response to the cold war. The National Security Council, for instance, decided in November 1948 that "Japan was to be strengthened economically and socially. . . . SCAP was to shift responsibilities as rapidly as possible to the Japanese, and SCAP personnel would be reduced; a 150,000-man national police force was to be organized. . . ."[59] About a year later GHQ was able to report that during 1949 the prefectural civil affairs teams had been withdrawn and occupation controls steadily relaxed.[60]

There was a wide disparity, however, between these communications of Washington and GHQ and what actually transpired in Japan. There was not, as some have concluded, a "markedly reduced scale of intervention by SCAP in internal affairs."[61] On the contrary, with enforcement of Washington's economic stabilization directive, GHQ's control over the cabinet and

[57] See Ward, "Legacy of the Occupation," 29–56. The Washington background of the policy changes is fully explained in George F. Kennan, *Memoirs: 1925–1950* (Boston, 1967), 368–96. Although Kennan, who was director of the Policy Planning Staff of the Department of State in 1947–1948, considers his part in reshaping occupation policy for Japan to have been, after the Marshall Plan, "the most significant constructive contribution [he] was ever able to make in government," he writes frankly: "How, at what stages, and in what degree these decisions finally found realization in the actions and practices of SCAP, I cannot tell" (pp. 392–93).

[58] Ward, "Legacy of the Occupation," 32.

[59] Dunn, *Peace-Making and the Settlement with Japan*, 77.

[60] GHQ, SCAP, *Organization and Activities* (Tokyo, 1950), 95.

[61] Borton, *Japan's Modern Century*, 431.

Diet became more rigid than before. And instead of the military organization of 150,000 men contemplated "to build Japan into an effective ally against Soviet expansion,"[62] a force of 75,000 was created in July 1950, soon after the outbreak of the Korean War, to guard against Communist subversion in Japan. "We never intended to use Japan as an ally," MacArthur declared.[63]

GHQ did indeed ameliorate the severity of the *zaibatsu* dissolution program, but not as a cold war measure within the framework of the National Security Council's decision. This concession resulted directly from opposition of powerful US business interests to enforcement of the 1945 JCS-1380/15 provision for dissolving "large Japanese industrial and banking combines." That the same United States business interests tried but failed to rescue even one Japanese industrial tycoon from the economic purge rules out the cold war as the dominant factor in actions involving the *zaibatsu*.[64]

Nor was the economic stabilization program instituted primarily as a cold war measure; rather it was to further Japan's democratization and to reduce the cost to the American taxpayer of supporting the Japanese population.[65] By assigning a higher priority to economic recovery in late 1948, Washington merely lent greater support to what GHQ had been striving to accomplish under JCS-1380/15; Washington's contribution was to make available the additional funding requested by GHQ to prime Japan's economic pump.[66] Only in connection with developments in the Korean War in 1950 was GHQ action taken in direct consequence of the cold war rather than out of consideration for Japan's democratization or America's pocketbook.

To be precise, two major occupation moves were directly traceable to the rising tide of Communism. One of these was the purge of the Japanese Communist party Central Committee and the top staff of the *Akahata* [Red Flag] newspaper in June 1950.[67] The other, previously mentioned, was establishment of Japan's National Police Reserve of 75,000 men in July of

[62] Dunn, *Peace-Making and the Settlement with Japan*, 67–68.

[63] *Ibid.*, 191–92, quoting New York *Times*, Mar. 2, 1949.

[64] In September 1947 American businessman James Lee Kauffman circulated in Tokyo his twenty-three-page "Report on Conditions in Japan," which reflected the thinking of influential American and Japanese business interests. The paper recommended replacing "the theorists now there [in GHQ] with men of ability and experience." In January 1948 it was reproduced and widely distributed by the Japanese Ministry of Finance. In May 1948 GHQ relaxed the anti-*zaibatsu* program.

[65] Dunn, *Peace-Making and the Settlement with Japan*, 76.

[66] A November 1948 ESS report estimated that US appropriations of $1,400,000,000.00 in fiscal years 1949–1952 would probably put Japan back on its feet. Congress appropriated $497,000,000.00 in 1949, an increase of $164,000,000.00 over 1948, and $425,000,000.00 in 1950.

[67] On June 6, 1950, MacArthur directed Premier Yoshida to purge the Communist party leaders; on June 7 instructions were given for the purge of the *Akahata* staff.

that year.[68] The first action was provoked by the increasingly ruthless tactics of the Japanese Communists, including sabotage, violence, and even murder, on the eve of North Korea's invasion of South Korea in June, while the second was required to fill the gap created by the shift of US occupation troops to the fighting front in Korea. Directly involved in both instances was the national security of the United States, stemming from the internal and external threat to Japan. But these acts affected in no way America's single-minded purpose to complete Japan's political reorientation.

Two conclusions may be drawn from these pages. First, America's unilateral occupation policy for Japan was clear and consistent. Neither Washington nor GHQ in Tokyo ever deviated from the fixed purpose of the US, dating from December 7, 1941, to transform Japan from an authoritarian state into a Western-style democracy. While carrying out the assigned task, American leaders on both sides of the Pacific became sensitive to burdensome occupation costs, the Soviet design for setting up a "people's republic" in Japan, and our former enemy's potential as a future friend and ally in the Far East. But they never dreamed of settling for anything less than the "peaceful and responsible government" called for in the Potsdam Declaration.

The second conclusion is that the occupation period after mid-1947 was extremely important, probably crucial to the accomplishment of the occupation mission. These five years afforded ample opportunity for a cross section of Japanese leaders, with American assistance, to test and modify the exotic democratic structure while establishing a sound economy. By demonstrating to the highly critical Allied Powers their commitment to self-rule, the Japanese people regained full sovereignty in 1952, thus avoiding a protracted period of United Nations supervision.

[68] On July 8, 1950, the Supreme Commander authorized the establishment of a National Police Reserve of 75,000 men and an expansion of 8,000 men serving the Maritime Safety Board.

Reviews of Books

General

INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES. Volume XXXIII, 1964, including some publications of previous years. Edited with the contribution of the national committees by *Michel François* and *Nicolas Tolu* for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Lausanne. [Published with the assistance of UNESCO, and under the patronage of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1967. Pp. xxviii, 508.)

THE new volume of this well-established work brings together some eight thousand references supplied by various national representatives from titles that have appeared in their respective countries. Since most of these references are then distributed among various subject (rather than area) headings, it is difficult to arrive at an over-all evaluation of these contributions. The following samples might provide some insight.

Of the forty books with a US imprint that received a major review in the January 1965 issue of the *AHR,* thirty-eight are listed, while the other two, previously published in Europe, are excluded. By comparison, a check of forty-three major West German books revealed only thirty as being included. Five of those not listed are autobiographies of leading personalities. But out of twenty prominent East German monographs only eleven are included. Notable omissions are Doernberg's *Kurze Geschichte der DDR, Der Stralsunder Liber memorialis,* Thomas' *Entscheidung in Berlin,* and Wick's study on Mecklenburg absolutism. A similar breakdown of thirty-six major articles in the field of German history shows only eight out of twenty-two West German and one out of five East German ones listed, while the four from American journals are all included, but the five from other countries are omitted.

These samples show clearly the quality of the US contribution, but also the unevenness of the general coverage, a failing that is to some extent unavoidable. This problem is compounded by the cumbersome arrangement of most entries by subject, rather than by area. The usefulness of this work could be vastly improved if as many titles as possible would be divided into major periods, further broken down into countries, and then arranged chronologically within each of the geographic areas. Such a scheme would not only reduce the often unbalanced and haphazard distribution of entries; it would also, by abandoning a system patterned after other disciplines, result in a methodological approach more suitable for historical research.

Special features of this bibliography include a list of symposia, the listing of single volumes of multivolume works, and a useful index of authors and persons, as well as an index of place names. An index of entries listed by title only would also be helpful.

The prompt appearance of this bibliography is a welcome addition to the field of historical bibliography and a monument to international cooperation and to the skill of the editors.

Library of Congress ARNOLD H. PRICE

ORAL HISTORY AT ARROWHEAD: THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST NATIONAL COLLOQUIUM ON ORAL HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA CONFERENCE CENTER, LAKE ARROWHEAD, CALIFORNIA, SEPTEMBER 25–28, 1966. Edited by *Elizabeth I. Dixon* and *James V. Mink*. (Los Angeles: Oral History Association. 1967. Pp. ix, 126. $1.50.)

THIS volume is a verbatim record of what was said by those participating in this colloquium. There was comparatively little in the nature of sustained, systematic analysis of the subject under discussion. Apart from some prepared statements that seem to be somewhat in the nature of indoctrination or orientation lectures for newcomers to "oral history," this record of the discussions chiefly indicates the doubts and fears that currently beset the practitioners in this field, if, indeed, it has crystallized sufficiently to be called a field. Those who now call themselves oral historians obviously have many worries about the nature and validity of what they are doing. Reading these introspections and self-questionings, one is reminded of an adolescent peering into a mirror, worrying about what he sees there, and asking himself, "What am I?" "Why am I not better known and more popular with my fellows?" and "Where will I be ten years from now?"

There is reason for the concern about identity. During the meetings, the director of the Oral History Research Office of Columbia University spoke of the desirability of building a fence around the field of oral history. The need for a fence is shown in a report published some time ago by his office, a report that includes, among a list of oral history collections in the United States, a collection of tape recordings of folk music, tape recordings of symposia on the neurosciences, and tape recordings of discussions of Spanish literature. Apparently it is not the content but the recording medium that is the test.

The rehashing of the questions discussed at this meeting is still going on, but oral historians should proceed with their job, which is, in my opinion, valuable and important. They will need to cultivate patience, acquire self-assurance, and be content to leave the proof of their pudding to the scholars who are its ultimate consumers.

National Archives HERMAN KAHN

TRACES ON THE RHODIAN SHORE: NATURE AND CULTURE IN WESTERN THOUGHT FROM ANCIENT TIMES TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *Clarence J. Glacken*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. xxviii, 763. $15.00.)

A BOOK of this broad scope, which deals with ideas about "nature and culture," could only have been written by a man who had read widely for years in

many fields of knowledge—theology, philosophy, and literature, as well as the sciences. Surprisingly, the author is not a professional historian but a geographer who has done, among other things, a study of Okinawan village life. As befits a former student of Frederick Teggart at California, he has, nevertheless, conceived his field in the broadest possible context, and he has become, in fact if not by professional calling, a historian of ideas.

In this volume Professor Glacken concerns himself specifically with Western ideas about "man's place in nature" ("nature" in the sense of the habitable earth), or the relationship between human culture and the physical environment. He contends that three ideas in particular dominated discussion of the subject until the end of the eighteenth century. The first, the idea of a designed earth, centered on God; the other two centered, respectively, on nature and man. God created nature for man's benefit and put man at the apex of a chain of being that included all creatures. In this well-known teleological, and holistic, conception man was thought to be superior to, yet not really separated from, nature. The second, or environmentalist, idea stressed the influence of the natural environment (climate, terrain, and so forth) on man, thereby accenting the strength and power of nature. The breach between man and nature was further widened by the third idea that featured man as the modifier of nature. Glacken makes it clear that these ideas were by no means mutually exclusive; indeed they were frequently combined, yet they also had separate histories. The first two flourished in antiquity and the Christian Middle Ages. As might be guessed, however, a fully developed consciousness of the control of nature by man came only in "Early Modern Times," with the work of men like Francis Bacon and Count Buffon. The chapter on Buffon and "The Epoch of Man," by the way, is as good, and perhaps as original, as anything in the book.

"A historian of ideas," says the author, "must go where his nose leads him, and if often leads him into chilly but not inhospitable regions whose borders are patrolled by men who know every square foot of it." Specialists may, will, and perhaps should carp at some sections of this book. My advice to them, however, is to read it, for I believe it can help them, as it helped me, to see new ways of structuring ideas about nature, and possibly to impart some new insights even inside the borders they so assiduously patrol. The author has not been content to consult other people's books; he has read widely in the original sources to form his own views.

Yale University FRANKLIN L. BAUMER

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS. By *Charles Van Doren.* [Concepts in Western Thought Series, Institute for Philosophical Research.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. xvii, 497. $7.95.)

The Idea of Progress is the second publication in a series of studies of "basic ideas" in Western thought undertaken by the Institute for Philosophical Research. Like *The Idea of Freedom,* already published, this is a cooperative work. The research was done by the institute's staff; the text was written by Professor

Van Doren in close consultation with the staff. The study proceeds on the assumption "that the issues in the field of any basic philosophic idea concern matters about which objective truth is ascertainable" and that organization of "differing opinions into an orderly set of clearly defined points of agreement and disagreement" will further the "future resolution of these issues."

Scores of social theorists from Plato to Karl Popper are analyzed and neatly classified as to whether they see progress, regress, or cycles or deny pattern in history, what they consider to be the characteristics of progress, and in what areas it operates. The institute's study, Mortimer Adler writes in the foreword, is neither philosophical in aim, undertaking to develop or defend a theory of progress, nor historical; rather, it seeks "the dialectical clarification of the idea." To achieve this, the study "deliberately abstracts [the documents] from their historical context and pattern [and] views them as if they were all contemporary—as if the documents represented the voices of participants confronting one another in actual discussion." We may question, however, whether this can be done. The thought of great thinkers is always complex and undergoes development. To abstract such thought from its historical context necessarily oversimplifies and mutilates it. "The dialectical clarification of the idea" desired by Adler can perhaps be approximated abstractly through a theoretical examination of the idea, or it may be approached historically through a critical study of the development of the idea in the concrete "dialectical" confrontation of important thinkers in their historical setting with the men with whom they stood in direct dialogue. Failing to do either, the book becomes little more than an ordered catalogue of conflicting opinions, and we come no closer to a definition of the idea of progress. We may argue, moreover, with many of the classifications: whether, for instance, Marx belongs in a list of authors for whom progress will "plateau out" while Comte does not. In addition, too many men have been examined on the basis of too few of their writings. Jaspers, we are told, denies all pattern in history, but his *The Origin and Goal of History* is not even mentioned; Saint-Simon is analyzed on the basis of one work falsely ascribed to him. The book is, nevertheless, a valuable contribution to the literature on the idea of progress. No other work has discussed as many thinkers or attempted as systematic a presentation of arguments used in the literature.

State University of New York, Buffalo GEORG G. IGGERS

CLOCKS AND CULTURE, 1300–1700. By *Carlo M. Cipolla.* (London: Collins. 1967. Pp. 191. 30*s.*)

THIS volume consists of two chapters, on "The European Masters" and "Chinese Mandarins and the Self-Ringing Bell," a prologue, an epilogue, a brief appendix on the mechanism of clocks, a bibliography, and a section of notes. Professor Cipolla has given the reader not only a capsulated history of horology covering a period of four hundred years but also a most readable account of the influence of the clock on the life of the centuries covered.

The author has made good use of recent published research in horological

history to produce a social history of the clock in first the Western and then the Eastern worlds, showing its evolution from mechanical toy for the wealthy amateur to status symbol for man and community, and, finally, its recognition as a measurer of time. As a timepiece it slowly but surely changed man's thinking and way of life, creating new needs and problems associated with the requirement for precision measurement that resulted from man's increasing awareness of time. In tracing the evolution, production, and marketing of the clock against a background of European economic and technological history, this amazingly comprehensive work provides new insights and is written with wit and brilliance. It has brought a new, fresh dimension to horological history, treating it from a historian's rather than a collector's viewpoint.

The clock was selected as the subject for this work because it represents the prototype of all precision instruments, which became such a significant factor in European industrial development. The present work is somewhat similar to Cipolla's earlier volume on *Guns and Sails in the Early Phase of European Expansion 1400–1700* (1966) and in effect supplements the former, with clocks replacing guns and sails.

While many useful works about clocks and watches have been produced since World War II, a comprehensive history of horology remains to be written. Such a monumental project cannot be undertaken until further research on numerous aspects of the evolution of the clockwork has been done. When the comprehensive history of horology is written, however, it must acknowledge the new insights first presented by Cipolla in this book.

Smithsonian Institution SILVIO A. BEDINI

ENLIGHTENED DESPOTISM. By *John G. Gagliardo.* [Europe since 1500.] (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1967. Pp. ix, 118. $1.95.)

ONE should not be misled by the brevity of this compact volume, or by the publisher's stated intention to provide material for classroom use. As promised in the author's preface, this is truly a work of synthesis, and a much-needed one, uniting hitherto scattered views of "Enlightened Despotism" to form a coherent and meaningful interpretation of monarchical practice in the more autocratic continental European states between 1760 and 1790 and assessing cautiously the relationship of this practice to the philosophy of the Enlightenment. The reforms of the monarchs are stressed, with foreign affairs entirely omitted.

Of the work's four sections, the first constitutes an admirable sketch of the Enlightenment itself, in its context of secularizing trends since the Middle Ages. Tolerance, intellectual confidence, an emphasis upon reason and nature, morality and utility—these are emphasized, while the relative inattention of the popular philosophers to political matters and their lack of "any comprehensive set of final reform goals" are noted. The second and longest section summarizes topically the reforms of the monarchs, first in government and administration (here alone the author's organization is by individual countries), and then in economic and fiscal, religious, legal and judicial, educational, and social areas.

The following section, "The Interpretation of Reform," introduces the author's central contention: that, however great the individual rulers' enlightenment and humanitarian benevolence, the overwhelming goals of monarchical rule in this period were "the strength and unity of the state as a military-economic unit and the preservation of the political integrity of monarchical absolutism." In the final section the author seeks to demonstrate that one can indeed speak of "Enlightened Despotism" as a distinct epoch, not only because of universally causative military and economic pressures, but also because of its general spirit, its theoretical justification, and its actual achievement. The enlightened despots created the modern state machinery that would eventually render the autocratic monarch superfluous.

For a thesis such as Gagliardo's to be fully persuasive, a longer work than this would, it is hoped, include fuller documentation, more attention to the role of ministers and bureaucrats, and further psychological investigation of the impact of contemporary ideas in individual cases. But, as it stands, Gagliardo's book is, at the very least, a model of conciseness, expressive writing, good sense, and up-to-date scholarship.

Southern Illinois University HENRY VYVERBERG

ORIGINS OF MODERN PSYCHIATRY. By *Ernest Harms*. With a foreword by *Francis J. Braceland*. (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas Publisher. 1967. Pp. xiv, 256. $7.75.)

THIS book exudes the indignation of its author over the gaps that he has found in the published history of his field. A second book would be required, he states, "to correct page by page the mistakes and false quotations to be found in some of the major historical works published during the past quarter of a century." With few exceptions (twice for Gregory Zilboorg) he mentions no specific authors.

The major portion of the book is a series of essays, some originally presented in professional journals, on neglected pioneers in psychiatry, beginning with Paracelsus. Dr. Harms's "forgotten giant" of the twentieth century is William Alanson White, whose concepts, he says, were appropriated "without any mention of this" by William Stack Sullivan. For his chapter on Benjamin Rush the author abandons temporarily the "forgotten pioneer" theme; he believes that in the controversy over Rush's importance "the negative far surpasses the positive evaluation."

Despite the introductory statement of a unifying theme ("the humanitarian approach"), these chapters may seem disjointed to the reader who lacks a thorough familiarity with the published history of the field. In a brief section on child psychiatry, on the other hand, Harms provides "a bird's eye historical view" that gives a background for his overlooked pioneers. As a therapist who has produced several books on child psychiatry and as editor of *Adolescence*, he is particularly qualified to deal with this area of his subject.

Of greatest general interest are the sections on Freud and on the relationship between Freud and Jung. The author vigorously attacks the "Freud mythologists,"

who, he writes, "actually minimize the stature of their master." He denies that Freud ever belonged to Wilhelm Fliess's periodicity school, that his early neurological work was a mere "venture," or that only "commercial impulse" led him to translate Charcot's major work. Although convinced that Freud "erred basically" on important points, Harms feels impelled to emphasize "the logical trend in Freud's thinking, especially in this early period."

In view of the fact that the author worked for Jung over a period of years, the material on the relationship between Freud and Jung may be regarded as a primary source. Evidence for the author's conviction that Jung was never actually a "pupil" of Freud is persuasive, as is also the evaluation of the factors in the break between the two. The explanation of Jung's statements during the Nazi period merits careful consideration.

Perhaps impatience to produce a correction of the record in book form made the author oblivious to such mundane matters as organization, transitions, and documentation. Evidence of haste is clear: insufficient documentation (page numbers!), illogical chapter placement, occasional misprints, and an inadequate index. For these flaws the editor must share responsibility with the author. They are particularly unfortunate in this case of a dedicated scholar whose book undoubtedly, as Francis J. Braceland predicts in his enthusiastic foreword, "will have to be considered in all subsequent historical examinations of psychiatry."

Montgomery Junior College MARY R. DEARING

LE XVII^{e} SIÈCLE. By *François Lebrun*. [Collection U, Series "Histoire moderne."] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1967. Pp. 377. 28 fr.)

DESPITE the author's courage in keeping Louis XIV from the center of the stage, this history of the seventeenth century is disappointing. Lebrun is quite aware of the trend toward universal history, and in his preface he admits to a global view of the epoch. In practice, however, his orientation is West European. While 30 pages of 350 treat the Americas, Africa, and Asia, Poland and Russia are disposed of in 6.

As an account of West European developments, the volume falls short. Except for France, Lebrun simply is not in command of the recent literature. His chapters on England, for example, owe nearly everything to Gardiner and Trevelyan. One may pardon a nonspecialist for failing to be up on the latest storm over the gentry, but a historian who in 1967 devotes the better part of two long chapters to the England of the Stuarts, Cromwell, and William III should be aware of, if not influenced by, the important researches of Professors Tawney, Trevor-Roper, Stone, Hill, and Aylmer. The kinds of problems Lebrun prefers are straight political. Thus his approach seems to have but one dimension. He says little about economic trends, his intellectual history is sketchy, and he virtually ignores the comparative techniques tested so fruitfully in the "general crisis" debates that have enlivened the pages of *Past and Present* over the past decade.

Lebrun is most effective when treating France and diplomatic history. Here

his selection of illustrative sources, the unifying feature of the series in which his volume appears, is imaginative. Nevertheless, for an interpretation built upon convincing scholarship and genuine reflection that approaches most closely that unrealizable ideal of "histoire totale," the essential work is still that of Professor Mousnier.

University of Oregon RAYMOND BIRN

STATESMEN AND STATECRAFT OF THE MODERN WEST: ESSAYS IN HONOR OF DWIGHT E. LEE AND H. DONALDSON JORDAN. Edited by *Gerald N. Grob.* (Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishers. 1967. Pp. x, 290. $7.50.)

As Sherman J. Hayden says in an affectionate introductory note to this volume, the distinguished teachers to whom it is a tribute "tended the tree of history and transmitted the fruits of it for almost forty years" and during much of that period directed the department of history at Clark University and gave it a distinctive form and tradition. The essays in this interesting book reflect both the scope and the emphasis of Professor Lee's and Professor Jordan's research interests, dealing as they do with both Europe and North America in the period from the eighteenth century to the present and focusing for the most part on problems of international relations.

The most substantial essay is Marc Raeff's article on the policy of G. A. Potemkin, minister and lover of Catherine II, president of her council of war, colonizer of the Crimea, Abkhazia, and Khabardinia, and conqueror of Ochakov; Raeff has skillfully delineated the fundamental ambivalence that prevented Potemkin's attempts at modernization and rationalization from having lasting effect. Potemkin, he says, "combined 'rationality' and utopianism with a 'romantic' urge to accomplish the impossible. He behaved almost like an old-fashioned patrimonial ruler, and at the same time he was the executive arm of a centralized, modern bureaucratic state. All these paradoxes impart a peculiar flavor to Potemkin's political style and go a long way in explaining his unquestionable successes, as well as his failures."

Elsewhere in the volume, Samuel Osgood's essay on "The Third Republic in Historical Perspective" is an elaboration of Bertrand Jouvenel's remark: "France is a happy land . . . where politics is a matter of individual taste and not the condition of man's life." Osgood feels that too much significance has been attached to France's prewar domestic crises, and he argues, a bit too insistently, that in the end "the Third Republic was much more the victim of circumstances beyond its control than its own very real shortcomings." Walter Inman and Elmer Plischke have, respectively, written succinct reviews of the careers of Lord Rosebery and Konrad Adenauer without, however, raising any new problems. John Glennon's essay on the unconditional surrender policy makes the point that, once announced, it was impossible to abandon or modify and that it became, indeed, the cement that held the alliance together. John Foster Dulles comes off with a rather too clean bill of health in Carey B. Joynt's essay on the Suez crisis, although it must be said that Anthony Nutting's

recent revelations support his point that there was probably nothing that Dulles could have done to prevent Eden from acting as, in the end, he did. Eugene Miller's article on "Canada's Role in the Origin of NATO" is a useful reminder that our Allies did not always merely follow Washington's lead in the evolution of the postwar security system.

Editorially, the volume leaves much to be desired. There are many typographical errors, some in titles, and Rosebery suffers the posthumous indignity of having his name spelled three different ways. Most articles are supplied with notes, but one has only a "selected bibliography," which the others lack. There are no index and no editorial introduction to explain the relationship of the authors to Lee and Jordan or, for that matter, to Clark University.

Stanford University GORDON A. CRAIG

ACROSS THE PACIFIC: AN INNER HISTORY OF AMERICAN-EAST ASIAN RELATIONS. By *Akira Iriye*. Introduction by *John K. Fairbank*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1967. Pp. xvii, 361. $8.50.)

IN this careful study Dr. Iriye has written an *Inner History of American-East Asian Relations* in the sense that he emphasizes the changing images of China and Japan in the United States and of Americans in China and Japan over the past century. The images described and appraised are both governmental and in the public mind. Thus he is not primarily concerned with an analysis of foreign policy as such, although he adequately describes it in its changing phases, skillfully relating policy to attitudes and images.

Professor Fairbank's introduction tells the reader enough about the training and background of the author to demonstrate his unusual qualifications for the writing of such a study and to inspire confidence in his scholarship. A review of the appended bibliography enhances this confidence, as, indeed, does the objectivity with which Iriye writes. Because of the unusual approach, Fairbank states, "This book raises more questions than it settles." For this reason, as well as because of its content, it deserves careful study by scholars in the field as well as by the general reader.

In the first three sections, concluding with Chapter x on "Postwar Sino-American Relations," Iriye develops and supports his view that "American-Asian contact from the beginning has been fraught with romantic images, distortions, wishful thinking, irrelevant generalizations, and logical inconsistencies." From this has come the present military confrontation of China and the United States that, "Grim as it is" to the author, "seems much more conducive to realistic appraisal on both sides than any previous phase of relations." This is because both the "rhetoric of friendship and the dogma of communism have been replaced by cool appraisals of each other's power position in Asian politics." In other words the United States, as well as China and Japan, has begun to base its policy not on images of the others but on an appraisal of national interest and national security considerations. The author finds, however, that the military confrontation simplifies but does not actually solve the problem of American-East Asian relations. The solution, he feels, lies in the development

of a common language of communication. "Only when American-East Asian relations are seen as an intellectual problem . . . will it be possible to transcend the past and look toward a more peaceful Pacific."

University of Cincinnati HAROLD M. VINACKE

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By *Caroline F. Ware et al.* [History of Mankind. Cultural and Scientific Development, Volume VI. Prepared under the auspices and with financial assistance of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.] (New York: Harper and Row for the International Commission for a History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind. 1966. Pp. liii, 1387. $18.50.)

THIS massive work is a political product, and, as such, is the very opposite of what these UNESCO volumes were originally intended to be. What has emerged from the crosscurrents of collaborative authorship is not the refined gold of historical truth, shining in magnificent purity and purged of error and bias through the devoted efforts of keen and critical experts who were appointed by their governments for the task. Instead we have an unwieldy, uneven book in which the authors resolutely straddled or avoided every important issue and still provoked an unremitting drumfire of dissent from the official experts who read and, particularly in the Russian case, disapproved of what had been written.

Some chapters are well written and were informative to me. J. Bronowski's chapter on "New Scientific Thought and Its Impact" fell into this category; so did the chapters on religion and on education. Perhaps other readers, with different backgrounds, will find other chapters freshly informative and therefore useful. The photographs of modern art, juxtaposing Western work with twentieth-century Asian and African painting and sculpture, are also an interesting reminder of the stylistic variety of artistic output in our time.

Scope and design are ambitious. After more than a one-hundred-page introduction dealing with politics and society in general, the book devotes Part I to science and its applications; Part II to social institutions and their changes; Part III to "The Self-Image and Aspirations of the Peoples of the World"; and Part IV to the arts. Parts III and IV are comparatively brief and often superficial. The authors seem to have lacked any very clear criterion for inclusion and exclusion, unless it was to award equal wordage to the cultural achievements of equally powerful members of UNESCO, and to scale down remarks about other parts of the world in proportion.

No such problem haunts the account of twentieth-century science and technology. Here landmarks were world landmarks, and achievements occurred in a sequence that usually had an inner logic of its own. But in Part I long catalogues of technological firsts and organizational advances make for dullness; in Part II the authors try so hard to be both inoffensive and inclusive in their remarks about social institutions as to become banal more often than enlightening.

As a whole, the volume is dull and lacks coherence. This is a disappointing,

though not surprising, upshot after years of work involving dozens of committees and literally hundreds of scholars.

University of Chicago WILLIAM H. MCNEILL

SOVIET RUSSIA AND ASIA, 1917–1927: A STUDY OF SOVIET POLICY TOWARDS TURKEY, IRAN AND AFGHANISTAN. By *Harish Kapur.* (New York: Humanities Press. 1967. Pp. 265. $8.50.)

MR. Kapur has written a valuable account of Soviet foreign policy in Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan for the years 1917–1927. The thesis is familiar: almost from its inception Soviet foreign policy served the interests of the Soviet state rather than the interests of world revolution. Kapur, however, is convincing in his argument that Soviet leaders believed that there was no basic conflict between these two purposes. The author argues that the main Soviet objective in policy toward Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan was denial of these areas to British influence rather than the promotion of revolution. Soviet policy toward India and China was different, however, since it was directed toward establishing their independence. To this end the Soviet Union directed the Communist parties to cooperate with the national bourgeoisie at very heavy cost to the latter, especially in China. Reading these pages, one is struck by the similarity of Soviet strategy and tactics some thirty years later when active interest in newly independent countries was revived.

The major contribution of the study is in the use of newly available source materials. The Soviet series on foreign policy and both Turkish and Indian memoir materials are very effectively exploited to give a much clearer picture of events than has been hitherto available. For example, the importance of having Armenia under Soviet control to ensure the transmission of military aid to Turkey in 1920 is conclusively demonstrated.

Kapur is refreshingly candid in revealing that before he undertook his research he expected to "prove that Soviet policy in Asia, in accordance with general Marxist theory, was essentially devoted to the task of bringing about communist revolutions in other countries." His research made him a convert to the thesis expressed in the book, but, unlike many converts, he presents his new beliefs with simultaneous detachment and empathy.

Washington, D. C. HERBERT S. DINERSTEIN

RÜSTUNGSHILFE DER USA AN DIE VERBÜNDETEN IM ZWEITEN WELTKRIEG. By *Wolfgang Schlauch.* [Beiträge zur Wehrforschung, Number 13.] (Darmstadt: Wehr und Wissen Verlagsgesellschaft MBH. 1967. Pp. 163.)

THIS doctoral dissertation was begun under the sponsorship of Professor Arnold Bergstraesser in 1962 and was taken over after his death by Professor Oberndörfer. It is published in a series of military studies that include such diverse subjects as *Catastrophe in Rumania, 1944,* and *The Troops of Hesse-Cassel in*

the American War of Independence, 1776–1783. It is the author's purpose to recount and investigate the significance of American aid to its Allies in World War II. His theme is that decisive for the defeat of the Axis was not only the active participation of the United States in the war but also the immense size and quality of American assistance to its Allies.

The first part concerns the domestic political situation in the United States and the clash between President Roosevelt and Congress over increased American involvement in world politics. The author feels that the American retreat from isolation was based on Roosevelt's "strong leadership" and his "realistic evaluation of the world political situation." Roosevelt's dynamic intervention policy led to lend-lease, an important boundary in the history of American politics.

The second part of the work concerns the practical accomplishments of lend-lease to Great Britain, the recipient of most aid. The idea was "to protect the national security of the United States against the expansion of the totalitarian powers without the United States taking a direct role in the war itself." But the transport and delivery really meant a military engagement. It was precisely because of lend-lease that American neutrality vanished before the official entry into the war.

In the third section of the book American help in armaments and lend-lease for the Soviet Union are examined. In contrast to lend-lease for Britain, the inclusion of the Soviet Union in the lend-lease system indicated that strategic necessity came before political and ideological considerations. To fight the totalitarian states, which endangered the very foundations of democracy, the United States allied itself with a totalitarian state. "Lend-lease here meant not only material help, but a program, an idea, and a common goal."

There is very little in this study that has not already been examined in many books published in the United States. The author bases his treatment primarily on *Documents on American Foreign Relations* plus a long series of secondary sources. Twelve excellent tables in the appendix summarize the quantities and dollar value of lend-lease help. What is notable about this study is that it represents a view from inside a country that incurred a decisive defeat in the war. Once again a strong and unassailable argument is presented for the importance of American lend-lease and military involvement in the defeat of the Axis Powers. This book should receive special attention by professional Soviet historicists engaged in deprecating the extent and significance of American aid during the war. It might also contribute to the bedside reading of General de Gaulle as a useful reminder of a critical factor in the military history of World War II.

City College of New York LOUIS L. SNYDER

INCREDIBLE VICTORY. By *Walter Lord*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1967. Pp. x, 331. $5.95.)

THE great naval battle described in this book began in earnest during the spring dawn of June 4, 1942, when squadrons of aircraft were launched from four Japanese carriers to pulverize the shabby defenses of two tiny specks of

sand and coral, collectively called Midway Island, as a prelude to invasion. The battle was in fact finished during the next dawn, when Japanese Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, crushed in spirit by the stupendous corruption of his strategy and tactics, was forced to withdraw his fleet westward. Yet this engagement of titanic forces came to a real finish only on June 7, when the United States aircraft carrier *Yorktown,* in a placid morning sea, succumbed to its terrible battle wounds and sank to the bottom of the Pacific.

The Battle of Midway, as it is now recorded in history, takes its place with Salamis and Lepanto, the Armada and Trafalgar, and the classic naval duel of Jutland. In truth, the victor had hardly any chance of winning, while the vanquished, flushed and arrogant with earlier conquests, was forced to stagger backward from blows that never should have been struck, and, once struck, should never have been mortal. It is not surprising that since then the engagement has been fought many times over by naval historians and journalists in numerous books and articles, for the battle had the proportions of a Grecian epic. Nor is it surprising that such a master narrator as Walter Lord should succumb to the temptation of using his literary skill and fine intuition in rephrasing the structure of that memorable naval engagement.

Incredible Victory is not a historical work in the traditional sense. It makes no significant changes in the accepted chronology of events; nor does it offer irrefutable evidence to settle once and for all that riddle of which American dive bombers sank what Japanese carriers. But this is not a shortcoming of the author, for the official "Battle Reports," written immediately after the engagement, when memories were fresh, varied. Lord has endeavored not only to recount the battle itself, but to re-create the sense of nervous urgency and the dark mood of the time. To do this he traveled many thousands of miles to interview nearly four hundred participants, some thirty-five of whom were Japanese. Out of this effort has come a gripping chronicle, replete with small incidents, bits of remembered conversation, and tangled thoughts that bring color to the great fabric of the battle.

The most difficult task of the professional historian, once he has amassed his documents, is to revive the dynamic truth of that particular part of the past he wishes to reconstruct. Lord has done this admirably, without the use of a thundering style and without the precise documentation that serious scholarship requires. Those of us who were adults during the days of Midway will recognize in Lord's book that this was the way it was. The younger historian, to whom Midway is only a childhood memory, will be given valuable insight into the vagaries of war. The book is not formal history, but perhaps it portrays better than formal history can those two dramatic minutes, over a quarter of a century ago, when American naval bombers pierced the heart of Japanese carrier strength and changed the whole course of the war in the Pacific. It is a moving story of good luck and bad, of brilliance and poor judgment, of the uncommon valor of those young pilots who flew their obsolete aircraft into the teeth of a vastly superior enemy. It is a well-told tale of an incredible victory.

Saint Peter's College THADDEUS V. TULEJA

HISTOIRE DE LA GUERRE FROIDE. Volume II, DE LA GUERRE DE CORÉE À LA CRISE DES ALLIANCES (1950–1967). By *André Fontaine*. [Les grandes études contemporaines.] ([Paris:] Fayard. 1967. Pp. 579.)

THIS is the latest addition to the growing volume of literature on the history of the cold war. Fontaine's two-volume study, covering the fifty-year span, 1917–1967, is more detailed, more comprehensive, better balanced, and less impressionistic than most other recent publications on the subject. He is not trying to prove a point or to propose a new conceptual framework, as many American writers have been doing. Rather, his approach is conventional and episodic, recounting numerous incidents on the basis of available evidence and establishing connections between them. There are few events of importance that the author does not mention, although one wonders why he fails to discuss the anti-American riots in Japan in 1960 and touches so lightly on France's objection to British entry into the European Common Market. One might also question whether the Korean War, from its inception to MacArthur's dismissal, merits only twenty-two pages when as much space is devoted to a single summer's episode, the summit *manqué* of 1963. Generally, however, this volume is a very useful compendium of international affairs since 1950.

As Paul Seabury has observed, writers on the cold war have been captives of constantly changing perspectives; not only the reality of power politics but also the perception of it have undergone rapid changes. The cold war has denoted both the reality of American-Soviet conflict and a mental framework in which to comprehend that conflict. A history of the cold war written in 1967 will inevitably have a different setting and ending from that undertaken in 1961. Fontaine began writing his two-volume history in 1962, of which Volume I was published in 1965 (*AHR*, LXXII [Jan. 1967], 533). Written from the perspective of the mid-1960's, Volume II emphasizes "the crisis of the alliances" in the West and within the socialist bloc. What is more striking is that direct confrontation between the two blocs plays only a secondary role in this narrative, with Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America taking up nearly two-thirds of the space. This is in contrast to Volume I, which is primarily concerned with events in Europe. The difference reflects the increasing importance of non-European areas in international affairs, but it raises methodological problems all the same. The postwar cold war was of European origin and must be understood in the context of the collapse of Germany. After 1950, on the other hand, such factors as anticolonialism, Zionism, and Asian-African nationalism have tended to overshadow the intra-European crisis. Fontaine nevertheless regards all these phenomena as ingredients of the cold war, which he characterizes as "the third world war." Thus the history of this war becomes essentially a survey of international relations. The cold war is the totality of world conflict. For this very reason, paradoxically, the book argues that the cold war will never end so long as Europe is divided. Thus the book ends with a Gaullist plea for European identity and unification. The view is European-centered, but the book is a testimony to the author's valiant attempt to transcend cultural parochialism and look at the past two decades with detachment and as a chapter in the history of mankind as a whole.

University of California, Santa Cruz AKIRA IRIYE

Ancient

ANCIENT MEDICINE: SELECTED PAPERS OF LUDWIG EDELSTEIN. Edited by *Owsei Temkin* and *C. Lilian Temkin*. Translation from the German by *C. Lilian Temkin*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 496. $12.50.)

Ludwig Edelstein's collected essays on *Ancient Medicine* exhibit the remarkable consistency with which he pursued this field of study. The plan for selection, arrangement, and publication was apparently his own, although his premature death placed fulfillment in the able hands of Professor and Mrs. Temkin.

The work is divided into four parts. The first part, making up a little less than half the volume, primarily treats different aspects of the Hippocratic problem. It opens with Edelstein's famous essay on the oath, which he examined as a historical document, establishing its relatively late composition under the influence of followers of Pythagorean principles and hence representative of only a phase in the history of Greek medical ethics. Several essays are devoted to the analysis of the role of Hippocrates and other physicians down to the Methodists, the place of prognosis in the establishment of professional esteem, and the lowly social status occupied by physicians as craftsmen rather than scientist-philosophers. He re-examines the evidence for the historical Hippocrates, revealing not only a shadowy figure but the impossibility of identifying the genuine writings and demonstrating that none of the Hippocratic books correspond to his teachings as reported by Meno.

The second group of essays takes up special topics such as the relationship of Greek skepticism to medical empiricism, of medicine to religion and magic, the influence of the Alexandrians, Herophilus and Erasistratus, on the development of scientific anatomy, and contemporary attitudes toward dietetics.

In the third section Edelstein discusses broadly the changing and evolving ideals of the ancient physician from an earlier Hippocratic preoccupation with medical etiquette to the loftier ideals of the love of humanity as expressed by Scribonius, and he examines the relationship of medicine to philosophy to distinguish the essential Hellenism of Greek medicine. The final group of miscellaneous essays is on topics that possess only a peripheral bearing on the main theme of the book.

The striking feature of Edelstein's approach to the history of medicine in the classical period is his vigorous, forthright, and highly objective attack upon the myths and traditions that have so long encumbered our view, notably of Hippocratic medicine. He applies his very great talents as classicist and philologist to an exacting and detailed analysis of the many problems of ancient medicine and pursues his thought with great intellectual courage; in the process he overthrows many cherished opinions while reaching for a new and highly original interpretation. This forthrightness, although free from personal polemics, did not endear him to many of his colleagues. With the passage of time, however, his spirit of objectivity and the vigor of his approach, which so belied his own quiet and charming personality, have gained for him a most respectful following. These essays, many of which are highly original, will long exemplify scholarship at its

best and constitute a major contribution not as an illustration of some sociological theory but as the examination of historical phenomena and their place in the elucidation of the human forces contributing to scientific advance.

University of California, San Francisco J. B. DEC. M. SAUNDERS

DIE GRIECHISCHE GESCHICHTSSCHREIBUNG. Volume I, VON DEN ANFÄNGEN BIS THUKYDIDES. Part 1, TEXT; Part 2, ANMERKUNGEN. By *Kurt von Fritz*. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1967. Pp. xii, 823; 421. DM 148 the set.)

PROFESSOR von Fritz has given us a book that has long been needed: a balanced and well-documented account of the development of Greek historiography, rather than one more monograph, however useful, on a particular historian or group of historians. His command of the modern literature on every aspect of his subject is impressive, less for its completeness—no one can quite achieve that—than for the pointed comments he makes on each article or book. This is no mere listing of bibliography, but a critique of the best that has been written from early giants like Burckhardt on down to the latest discussion of the Athenian calendar. Also, the volume of notes (*Anmerkungen*) contains a whole series of indexes that will enable the student to trace the modern literature as well as the relevant passages from the ancient authors. The continuation, when it appears, will probably be even more valuable since our knowledge of the Greek historians after Thucydides becomes increasingly dependent on surviving fragments rather than entire works. The fragments, recently edited by Felix Jacoby in *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker,* have never been integrated into a single work on the Greek historians. Von Fritz' thoughtful examination of earlier historians who survive in this fashion (notably, Hecataeus of Miletus, Xanthus of Lydia, and Hellanicus of Samos) raises very high expectations for the next volume.

Quite understandably, Volume I is chiefly concerned with the two most famous of all Greek historians, Herodotus and Thucydides. The literature on each is unmanageable, but Von Fritz has come to grips with all the more influential theories about them: for Herodotus, Jacoby's article in *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (1913) serves as a point of departure, with an attempt being made chiefly to supplement and elaborate on it; but for Thucydides the discussion is centered around the work of Von Fritz' own teacher, to whose memory the present study is dedicated, Eduard Schwartz (*Das Geschichtswerk des Thukydides* [1919]). Von Fritz feels that Thucydidean criticism has been, in one sense, a Penelopean work. Schwartz, whose eyes were so sharp he could bore holes with them, was attacked and refuted by others whose vision was equally destructive. No one, however learned, can be expected to introduce a completely new interpretation of either historian at this late date, but Von Fritz has chosen his ground with care and with due acknowledgment of the opinions of earlier scholars. He stresses the view that Herodotus started out as a geographer who became a historian rather late, certainly after he left Egypt. His great contribution as a historian is that he has preserved for us an authentic account, not so much of the Persian War as of what people of all

sorts believed about that war, and about many other matters, in a later generation. Thucydides, on the other hand, gives us the results of his own analysis without caring to transmit what to him was gossip and superficial opinion. He both was and was not a scientist. His concern is with the pattern of human behavior that he conceives of as determined by "human nature," which he regards as unchanging.

It may be regretted that Von Fritz does not attempt to do for Thucydides what Jaeger has done for Aristotle (*Aristotle: Fundamentals of the History of His Development* [2d ed., 1948]), that is, to explain the way in which the historian grew into his task over the decades in which he was at work. It is inconceivable that even Thucydides could have solved all the problems of writing contemporary history before he began to write! This remains so, even though, like Von Fritz, one may reject Schmid's idea that the later Thucydides had decided not to use speeches as he had in the earlier books (cf. *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, I, 5^{7}, 163–64).

One general comment needs to be made: Von Fritz frequently summarizes long passages from Herodotus and Thucydides, passages that even the proverbial schoolboy ought to know. This is both tedious and irritating, yet there is no escape because comments that no one can afford to overlook are often buried in the summaries. On the whole, this volume reads very well, however, and the reader is occasionally rewarded by provocative references to the present scene. For example, Nicias' advice at the council of war during the Syracusan expedition is referred to by Von Fritz as in line with earlier Athenian policy, but still as marking an *escalation*.

One factual error should be mentioned. In discussing Hecataeus of Miletus the author lays considerable emphasis on a particular passage (F 195 in Jacoby), but the editor later decided that the passage comes from another and much later Hecataeus. This weakens Von Fritz' argument.

University of California, Los Angeles TRUESDELL S. BROWN

GRUNDRISS DER RÖMISCHEN GESCHICHTE, MIT QUELLENKUNDE. Volume I, REPUBLIK UND KAISERZEIT BIS 284 N. CHR. By *Hermann Bengtson*. [Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, Section 3, Part 5, Volume I.] (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1967. Pp. xii, 455. Cloth DM 48, paper DM 42.)

THIS volume replaces in the "Handbuch" the greater part of Niese's *Grundriss*, which first appeared in 1889 and was last revised in 1923. A second volume, to be written by K. F. Stroheker, will cover the period after Diocletian for which some fifty pages sufficed in the Niese work.

After a brief general introduction, twenty-two chapters are devoted to early Rome and the Republic, twelve to the Empire. Nearly all have the same basic form. First, there is an evaluation of the sources, together with a select, critical bibliography including both books and articles. The text that follows gives a necessarily brief but comprehensive account of events and developments. Footnotes contain specific references to sources and modern literature, often with comments. The volume's content is largely restricted to political history, in part

because other aspects of Roman civilization are or will be covered in other sections of the "Handbuch."

The preparation of such a work might not appear an attractive task to most of those aware of the difficulties and of the responsibility of representing their field in this famous collection. In fact, Bengtson, who is best known as a Greek historian, undertook it himself only after being unable to find someone else to do so. Students of Roman history have good reason to be grateful to him. Whether they are merely beginning their serious study of the subject or are venturing outside their special fields after many years, they will find the *Grundriss* of great value.

Despite the amount of detail contained on each page, the book is admirably lucid and easy to read. It is not greatly original in its conception or its conclusions and reconstructions. But, more important in such a work, it is consistently sensible, well balanced, and discriminating in its judgment and criticism. Many will especially welcome the emphasis on the problems that exist in every period and on questions that need to be more closely studied.

Naturally, no historian will read far without disagreeing with the author on some point, and inevitably there are errors. It is startling, for instance, to find an inscription cited as calling Emperor Severus Alexander *archisynagogus* when it does no such thing. But what should be stressed is that Bengtson has written a book that serious students of Roman history will find indispensable.

Institute for Advanced Study J. F. Gilliam

THE MORAL AND POLITICAL TRADITION OF ROME. By *Donald Earl.* [Aspects of Greek and Roman Life.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1967. Pp. 167. $4.95.)

The history of ancient Greek ideals and ethical concepts has long been a popular and productive hunting ground. The Roman world has been, since the early nineteenth century, comparatively neglected in this respect. Of course there are many reasons: the far larger body of Greek literature on which to draw, the greater diversity of the earlier material, the longer chronology and more startling semantic developments, and the fact that in many ways the Roman world is itself a continuation and development of the Hellenic world. But, above all, Roman ideals have seemed boring in their unchanging moralism and their invariable connection with political and military service to the city of Rome.

Professor Earl has made a virtue of this apparent drawback in an informative and challenging book that centers on the history of certain key words and concepts, especially *nobilitas, virtus,* and *gloria.* Drawing heavily on his own earlier discussion of Sallust and on the works of recent historians, especially Sir Ronald Syme, who have so enlivened the study of Roman politics, he finds a basically moral and state-oriented reaction to events constant from the earliest Roman evidence until the end of the Empire, despite great variation in the estimate of individual glory, noble ancestry, and the meaning of *libertas* and *res publica* in response to the vast political, social, and economic changes of seven centuries. The Greek-born historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, and St. Augustine

represent not the end of the tradition but its continuing development and viability.

Much of the effectiveness of this useful work lies in its somewhat spare simplicity. The development is treated, for example, as almost purely Roman, with a determined exclusion of the Greek influence that usually looms so large in such discussions, an influence certainly more important, if only as a catalyst, than one would guess here. Dealing with successive periods, the chapters often repeat principal themes, almost as if they were independent essays. The discussion centers mainly on historians (but with a most interesting section on the relevant language of Virgil and Horace). The work is a bold, and good, sketch of its subject. Its omissions and simplifications should stimulate a specialist, not annoy him. For a newcomer to the field it provides a readable and reliable introduction to some of the realities, as well as the ideals, of Roman politics.

Harvard University ZEPH STEWART

SAMNIUM AND THE SAMNITES. By *E. T. Salmon*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 446. $13.50.)

HISTORIANS of ancient Rome have left us a narrowly Roman view of Italy. Cato's *Origines* and other works presenting broader pictures have not survived. Scholars have been slow to tackle the task of reconstructing the history of the Italic peoples. This study of the Samnites, important as they were, ably fills a gap. Salmon often must resort to speculation or to inference from slight or biased evidence. He does this acutely and with generally sound judgment.

After a brief survey of the sources, the book describes the land, the people, their culture, political institutions, economy, religion, language, art, and architecture. Most of the remainder is chronological history, from 354 B.C., when a treaty was signed with Rome, through four Samnite Wars (including that with Pyrrhus as an ally), to subjection by Rome. The account then continues somewhat sketchily through the second century B.C. to the Social War and the Sullan Civil Wars, when the Samnites fought with the losers and were slaughtered by the thousand (82 B.C.). An attempt to trace Samnite influence upon greater Rome closes the book. There are a well-chosen bibliography, fair plates, and a foldout map that unfortunately does not indicate terrain or important routes.

The topography has been studied carefully and at firsthand. The resulting knowledge is applied in an especially impressive way to reconstruct the events of the Second Samnite War. Tactics and strategy are inferred; the sources are sometimes convincingly corrected.

The author naturally takes the viewpoint of the Samnites, but occasionally allows himself too much anti-Roman bias. Should one say, "The Romans were prepared to fight to the last Italian," when it is at least debatable whether the military quotas bore more heavily upon Italians than upon Romans? Note that the Roman destruction of Fregellae in 125 B.C. was hardly a policy of deliberate terror against Oscans; leaders in the revolt were Latin descendants of citizens. Also, it is very unlikely that Sulla made any formal pact with Italians that excluded Samnites: the Samnites attacked Sulla, not the reverse. Of Livy, it is

too lightly said that this is "rhetorical nonsense" or that, "fiction." "Even Livy admits" and several other like phrases testify that that historian wanted to be fair and tried, without much success, to see beyond his biased sources.

To end on the only proper note: this is an excellent, substantial, and welcome contribution to the history of Italy during the Roman Republic.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill HENRY C. BOREN

RACIAL PREJUDICE IN IMPERIAL ROME. By *A. N. Sherwin-White*. [The J. H. Gray Lectures for 1966.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. vii, 106. $4.50.)

THIS small, but timely, volume is comprised of three lectures delivered on the occasion of the presentation of the Gray Memorial Lectures for 1965–1966 before the faculty of classical literature and archaeology in Cambridge University. Whatever departures have been made from the original form of the lectures, for purposes of publication, were made with a view toward appealing to a wider audience than originally intended. Such changes in form include only a short bibliography along with source references and translations of most of the quotations.

The author has drawn his evidence from what he believed offered the "most coherence in time and space." Still, his choice of evidence has been very selective. These lectures are offered simply as an introduction to this important subject, leaving it to others to pursue the matter further.

The first lecture considers the Roman attitude toward the northern barbarians as revealed in the works of Strabo and Caesar. The second lecture is concerned with the attitude of Tacitus toward the same people. The evidence for the Roman attitude toward the northern barbarians as presented in the works of these three authors is carefully analyzed, compared, and contrasted. Strabo, Caesar, and Tacitus are in general agreement concerning those details of character, physique, and customs that they find particularly abhorrent in the Gauls and Germans. Prejudice against the northern barbarians, however, only manifested itself within the framework of Roman administration; it is reflected here in the failure of the northern Gauls to become equestrian officials. No racial crisis ever developed in the north itself because this area was never extensively settled by outsiders as had been the case in long-Latinized Gallia Narbonensis, where there could be no racial crisis because the Gauls had long ago been assimilated into the Latin culture.

If there was no actual racial strife in northern Gaul or Britain, it certainly existed elsewhere in the Empire, particularly in the eastern provinces between the Greeks and the Jews. This is the subject of the final lecture. The Jewish question is considered for the period 50 B.C. to A.D. 100, and the Graeculus theme is developed as revealed in the works of Pliny the Younger, Tacitus, Juvenal, and Lucian.

The author concludes that only the "raw material" for racial and cultural prejudice existed in the Roman Empire. "The distinction is political, social and religious, national rather than genetic." The term "racial" is used by the author to describe the antagonisms discussed only for the sake of convenience.

This product of able scholarship should interest a wide audience since the subject is of great contemporary concern.

University of South Carolina RICHARD H. CHOWEN

Medieval

TRAVAUX ET MÉMOIRES. Volume II. [Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation Byzantines.] (Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard. 1967. Pp. 576.)

FOLLOWING the format of this "non-periodical's" previous volume, the present work contains one large, virtually book-length *mémoire,* followed by a number of shorter studies. Thus, approximately its first half is given over to Jean Gouillard's "Le synodikon de l'Orthodoxie." Collating for the first time all the manuscripts and the accretions of the centuries into one critical synthesis, he presents the full text of the συνοδικὸν βιβλίον as first established after the triumph of the images in 843 and as expanded thereafter through subsequent epochs of Byzantine Church history. He next offers an exhaustive commentary on its contents, and on their historical, doctrinal, and intellectual background and implications, adding supplemental texts and discussions in a series of appendixes. The result is a fundamental work for all concerned with Byzantine ecclesiastical, doctrinal, and intellectual history.

The next section is a posthumous contribution of the late Alphonse Dain, as completed by J.-A. de Foucault. Dain, the leading authority on the military manual, had been working on a comprehensive study of all such works. What he managed to complete of an introductory "inventaire systématique et chronologique," mainly the first of its two projected parts, is offered here under the title "Les stratégistes byzantins." It is an invaluable contribution to Byzantine studies and fully justifies its publication here, even though unfinished. Most of the essay discusses the various texts and authors systematically, with full apparatus of primary and secondary citations. What was begun toward the intended second part, surveying the manuscripts for this body of texts, is culled into an appendix that serves mainly to remind us of what was lost with the author's untimely death.

In the briefer *études* that follow, Hélène Ahrweiler presents the Greek text of "Un discours inédit de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète" and discusses the neglected genre of harangues (δημηγορίαι) in Byzantine literature. Alain Ducellier, in "Les Albanais à Venise aux XIV^e^ et XV^e^ siècles," illuminates an obscure but interesting detail of Balkan history in the age of the Ottoman conquest. In "Les archontes grecs et la féodalité en Morée franque," David Jacoby critically examines and sharply delimits the extent of the *pronoia* system's progress in the Peloponnesus before the Frankish conquest and, with it, the concomitant role of Byzantine "feudalism" in affecting the assimilation of the local Greek aristocracy into the Frankish system. A brief inscription of the fourteenth-century Thessalian ruler Symeon Uroš is analyzed by Denise Papachryssanthou.

Going beyond the previous format, however, this new volume adds a

"Bulletin des publications en langues slaves," much of which is a systematic summarization, by Irène Sorlin, of the activities of Soviet Byzantinists during the years 1945–1962. This is supplemented by Hélène Miakotine's useful résumé of Ostrogorsky's recent work on the Macedonian principality of Serres between 1355 and 1371.

In sum, this second volume confirms the impression given by the first that, in his new venture, editor Paul Lemerle has created an important forum to further Byzantine studies.

University of Wisconsin JOHN W. BARKER

BYZANTIUM AND EUROPE. By *Speros Vryonis, Jr.* [History of European Civilization Library.] ([New York:] Harcourt, Brace and World. 1967. Pp. 216. $5.50.)

ANOTHER book that attempts to trace the more than eleven hundred years of Byzantine history runs the risk of being challenged on the basis of originality of approach, thought, or interpretation, application of new source materials, comprehensiveness, and readability. Such very usable volumes on Byzantine history as those by Vasiliev, Ostrogorsky, and J. B. Bury certainly do not provide the kind of selection readily accessible in other areas of history, and so a reasonably comprehensive, accurate, but general history of Byzantium that would stress social and cultural forces, that would be attractively printed and generously illustrated from a wide range of sources (The Vryonis volume has 21 color plates, 3 maps, and 108 black-and-white plates.), and that would be competently edited would be welcome.

Byzantium and Europe, which is a volume in the "History of European Civilization Library," under the general editorship of Geoffrey Barraclough, would seem to meet the requirements of the series, despite the twenty-four errata listed separately in connection with the plates. Though there is little that could be called original in Vryonis' presentation, his style is brisk and lively, and he surveys the transition from antiquity and the emergence of Byzantium, the establishment of a homogeneous Byzantine society, and the decline, prostration, and collapse of Byzantium with perfect command of what he is doing, careful to avoid burdening the reader with details of interest only to the specialist. The importance of Byzantium as a civilization is constantly stressed as is the medieval Eastern Christian, predominantly Greek, character of that civilization. Vryonis does not hesitate to point out what the Byzantine contacts with Europe were and what resulted from them, but at the same time the Near Eastern contacts are given their proper emphasis in relation to the Byzantine Empire. A careful reading of this book makes clear the enormous importance of Byzantium for the history of the Balkans, Russia, Central Europe, and Italy, as well as for the Near East. The significance of Byzantine art for Slavic, Ottoman, and even for Venetian and Italian art is amply attested. The importance of Byzantine civilization for the role it played in the development of religious music, monasticism, and humanism in the West is noticed as is the very basis of Western humanism, namely, the preservation of so much of the classical Greek literary heritage. The most significant intellectual achievement was, of course, Christian theology, and

the Orthodox Christian character of the Byzantine Empire, sharing a Greco-Roman inheritance, made up of many ethnic and geographic elements, made for an international, multinational empire that served well for over a millennium and occupied a medial position between the Muslim East and the Latin West.

Vryonis has succeeded admirably in giving us a vivid picture of Byzantine civilization, amply illustrated textually and pictorially and supplemented with a bibliography of some of the most recent and most authoritative works in the field.

Colgate University JOHN E. REXINE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE XIIITH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF BYZANTINE STUDIES, OXFORD, 5–10 SEPTEMBER 1966. Edited by *J. M. Hussey et al.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 495.)

THE two main themes of the Thirteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies were Byzantium in its relations to the various East European and Near Eastern peoples and the internal affairs of the Byzantine Empire in the eleventh century. These themes formed the substance of the "main" papers, fourteen in number, that were discussed and expanded in the twenty-six supplementary papers. These forty papers are all well-documented, scholarly contributions, undoubtedly worth publishing. There were, however, many more papers, all presented in the various sections of the congress, but the British National Committee and the editors of the *Proceedings* did not find it possible to publish them. This is regrettable since many of these papers were quite as important as the "main" ones. Had they been published, they would have given the readers a complete picture of the extensive and versatile achievements of the congress. We have recently become accustomed to seeing as many as three volumes of proceedings of Byzantine congresses, and multivolume proceedings have been announced in connection with the Second International Congress of Cretan Studies and the First Congress of Balkan Studies, both held in 1966. The expedient chosen by the British committee gives the impression of poverty, if not of partiality.

The principal subjects covered in this volume include the Byzantine mission to the Turkic peoples of the northern Black Sea area, by Gyula Moravcsik; the relations of Byzantines and Serbs in the fourteenth century, by George Ostrogorsky; Russo-Byzantine relations from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, by G. G. Litavrin *et al.;* the influence of Byzantine chant on the music of the Slavic countries, by M. Velimirović; Bulgaria and the Bulgarians on the frontier of the Byzantine Empire in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, by D. Angelov; the Byzantine frontier in the Lower Danube, by E. Condurachi *et al.;* Byzantine miniature and icon painting in the eleventh century, by K. Weitzmann; Byzantine music in the light of recent research, by O. Strunk; the demotic and purist language tradition in the last Byzantine centuries, by E. Kriaras; Byzantine coinage as source material, by P. Grierson; hagiography as an aid to history, by F. Halkin; some Byzantine documents and interior organization in the eleventh century, by N. Svoronos; the background of the Battle of Manzikert, by C. Toumanoff; and the demography of the Byzantine Empire, by P. Charanis.

The volume also contains, in the beginning, the addresses delivered at the

opening and closing sessions of the congress and, at the end, brief notices on major research and publication projects now under way.

Center for Neo-Hellenic Studies, Austin, Texas G. G. ARNAKIS

MEDIEVAL FINANCE: A COMPARISON OF FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN NORTHWESTERN EUROPE. By *Bryce Lyon* and *A. E. Verhulst.* (Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press. 1967. Pp. 99. $5.00.)

COMPARATIVE history, although desirable, is little practiced for several reasons, one of which is the ever-increasing specialization of modern scholarship. The Belgians have for some time been interested in the history of municipal and financial institutions on a comparative basis and have organized to date two colloquia devoted to this subject: one held in Blankenberghe in September 1962 and one in Spa in 1964, both under the sponsorship of the *Crédit Communal de Belgique.*

This little book is partly an outcome of the meeting in Spa where one of the authors, Professor Verhulst of the University of Ghent, presented a paper on the early financial administration in Flanders, Normandy, and the royal domain of France. The book contains a revision of this paper and an original essay by Professor Lyon on the English system during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The introduction and conclusion are also by Lyon. At first, in Northwestern Europe, the rulers were still itinerant and mainly dependent on the income from their own domain; financial problems, in so far as they existed, were handled by the chamberlain who also took care of the wardrobe and valuables, which were carried around in a few chests. As the economy developed and levies in kind were commuted into money payments, this simple organization became increasingly inadequate and the treasury made itself gradually independent from the wardrobe. There also developed a system of auditing and accounting that the English recorded in the Pipe Rolls. On the Continent, the Flemish "Gros Brief" of 1187 is the only such document that has survived. Apparently, England took the lead in evolving a rational fiscal system by creating the Exchequer, which was at first located in Winchester. A similar organization soon grew up in Flanders and Normandy, but the French king remained ensconced in feudal practices and did not follow suit until well into the reign of Philip Augustus (1180–1223).

Lyon's chapters are the more readable because they contain less technical details and emphasize the broad outlines of the financial administration. This very useful little work should be called to the attention of all teachers of medieval history.

Brooklyn College RAYMOND DE ROOVER

ELENCHUS FONTIUM HISTORIAE URBANAE. Volume I. Edited by *C. van de Kieft* and *J. F. Niermeijer.* [Acta Collegii Historiae Urbanae Societatis Historicorum Internationalis.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1967. Pp. vi, 636. 84 gls.)

THIS first of a series of volumes prepared under the auspices of the International Commission of Urban History presents primary sources for the comparative

study of the history of the European city. It covers the sources for the urban history of Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia until 1250, and it is to be followed by subsequent volumes presenting such sources for other European countries.

The present volume consists of the following four collections: "Quellensammlung zur Frühgeschichte der deutschen Stadt (bis 1250)," by Bernhard Diestelkamp; "Recueil de textes d'histoire urbaine belge des origines au milieu du XIII[e] siècle," by Mina Martens; "Recueil de textes d'histoire urbaine néerlandaise des origines au milieu du XIII[e] siècle," by C. van de Kieft; and "Quellensammlung zur Frühgeschichte der skandinavischen Stadt (bis 1300)," by Birgitta Fritz. The documents are thus arranged geographically according to modern countries, and chronologically within each of the four sections. This arbitrary arrangement of medieval texts according to political boundaries of the mid-twentieth century may seem rather incongruous at first, but need not detract from the evident usefulness of the collection, especially since the presentation of the material for each of the four areas is as unified and coordinated as the differences between their respective urban histories permit. Only in the case of the first section, dealing with German cities, was the present eastern political border (wherever that may be now) ignored; this section includes, therefore, some documents relative to medieval German cities in Bohemia, Poland, Prussia, and the Baltic lands. Each section is prefaced by a brief historical and editorial introduction, a list of the documents presented, and, except for Belgium, a short bibliography of the principal printed sources from which the documents were collected.

While the majority of the documents appear to have been selected for their significance to legal and administrative history, the collection is also useful to the social and economic historian. Most numerous are, of course, the charters, especially those bestowing privileges and immunities on cities, but other legal documents, as well as excerpts from narrative sources, have been included whenever available. Each document is preceded by an identification of the manuscript, or at least by an indication of the present location of the manuscript, as well as by a citation of the best printed edition. The documents are all cited from printed editions, rather than from the manuscripts, but in each case either a critical edition or at least the most reliable edition was selected; variants are only very rarely indicated. While the editors deserve to be commended for presenting wherever possible the full text of the charters, it is unfortunate that they have so often decided to omit the protocol and frequently even the arenga.

York University J. Brückmann

DESPOBLACIÓN Y REPOBLACIÓN DEL VALLE DEL DUERO. By *Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz.* (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Historia de España, Universidad de Buenos Aires. 1966. Pp. 406.)

Ever since Herculano, historians of medieval Spain and Portugal have recognized that around the edges of the kingdom of Asturias there existed a broad buffer strip or *despoblado,* running some 100 to 150 miles from the Cantabrian Mountains to the Duero River. Depopulated after 739 by Alfonso I as a military de-

fense measure against the Córdobese emirate, and subsequently repeopled by Ordoño I and Alfonso III in the ninth and early tenth centuries, this zone has been widely accepted as explaining demographic immigration, settlement types, land tenures, ecclesiastical reconstruction, and indeed much of the institutional pattern of early Castile, Leon, and Portugal. The doctrine has, however, come under attack, especially from contemporary Portuguese historians, including Pierre David and, more recently, from the distinguished Spanish philologist-historian, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, all of whom prefer to posit a basically unbroken Mozarabic occupation of the northern *meseta,* with continuity in population, language, place names, and general culture reaching back to the Visigothic and Muslim epochs. Professor Sánchez-Albornoz, the outstanding authority on medieval Spanish origins, has long championed the *despoblado* concept, but has not hitherto devoted a major work to it. He now undertakes to treat it in detail and to defend it as the indispensable key to the genesis of early medieval western Iberia.

His book is by far the most thorough review ever undertaken of all relevant data in the Hispano-Christian and Hispano-Muslim chronicles, the numerous and often highly disputed charters, and the place name evidence. It demonstrates, with its author's customary erudition, how consistently and irrefutably these sources establish first a depopulation and later a large-scale recolonization of the Duero Valley and its flanking Galaico-Portuguese and Castilian borderlands. Sánchez-Albornoz' superb analyses of the controversial charters are a prime contribution to the diplomatics as well as to the history of the period; equally noteworthy are his disquisitions on the restoration of the sees of Lugo and Braga, the shortcomings of David's and Menéndez Pidal's toponymic theses, the obscure beginnings of Castile, and the role of free peasants and free land in an authentic frontier *ambiente.* With its marshaling of a vast amount of material and its keen analysis of conflicting views, this powerfully argued work establishes on broader and firmer foundations than ever before how central to the formative evolution of the Asturo-Leonese, Castilian, and Portuguese states was the existence and eventual reoccupation of the Duero Valley *despoblado.*

University of Virginia C. J. Bishko

ZAPADNYE SLAVIANE I KIEVSKAIA RUS' V X–XI VV. [The Western Slavs and Kievan Rus in the 10th and 11th Centuries]. By *V. D. Koroliuk.* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1964. Pp. 381.)

This collection of eight studies deals with relations among the Poles, Czechs, and Rus during the tenth and eleventh centuries. The first chapter sets forth the purposes of the book as a coordination of opinions expressed in historiographic works devoted to the foreign policies of the three Slavic nations and an analysis of sources pertinent to the study of the area and of the period. The author suggests that research in the past has dealt mainly with relations between two countries only, and he proposes to survey the issues as a multinational problem affecting the three nations and their non-Slavic, primarily German, neighbors. The studies themselves provide up-to-date surveys of the historiography of the period and a new analysis of sources with stimulating suggestions regarding some still-obscure problems. The book has a very useful bibliography of sources and of studies

written in Russian, Polish, and Czech, as well as in Western languages. If only for these reasons, this work should be read by students of the medieval history of Russia and East Central Europe.

The book's main theme is that cooperation among the three Slavic political formations during the Middle Ages could have minimized the German danger, whereas any discord among them only furthered the Empire's policy of expansion. While the substantive chapters are positive contributions to our efforts to establish the facts and a broader correlation of events in the medieval history of East Central Europe, not all readers will agree with the conclusions drawn in the last chapter of the volume. The author suggests that there was, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, a feeling of "Slavic" solidarity among the peoples of Poland, Bohemia, and Rus and that there were forces working toward the creation of a multinational state. The author credits such forces and the resulting instances of cooperation to the power of the popular will. In contrast, conflicts among the Rus, Poles, and Czechs were caused, as a rule, by the respective feudal classes and by the meddling of the German Empire. For this thesis the facts and developments analyzed in the book give little support. The conclusions, especially those in the final chapter, provide material for thought on the fallacies of transplanting modern political concepts into the minds that shaped medieval history.

University of Washington IMRE BOBA

DAS STIFT ST. FLORIN ZU KOBLENZ. By *Anton Diederich*. [Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, Number 16. Studien zur Germania Sacra, Number 6.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1967. Pp. 447, 13 plates, 5 maps. DM 48.)

DIE DOMKAPITEL ZU GOSLAR UND HALBERSTADT IN IHRER PERSÖNLICHEN ZUSAMMENSETZUNG IM MITTELALTER (MIT BEITRÄGEN ÜBER DIE STANDESVERHÄLTNISSE DER BIS ZUM JAHRE 1200 NACHWEISBAREN HILDESHEIMER DOMHERREN). By *Rudolf Meier*. [Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, Number 5. Studien zur Germania Sacra, Number 1.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1967. Pp. 447. DM 48.)

FOR two generations German scholars have been producing an unrivaled series of studies in local ecclesiastical history. Subjects that elsewhere have been left to antiquarians and parochial patriots have attracted historians of competence, zeal, and even genius in Germany because at the turn of the century various hypotheses were suggested to explain why the investiture struggle and the Reformation weighed so much more heavily on Germany than on other kingdoms, and such hypotheses could only be verified by detailed studies of the local structure of the German churches. Stutz's contention that the decisive factor was the peculiarly Germanic system of proprietary churches (*Eigenkirchenwesen*) stimulated a host of studies on patronage and property, and, similarly, the thesis of A. Schulte, who saw the problem in sociological terms of a class struggle for control of ecclesiastical appointments, elicited a new prosopography of ecclesiastical personnel.

With characteristic thoroughness, a plan was formulated in 1908 for a comprehensive inventory of the personnel and possessions of every major ecclesiastical corporation in medieval Germany, to be published in a series entitled "Germania Sacra," with each volume in the series devoted to a particular diocese. The first appeared in 1929, the fifth in 1941, and again as many have appeared since the project was resumed in 1957 (annual reports in the *Deutsches Archiv*). When Geoffrey Barraclough summarized the first generation of the debate for English readers in his *Papal Provisions* (1935), it was already evident that the accumulation of local evidence would reveal the history of both Germany and the Church in a new light. Now, a generation later, the patterns are more distinct, but the century may turn again before a definitive synthesis can be made. In the meantime, institutional and regional studies are needed to elucidate and supplement the data appearing in "Germania Sacra," and it was to promote such parallel studies that the monograph series "Studien zur Germania Sacra" was initiated in 1961. Six numbers have already been published, the most recent being reviewed here.

Anton Diederich has written a full-length institutional portrait of the collegiate church of St. Florin at Koblenz, from its foundation in about 940 until its dissolution in 1802. The book begins with a systematic exposition of the chapter's history, constitution, possessions, and activities, which, taken together, exhibit the institution in all its aspects. The latter half of the volume contains comprehensive lists of the known members of the chapter and of its rights and properties, all admirably indexed. Although the foundation was one of the richest in the archbishopric of Trier, its greatness was regional at best. Evidently the principal virtue of the work consists in making all the relevant data for a single institution available for future comparative studies.

The same is true of the second work, as might be expected, since both began as doctoral dissertations, but the scope is rather different. Rudolf Meier has collected and classified the biographical data for three chapters in the region of Eastfalia and East Saxony. The heart of this work is a 250-page catalogue of the capitular personnel of the collegiate church at Goslar to 1528 and of the nearby cathedrals at Halberstadt and Hildesheim, to 1400 and 1200, respectively. The biographies are arranged alphabetically with a chronological cross index, and another 70 pages of supplementary lists classify the canons by their family connections, means of appointment, higher education, and benefices or other ecclesiastical offices held elsewhere. All who grope through this maze of lists will wish that a general index had been provided.

The author has used the data thus collected to trace the changing class structure of the three chapters, each of which he proves had a distinctive pattern of development. Halberstadt remained the preserve of the old noble families of the region down to the fourteenth century, when *ministeriales* appear in equal numbers. The places in the Hildesheim chapter were shared by the upper and lower nobility a full century earlier, and Goslar was still more open to change. While the ministerial class predominated in the thirteenth century, it had been replaced by the local bourgeoisie by the fifteenth. Meier's special merit is that, using the methods pioneered by Santifaller in his 1922 study of the Bressanone chapter, he combines capitular and familial prosopography to

reveal the social structure of the chapter. For the sake of the social historian, one hopes that future studies of chapter personnel will follow his example in this.

University of Kansas RICHARD KAY

DOMESDAY STUDIES: THE EASTERN COUNTIES. By *R. Welldon Finn.* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1967. Pp. xiii, 231. $9.00.)

ANY thoughtful analysis of Domesday II is bound to be an agony. As Mr. Finn himself concludes, "The wealth of statistical detail of this draft of Domesday Book promises so much and so far seems to yield so little, and to pose as many problems as it solves." In searching for coherence in the records of these eastern counties one finds hints and clues, but they invariably dissolve into a fog of ambiguous and system-defying detail. The Domesday commissioners themselves must have felt this same frustration as they surveyed manors that were not manors, vills that had many owners and extended into several hundreds, hundreds that belonged to two different shires, and a geld system that utterly defies present reconstruction. The clerks of Domesday II added to the fog: they "did not do their work particularly well, even when the complexity of their task is taken into account." And after Finn's careful labors, the fog remains, largely because the author rightly refuses to see order where none can be proven and partly because of occasional fogginess in his own style: "It is, our text strongly suggests, that it is chiefly of labour services of which we are reading."

The author first discusses Domesday II and what it discloses of the post-Conquest settlement in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex. Next he analyzes two contemporary surveys—the Inquisitio Eliensis and the Feudal Book of Abbot Baldwin of Bury St. Edmunds—concluding that since their relationship to Domesday II is indirect, collation is an uncertain task. He concludes with an extensive discussion of the administration, society, and economy of the eastern counties as disclosed in Domesday II and the "satellites." He finds that no clear distinction exists between freemen and sokemen, that both groups, together with slaves, villains, and plow teams, tended to decrease in number between 1066 and 1086, that bordars increased sharply in this period, and that the exact extent of these decreases and increases cannot be determined. Even these tentative conclusions, he warns, are merely probable.

This painstaking study is valuable less for its insight into post-Conquest institutions of Essex and East Anglia than for its candid demonstration of how little the sources reveal to us after thorough, critical examination.

University of California, Santa Barbara C. WARREN HOLLISTER

CANTERBURY UNDER THE ANGEVIN KINGS. By *William Urry.* [University of London Historical Studies, Number 19.] ([London:] University of London, Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1967. Pp. xvi, 514; map folder. $16.80.)

DR. URRY's work is in some ways comparable to an archaeological dig; his book to the published excavation report. The plan of the site has been recovered from descriptions in twelve rentals listing the properties of Christ Church Monastery. One of the important finds is that within the walls of Canterbury the modern

ground plan goes back to the twelfth century. Two large-scale maps with the names of people who held the various tenements from about A.D. 1166 and A.D. 1200 show the results of this topographical study. Added to the book are transcriptions of seven rentals previously unpublished and seventy charters selected primarily from manuscripts in the chapter archives at Canterbury. Clear editing and a full index to the documents make these 225 pages easily usable as a whole or for reference.

The book itself is an extensive commentary on the documents rather than a narrative history. Christ Church owned between one-third to one-half of the domestic property in Canterbury, yet rents from this property amounted to only about 5 per cent of the total income of the monastery. In the thirteenth century, however, these rents usually equaled or surpassed the income from offerings at the tomb of St. Thomas Becket. Among the various trades and occupations mentioned in the rentals, the most significant new evidence concerns the moneyers. The close relation of monastery and borough appears in the names of many servants of the monastery holding property in Canterbury and of other burgesses dependent upon selling their products to the monks. There is also some evidence on borough government.

Among the hundreds of names in the rentals, Urry discusses several leading families in Canterbury and surrounding Kent. A few individuals also stand out. There are interesting references to the chronicler Gervase of Canterbury and to the satirical poet Nigel Wireker. The fortunate survival of documents from about A.D. 1166 provides references to several participants in the events surrounding the martyrdom of Becket, and topographical indications enable the author to reconstruct with precision the area around the archiepiscopal palace and cathedral where the fatal drama took place.

In spite of the limitations imposed by the author's approach and his reluctance to look beyond Canterbury for comparative evidence, the book is a valuable contribution. I hope he will now undertake the history of medieval Canterbury, which he is uniquely qualified to write.

Duke University CHARLES R. YOUNG

PLACITA CORONE: *OR* LA CORONE PLEDEE DEVANT JUSTICES. Edited with introduction, notes and translation by *J. M. Kaye*. [Selden Society Supplementary Series, Volume IV.] (London: the Society; distrib. by Bernard Quaritch, London. 1966. Pp. xxxix, 31, 42. 32*s*.6*d*.)

THE value of this work lies in the insight it provides into the administration of justice in the thirteenth century. Originally written in 1274, according to its ingenious editor, it went through many transmogrifications in subsequent copyings, most of them attenuation of the matter. The latest copies are only the skin and bones of the original. The ancestral manuscript has disappeared. The work was never a treatise in the sense of being a systematic statement of facts or principles of the law. It was simply a verbatim transcript of proceedings in criminal cases before local justices, recorded for use as a model by "such officials as sheriffs, coroners and bailiffs" or "unlearned magnates, civil servants and others from whom justices of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery were drawn."

The state of law the work represents is in many respects that before 1250, before battle virtually disappeared as a means of trial on appeal in favor of jury trial. In the longer version several mentions of Roger de Thurkelby, active in the 1240's and 1250's, suggest that the author was Robert Carpenter, Thurkelby's clerk. Mr. Kaye rejects the idea that the work was written by a professional, but he thinks the author of the nonexistent original may have been a Robert Carpenter, Sr.

Among other points of interest in the text is clear evidence that Holdsworth was wrong in thinking that appeals of felony were in decline because of "the growth of a feeling that the suppression of crime should be the affair of the state rather than that of injured parties and their kin." Appeals were not in decline; rather, judges discouraged abuse of them for trivial causes or for malicious vexation. Most interesting, perhaps, is evidence that justices cozened appellants out of trial by battle, so far as they could, not because they considered it necessarily inferior to jury trial but because its formalities were too time consuming. Trial by jury was more efficient because it was quicker.

As is usual in the Selden Society's volumes, the French text is given on the left-hand page with the English translation on the right. In contrast to the later yearbooks, which are hard for anyone untrained in law to comprehend, the cases in *Placita Corone,* especially in the longer version, ring with the sound of genuine human experience.

Rutgers University MARGARET HASTINGS

THE OFFICE OF AMBASSADOR IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By *Donald E. Queller.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 251. $7.50.)

THIS substantial work concerns the evolution of the office of ambassador from the late twelfth through the fifteenth century. The first three chapters study the various names and types of diplomatic agents: the *nuncius,* particularly, who simply spoke for his principal; the procurator, who could act as well as speak; the plenipotentiary, who acted with full powers; and the appearance in the late Middle Ages of the general term "ambassador." The author then analyzes the functions of ambassadors: the different sorts of letters they carried (letters of credence, procurations, instructions, and presealed "blanks"); their reports; the personnel and expenses of embassies; their privileges, immunities, and ceremonies; and the ratification of their acts, showing (contrary to previous scholarly opinion) that they were valid even without ratification by the principal. The book concludes with a summary, a bibliography, and a brief index that includes subjects but not names.

The author stresses at the beginning that "much legalistic or idealistic nonsense has been written about . . . the right of sending and receiving diplomatic agents." The present work is extensively documented and written with discrimination and good sense. It is valuable not only for the history of diplomacy but also for the study of the emerging national states, the concept of *plena potestas,* and other aspects of late medieval political development. It even contributes to the debate over the nature of the Renaissance by suggesting that some scholars have exaggerated the significance of diplomatic oratory. It is

limited in its chronological and geographical scope, however. It concentrates on Italy, especially Venice, pays some attention to Northern Europe, but says almost nothing about Spain, Byzantium, and the non-Christian world. A broad study of early medieval communications and travel, the traditions of Greek and Arabic diplomacy, the system of ecclesiastical legates, and early techniques of representation might show some interesting parallels and influences. Even within the period studied here, the citation, side by side, of scattered examples tends to obscure the chronological development.

The book is handsomely produced, though there are a few misprints and bibliographical errors. The citation of places of publication in the language in which they appear on the title pages, especially in Latin, is occasionally confusing. The frequent use of terms like "naturally," "obviously," and "of course" at times gives an unnecessarily apologetic tone to this solid and original study.

Harvard University GILES CONSTABLE

ENGLISH LAW IN IRELAND, 1290–1324. By *G. J. Hand.* [Cambridge Studies in English Legal History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 280. $13.50.)

"Until 2.16 in the afternoon of 28 June 1922 the series of bench rolls in the Public Record Office of Ireland was one of the most extensive sources for the history of the lordship." Then the Irish Irregulars fired the Four Courts and the Dublin archives burned up. Thus a history of medieval law in Ireland can only be composed from bits and pieces. Like an archaeologist, Dr. G. J. Hand, a barrister of King's Inns and a lecturer at University College, Dublin, has created an imaginative reconstruction. His is an authoritative history of the medieval Irish legal system at its peak. Hand's technique is analytical and factual, with a few cautious conjectures, and comparative and differential. His mood is nonpartisan and detached, yet sympathetic toward the men, English though they were, who worked the Anglo-Irish judiciary.

Institutionally, the judicial system that King John began in 1210 in Ireland had, by 1300, become a replica of England's. The justiciar's court corresponded to the King's Bench, and the Common Bench at Dublin to that at Westminster. Ireland, too, had an Exchequer, a King's Council, and a High Court of Parliament, but some practices differed from those in England. John had "made English laws and customs established there," and a corps of Edwardian men of law pragmatically adapted the law they knew to local circumstances. They applied in Ireland common law and statute (both English and Irish), criminal law and civil, feudal law (liberties and franchises), and, through review of cases and appeals, the "Irish Jurisdiction of English Courts"—King's Bench, Council, and Parliament. All these topics, and the "Status of the Native Irish," too, Hand has treated with skill and learning.

The attempt to transplant a sophisticated system of law and justice into another land and culture is still relevant and may explain in part England's failure in Ireland. Only a few natives, nobles, and some spouses of mixed marriages gained protection of English law, and that by favor or purchase. The Edwardian governors, Hand's history implies, failed to devise a comprehensive theory of government; nor did they really conquer the Irish. Hence, Hand

concludes, "Ireland was treated as a conquered country when it was not." Why Edward I or Edward II did not convert the lordship into a proper kingship of Ireland, as Henry VIII was to do in 1542, remains a question. Only once, Hand states, was the matter raised: "in 1329 a conciliar memorandum posed—but left unanswered—the problem whether, because the king *est nomme seignur Dirlaunde e nient roy,* his prerogative changed on crossing the Irish sea." There were royal prerogatives, regalian rights, and regal power, and yet no *Rex Hibernie.* There were pleas of the crown in Ireland, yet no Irish crown. The answers doubtless lie after 1324, perhaps with Edward III, a king who might have worn three crowns as gracefully as two, or an Irish one instead of a French. What happened to "the public law aspects of the common law" thereafter is a story left for Hand to tell. It will require the same perseverance, labor, endurance, and imaginative research that he put into this one.

Yale University WILLIAM HUSE DUNHAM, JR.

THE GREEN COUNT OF SAVOY: AMADEUS VI AND TRANSALPINE SAVOY IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY. By *Eugene L. Cox.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 400. $11.00.)

PROFESSOR Eugene Cox notes in the preface to this biography that English-speaking scholars, except for Previté Orton, have neglected the history of Savoy. In his attempt to fill the void the author relies extensively upon archival materials in Dijon, Paris, and Chambéry, the capital and most important residence of Amadeus VI, count of Savoy.

Medieval Savoy controlled the principal Alpine passes: Mont Genèvre, Mont Cenis, Little and Great St. Bernard, and Simplon. Therefore, and since it also lacked natural frontiers, its counts had to maintain constant military vigilance against French kings, German emperors, and Italian princes, and to form diplomatic treaties and marriages with potential allies and enemies. Amadeus VI succeeded in all respects, he extended the Savoyard boundaries eastward and southward, and he actually founded the basis of power for his grandson, Amadeus VIII, under whom Savoy reached its greatest extent. The author has excellently portrayed the Count's constant preoccupation with internecine wars and invasions by the mercenary companies from France.

Amadeus VI (1334–1383) was known as "the Green Count of Savoy" after he and his entourage appeared in splendid green robes and vestments at the festivities and tournaments of the Christmas season of 1352–1353. Thereafter, he exhibited a penchant for green, extraordinary in the Middle Ages. The event and the sobriquet exemplified the chivalrous strain in the young Count. This strain, based on religious zeal, guided Amadeus, with one or two exceptions, during most of his life and inspired him to undertake an ill-fated crusade against the Turks that cost him money, friends, and prestige. Throughout his career the Count was tormented by his chivalrous idealism and the necessity of dealing with contemporaries less idealistic than he.

It was the combination of chivalric idealism and practical policy that prompted Amadeus to visit the people of his domains, to hear their complaints, to hold court and assemblies, to watch over officials, and to punish those proved cor-

rupt. Through such activities he wrought a unified administration for an area divided by mountainous terrain.

The author has described very well the military and diplomatic activities of a count constantly on the move. Under the circumstances the lack of concern for literature and the arts is explicable, but a separate chapter on the economic life and resources of the regime and its people should have been offered.

University of Cincinnati HILMAR C. KRUEGER

LES MARCHANDS ÉCRIVAINS: AFFAIRES ET HUMANISME À FLORENCE, 1375–1434. By *Christian Bec.* [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI[e] Section: Sciences économiques et sociales, Centre de Recherches Historiques. Civilisations et sociétés, Number 9.] (Paris: Mouton. 1967. Pp. 489. 66 fr.)

THIS study attempts to define the mentality of the Florentine entrepreneurial class in the early Renaissance, as reflected in merchant writings. The author further seeks to clarify the relationship between this mercantile mentality and humanism, which in these years became the most important element in Florentine intellectual life. Bec first analyzes in detail the writings of several merchants: the diarists Morelli and Pitti; the proverb collector Paolo da Certaldo; the letter writers Datini and Mazzei; the chroniclers Gino Capponi and Goro Dati; the *novellista* Giovanni Sercambi. He discusses the literary style of these authors, as well as their attitudes and values. The second part of the book, entitled "mercantile humanism," defines and illustrates certain basic elements in the ideology of the Florentine merchant class. There are chapters on economic practices, on education, and on the merchant's world view. The third section examines various aspects of the merchant-humanist nexus, the intellectual and professional bonds that united these groups.

The book's achievement lies primarily in the assembly of new evidence on the literary and intellectual concerns of the Florentine patriciate; it does not contribute significantly to our understanding of the historical forces that motivated this class to adopt humanism as an educational system and a moral guide. The author's analysis of the different literary styles employed by these merchant authors is instructive, and he has uncovered some useful material from archival sources on Florentine educational patterns. But in his treatment of the major problems, he has not advanced beyond the interpretations formulated by Varese, Martines, Garin, and Baron. Indeed, his conception of this mercantile culture as materialist, rational, and secular is quite similar to the model developed thirty years ago by Alfred von Martin. It does not take into account recent scholarly efforts to show the complexity and pluralistic character of this intellectual milieu, which cannot be described in such monolithic terms.

University of California, Berkeley GENE A. BRUCKER

THE FLORENTINE RENAISSANCE. By *Vincent Cronin.* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1967. Pp. 316. $7.95.)

THIS work of popularization treats the spiritual and artistic life of Florence in the fifteenth century. Comparison with Ferdinand Schevill's successful general

work on the subject is in order. While Schevill was extremely knowledgeable about political history (no little accomplishment), his understanding of ideas, art, and historiography was not outstanding. This book takes on a difficult burden with its heavy stress upon religious and aesthetic experience.

After a survey of medieval communal society, the author discusses the classical ideals entertained by early Renaissance humanists. Against this he postulates an overly simplified interpretation of Christian reaction to this revivified classicism. The greater part of the book is then devoted to Florentine culture from the coming of the Medici until the French invasion at the end of the century. Here at some length are reviewed the lives and contributions of literati, scientists, and artists. He is generally careful, and, while seldom resisting the colorful anecdote or dramatic biographical detail, his stories are good and the telling correct. Not surprisingly, his tastes run to contemporary memoirs and lives. While he has read the principal secondaries of general Florentine history, his appreciation of the commanding art historians, from Millard Meiss through Panofsky, fails to shine through. His approach is always that of a connoisseur of art rather than that of a scholar.

This is surely a pleasing and informative book, and, if the role of connoisseur is so defensible, why, then, must my critical judgment be a bit bland? Cronin looks into the past for reasons why the Florentines hold such power over our sensibilities. The answer involves a discovery of Renaissance counterparts to present-day psychology and ideas: freedom, being broad-minded, being reactionary, and the contest between classicism and Christianity are conceptualizations that, if fixed to the fifteenth century, can only trivialize the past. Years ago the art historian Aby Warburg pierced that magic circle of the "self-reinforcing cliché" by questioning the efforts of Ruskin and Taine to translate Renaissance naturalism in terms of nineteenth-century sensuality. Cronin's historical quest is liberal, rational, and tasteful, but it falters when confronting a culture that was magic-ridden, geometric, naturalistic, liturgical, puritanical, and so forth. Renaissance consciousness is not yet dominated by Enlightenment ideals of sincerity and consistency; nor are there firm connections between the inner core of human irrationality and the public man. To describe the signs and symbols of the *quattrocento* is to endure an alien psychology that may still capture us by appealing to our desire for such goals as order, grandeur, and immortality.

University of Rochester MARVIN B. BECKER

MEMORII, 1401–1477 [Memoirs, 1401–1477]. By *Georgios Sphrantzes*. With an appendix, PSEUDO–PHRANTZES: MACARIE MELISSENOS CRONICA, 1258–1481 [Pseudo-Phrantzes: The Chronicle of Makarios Melissenos, 1258–1481]. Edited by *Vasile Grecu*. [Scriptores Byzantini, Number 5.] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România. 1966. Pp. xvii, 618. Lei 35.)

THE two texts contained in this volume are models of the art of scholarly editing. The memoirs of Georgios Sphrantzes are here presented in a first critical edition, and the chronicle of Makarios Melissenos, a forgery largely based upon Sphrantzes' work, has been carefully investigated to determine all the sources appropriated by the good bishop for his own purposes.

Sphrantzes was a high functionary who served the last three Byzantine emperors and their kin. Besides holding a variety of administrative posts, he headed numerous diplomatic missions and kept a daily record of his official activities and events in his own life. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 he went into exile, and during the last ten years of his life he revised and expanded his diary, which is now lost, into a true volume of memoirs. The result is a highly personal narrative that is unlike most Byzantine historical works, where the author adheres to certain established rules of composition and remains in the background.

Almost a century later, probably between 1573 and 1575, Makarios Melissenos, the exiled bishop of Monembasia who had taken refuge in southern Italy after the Battle of Lepanto, expanded Sphrantzes' memoirs. Eager to impress his new hosts, he drew heavily upon his own imagination to glorify the Melissenos name. He circulated his forgery, which he entitled *Chronicon,* under the name Georgios Phrantzes. It was accepted as an original work and came to be known as *Chronicon Maius,* while the *Memoirs* were regarded as a condensation of the former and were dubbed *Chronicon Minus.* Not until 1948 did R. J. Loenertz prove the paternity of both. Makarios' chronicle is not without historical interest; in Book Three he describes at length the siege and conquest of Constantinople, and in Book Four he engages in a spirited polemic with the Latins over the causes of Byzantium's fall and undertakes a comprehensive critique of the Muslim faith.

In establishing an accurate version of Sphrantzes' *Memoirs,* the editor encountered certain inconsistencies of language in the five extant manuscripts. He has noted these divergences in the critical apparatus. As for Makarios' work, he has indicated those passages taken from Sphrantzes, those from other works, Makarios' personal contributions, and assorted short additions by using different styles of type. The original Greek texts of both works are accompanied by a Rumanian translation, and useful indexes of names and places for both the Greek and Rumanian texts are appended.

University of Illinois KEITH HITCHINS

JAKUB Z DĘBNA NA TLE WEWNĘTRZNEJ I ZAGRANICZNEJ POLITYKI KAZIMIERZA JAGIELLOŃCZYKA [Jakub of Dębno against the Background of the Domestic and Foreign Policy of King Kazimierz Jagiełło]. By *Feliks Kiryk.* [Polska Akademia Nauk, Oddział w Krakowie. Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych, Number 18.] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1967. Pp. 146. Zł. 27.)

THIS compact little monograph by the Polish historian, Feliks Kiryk, rescues from historical obscurity the fifteenth-century Polish *homme d'état,* administrator, diplomat, and humanist, Jakub of Dębno, and gives a full, if sometimes detail-laden, glimpse into the tangled skein of Polish and Central European dynastic diplomacy. This work is the outgrowth of an earlier article in which Kiryk explored his protagonist's economic and cultural ideas and activity.

After sketching the party struggle in Poland following the death of Ladislas

VI at Varna (1444), that is, the conflict between the conservative aristocratic party of magnates led by the powerful bishop of Cracow, Oleśnicki, who sought to undermine the royal authority, and the more centralistic younger gentry during the interregnum and early reign of Casimir IV, the author moves into his subject with scholarly authority. Jakub of Dębno first appeared at Cracow University and was one of the party of royal devotees cultivated by the King and entrusted with high office. At various points in his public life he was royal treasurer, chancellor, and the holder of numerous high provincial and district offices.

Jakub visited Prague on numerous diplomatic missions connected with the attempt of the Bohemian King, George of Poděbrad, to weld together a universal European dynastic alliance against the Turks. Later, when this collapsed because of papal hostility to the Bohemian King, Jakub implemented a treaty between the Bohemian ruler and Casimir who wisely refrained from heeding the papacy's advice to seize the Bohemian crown by force. Polish neutrality was crucial during the struggle between Matthias Corvinus and George for possession of Bohemia, and in gratitude the Bohemian King later left his throne to Casimir's son. Jakub also made numerous trips to Central Europe and Rome where, despite Poland's neutrality toward Bohemia, he was held in high esteem by the Vatican *Curia.*

The author has exhaustively combed the extant materials on this subject in the Polish, Slovak, and Hungarian archives as well as relevant secondary source materials. This book is not for the casual reader but more for the specialist in the dynastic history and diplomacy of East Central Europe.

State University College, Brockport, New York PAUL N. HEHN

Modern Europe

LES UNIVERSITÉS EUROPÉENNES DU XIVe AU XVIIIe SIÈCLE: ASPECTS ET PROBLÈMES. ACTES DU COLLOQUE INTERNATIONAL À L'OCCASION DU VIe CENTENAIRE DE L'UNIVERSITÉ JAGELLONNE DE CRACOVIE, 6–8 MAI 1964. [Études de documents publiés par l'Institut d'Histoire de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Genève, Number 4. Commission Internationale pour l'Histoire des Universités, Études et travaux, Number 1.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1967. Pp. 193.)

IN the spring of 1363, Casimir the Great of Poland sent his trusted knight, Jan of Rzeszów, to Avignon to petition Pope Urban V for an annulment of his childless marriage with Adelaide of Hesse. For political reasons the Pope was unable to grant the annulment, but, as consolation, he did grant Casimir permission to found a *Studium Generale* in Cracow. In the following year the University of Cracow was founded. Six hundred years later, in 1964, a group of scholars gathered to commemorate that event. This volume contains the papers they read and the discussions that followed.

The first four articles describe the founding of four medieval universities in Central Europe: Cracow, Prague, Pécs, and Vienna. The authors provide valuable insight into the reasons why these institutions were founded. Unlike the first

generation of universities at Paris, Bologna, Salerno, and Oxford, which appeared spontaneously, this second generation was founded by territorial kings and princes who sought to bring their kingdoms prestige, prosperity, and a ready supply of lawyers, doctors, and civil servants. Since the conditions under which these early universities were founded were similar, these articles tend to be repetitious. The one by Frantisek Kavka is the most interesting because it goes beyond narrow institutional history and treats the founding of the University of Prague in a broader sociological context.

The second group of articles deals with the concept of the university in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. They are more speculative and contentious, especially the ones by Sven Stelling-Michaud and Jacques Le Goff. Stelling-Michaud shows how medieval universities grew and accommodated Renaissance learning while Le Goff maintains that medieval universities atrophied during the Renaissance and became the first vestigial institutions of the *ancien régime*.

The last group of articles discusses the reform of universities during the century of the Enlightenment. Boguslaw Lésnodorski, using the University of Cracow as an example of a university that was transformed by the Enlightenment into a secular center of broad scholarship and public service, writes the best of these. Although the author does not say so, this reformed university might have served as a model for the founding of the University of Berlin in the following century.

Unfortunately, none of these articles discuss the methodological problems involved in writing the history of universities; nor do they raise many important questions that remain to be discussed. Like any such collection, this one is uneven in quality; the best articles add appreciably to our knowledge of these curious institutions.

University of Wisconsin STERLING FISHMAN

LES MONARCHIES EUROPÉENNES DU XVI[e] SIÈCLE: LES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES. By *Henri Lapeyre*. [Nouvelle Clio: L'histoire et ses problèmes, Number 31.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1967. Pp. 384. 22 fr.)

THE three parts of Lapeyre's contribution to the "Clio" series serve as many purposes. The first, "Documentation," provides a clear guide to the main primary sources and a bibliography of scholarly studies, topically arranged. Both should be valuable research tools for the young scholar or one new to the field, although any specialist will note some gaps, such as the major *Recueils* of the later Wars of Religion in France (*Mémoires de la Ligue, Mémoires de Nevers*) and the work of Pierre Jourda on Marguerite d'Angoulême. The omission of critical comment on secondary works is partially replaced by analyses of new interpretations of certain issues in Part III ("Débats et combats: Directions de recherches"), but these are uneven in value and emphasis. References to the work of Elton and Stone are many, and the treatment of Tudor history generally should prove a useful guide to French students. The chapters on "Politics and Religion" and "Political Ideas," on the contrary, do not indicate the range and complexity of the problems involved, especially in France. The section on Mach-

iavelli is weakened by omission of the work of Chabod and Mattingly's speculation that the *Prince* is a political satire.

I question the value, throughout the "Clio" series, of Part II, "Nos connaissances." The summaries of events are too condensed to be adequate, and the analysis is insufficient. A reader unfamiliar with the French Wars of Religion could not discern the main threads of the struggle from the account given, and the three paragraphs on the reign of Elizabeth—beyond the religious settlement—give a distorted impression of the years after 1588. Lapeyre was obviously hindered by the limitations imposed and frequently refers to them. One wonders if expansion of Part III would not have been more useful to the scholar, leaving "the facts" to the *manuels* where they are often more fully explained to the nonspecialist or beginner.

The subtitle, *Les relations internationales,* should not mislead the reader; only four of the twenty-six chapters deal directly with this aspect of the century, and their synthesis is less effective than that of the several chapters on institutions, where Lapeyre's lucid comparisons reflect his comprehensive and sophisticated scholarship.

Tufts University NANCY L. ROELKER

VIE SPIRITUELLE ET VIE SOCIALE ENTRE RHIN ET BALTIQUE AU XVII[e] SIÈCLE: DE J. ARNDT À P. J. SPENER. By *J. B. Neveux.* [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Paris-Nanterre.] (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck. 1967. Pp. xlvii, 933. 100 fr.)

THIS title reveals the author's thesis. In the French positivist-sociological tradition he views religion as an essentially social phenomenon; the individual psychologically needs "witnesses" to his salvation. The area described provides a second major theme: that there was no "Germany" in the seventeenth century despite later nationalistic, Prussian-oriented historiography. Seeking "ancestors" for the new united Germany, its historians minimized earlier disunifying factors. Germans have thus tended to conceive their religious past "hagiographically," in spiritual and intellectual, not sociopolitical terms. Neveux could have discussed more succinctly this historiographical problem as well as his objections to the term "pietism" in connection with seventeenth- as opposed to eighteenth-century German Protestantism. He nowhere describes either the traditional or his own understanding of the concept, but protests the indiscriminate use of "pietism" as well as "baroque" for oversimplifying complex phenomena. Neveux thus stresses diversity and disunity, showing that, while Christian *religiosity* provided the only real integrating factor, *religion* played a key role in the struggles for power among the princes, estates, bishops, and self-styled "prophets" of the myriad "micro-regions" between the Rhine and the Baltic. The heart of the work is a detailed discussion of forty persons prominent in seventeenth-century Central European religious life, clerical and lay, Protestant and Catholic, showing their parts in the "theologico-politics"—Neveux borrows the term from Spinoza—of their "generations" and localities. He emphasizes the religious significance of areas threatened by outside "imperialisms" and along ethnic borders, as well as Eastern European influences upon Germanic thought. Encyclopedic essays on fundamental Christian

doctrines, civil and ecclesiastical institutions, group and personal relationships that follow show how Protestant reformers failed to find clear solutions to most of the perennial doctrinal and practical dilemmas of Christianity, thus increasing the material of "theologico-political" conflict.

Neveux's thesis was twenty years in preparation and reveals both profound erudition and a wealth of ideas. He has consulted such an immense body of sources that his footnotes refer to a separate, yet unpublished volume of bibliography. The interconnection between religion and politics in the West has long been a fruitful historiographic concept. Neveux gives it impressive substantiation. His work otherwise defies categorization; it comprises at once a remarkable contribution to the over-all study of theology, religious psychology and sociology, institutions and literature, as well as specifically to seventeenth-century European political history.

University of California, Santa Barbara H. Arnold Barton

SWORD AND MITRE: GOVERNMENT AND EPISCOPATE IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND IN THE AGE OF ARISTOCRACY. By *Norman Ravitch*. [Studies in European History, Number 10.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1966. Pp. 246. 36 gls.)

In comparing the social origins and recruitment of French and English-Irish bishops in the century before 1789, the author tries to measure aristocratic resurgence statistically in both societies, and he seeks to define the closing of the episcopate to families of inferior birth. Such a statistical comparison could be valuable and, at first thought, would not appear difficult to prepare since the groups involved were small and appointments were controlled by national governments. But the comparison was much more difficult than the author realized, chiefly because of the lack of well-defined social groups to which bishops may be assigned with certitude, and also because comparison, at least in France, involved only three chronological, extremely long, points in the century.

In France bishops apparently came increasingly from noble families of the sword, and less from the robe, but to readers of F. Ford's *Robe and Sword* (1953) and F. Bluche's *Origine des magistrats* . . . (1956) this conclusion suggests little more than that robe ambition to have a sword identity led to the increase of the latter in the episcopacy. In any case, all the groups of nobles together, among the bishops, increased by only 2 per cent from 1700 to 1790, and this scarcely seems significant when they had already reached 88 per cent of the total under Louis XIV. One would have liked to know whether prominent genteel families, the peers and dukes, actually supplied more bishops as the century continued, since the prestige of a noble family and its weight at court in gaining favors might be a better indicator of aristocratic resurgence than absolute numbers alone. The problem here is the author's failure to give an analysis of aristocratic pressure for those appointments, not only for the eighteenth century, but for the seventeenth as well, for without it the problem of the monarchy's freedom of action to nominate whom it wished without undue pressure from great aristocratic or ministerial families remains unelucidated.

Defining social groups in which to place English bishops proved even more

difficult than for France. But the author bravely attempted to do so; his results show that between 34 per cent and 53 per cent of all bishops named between 1660 and 1836 had such obscure origins that they could not be assigned to the rather too precisely defined social groups. To find an aristocratic resurgence, then, or the lack thereof, is of dubious value indeed. One wonders if the size and number of England's ruling families had grown so small that they failed to supply enough sons for these places. The reduced size of the English aristocracy, like the Venetian, may have made it possible for newer, lesser families to reach the episcopacy, especially as the aristocracy is defined here.

Other discoveries are made, but not discussed. English bishops, for example, averaged fifty-three years of age at elevation, while their French counterparts were only forty. Next, the length of tenure was nineteen years in France, and only eleven in England, which suggests that English bishops, on the average, lived five years longer than their much more numerous French brethren.

The book also includes summaries of older research on the nomination of bishops, making it useful to graduate students. But such anachronistic phrases as the French bishops being "not integrated into the nation as a whole" give a hollow ring to its otherwise acceptable conclusions. Neither P. Blet's *Le clergé de France et la monarchie* (1959) nor J. McManners' superb *French Ecclesiastical Society* . . . (1960) evoked for the author the hierarchical, regional, and even dynastic quality of society that still was the *ancien régime,* though both works are cited in the bibliography. The fault here lies not in the comparative history, but in a certain insensitivity or naïveté about how social groups are defined.

Columbia University OREST RANUM

THE MEANING OF "DEMOCRACY" AS USED IN EUROPEAN IDEOLOGIES FROM THE FRENCH TO THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION: AN HISTORICAL STUDY IN POLITICAL LANGUAGE. By *Jens A. Christophersen.* [Universitetet i Oslo, Institutt for Statsvitenskap. Skrifter, Number 5.] (New York: Humanities Press. 1966. Pp. xiv, 389. $8.75.)

BECAUSE it shows clearly the various uses and meanings of the word "democracy" by major and minor thinkers who are spokesmen of different viewpoints during successive periods in the modern history of major European countries, this work will be valuable for students of European ideas. It will, however, be especially useful to American students, who rather easily regard the concept of democracy, and certainly its institutional realization, as the peculiar product of American history and experience. While especially enlightening to those who see constitutional democracy as the sole article worthy of the name, it will also be informative for those who accept as genuine both the majoritarian and the constitutional varieties and even for those who are aware also of what is called totalitarian democracy and yet still relate democracy to representative government as a technique of counting rather than breaking heads.

The book is divided into two major parts. The first deals almost exclusively with individual thinkers, classified under such rubrics as radicalism, constitutionalism, liberalism, conservatism, socialism, anarchism, Bolshevism; and, where

appropriate, it discusses these at different periods since the French Revolution. That Revolution is taken to be the beginning of a serious concern with democratic thought and with the use of the word in a nonpejorative sense. Incidentally, it may be interesting to American scholars to note that the author finds the first serious user to be Robespierre, who relates it to revolutionary terror and concomitant violence. In the American context, such a correlation is startling, though it occurred infrequently in much of subsequent European radicalism, which is given a somewhat disproportionate emphasis here. Curiously enough, too, Tocqueville is not among those given systematic treatment, though he is frequently referred to. While his concepts of democracy were undoubtedly grounded in the American social order, they were, nevertheless, developed in relation to a European future and designed for European use.

A more general comment on this historical treatment is that it is in a sense an application of linguistic analysis, not too rigidly adhering to definitions, descriptions, and connotations of democracy in the various thinkers and movements covered. Throughout the period there are revealed a growing concern with the phenomenon, an increasing diversity of viewpoint about it, and ever more wide-ranging insights into it, as the changing and developing uses of the word show. There are not, as the author makes quite clear, a clear progress, evolution, or development of views and understandings of and about it; the uses of the words approbatively or disapprobatively follow neither a clear line of growth or decline nor a marked and meaningful cyclical movement. There are no historical curves to extrapolate; no predictions possible from period to period; no clear correlations, positive or negative, in the simultaneous or sequential use as between different ideological positions. In this sense the work does not lead to any generalization in the history of ideas; it simply indicates variety and diversity, perhaps with the suggestion that no schema is discernible and no prediction as to future use and impact is possible.

The second, shorter part, characterized by the author as systematic, comprises an analysis of the diverse major meanings of democracy and its relations of identification or opposition to such concepts as capitalism, socialism, and freedom; its relation to religion, militarism, science, and leveling; its use to praise and blame; criticism of supposed misuse; ambiguities in use; designation of political regimes that exhibit the concept; and frequency of use. These analyses do indeed expose the very vast variety of ideological mixtures in the modern world and show some of the fascinating possibilities of political argumentation in modern times. They also cast doubt on the degree to which it is a meaningful or useful concept, though they reveal how, where, in what contexts, and with what intentions it is used. Likewise, they suggest the extraordinary difficulties of effective scientific definitions and pose awkward questions as to how to use meaningfully a word that cannot yet be excluded, compatibly with relevance, in discussion of modern public affairs.

The author adds some interesting though all too brief summaries on usages of the idea of democracy by various modern analysts from Bryce to J. L. Talmon. This selection is unfortunately limited, and its introduction serves mainly to facilitate relating the author's position to those of modern or contemporary scholars and publicists, including the infamous Rosenberg, with whose treatments

the reader should already be familiar. A full-scale analysis in some detail of contemporary defenders, critics, and enemies of democracy on both sides of the Atlantic, and indeed throughout the world, might be useful and is perhaps necessary if the present volume is to have its full meaning and value from the perspective of current political issues and thought concerning them, since democracy is one of the constantly recurring concepts in their discussion.

The book has adequate notes for both documentation and subordinate discussion. Some of the latter are sufficiently interesting to warrant expansion into essays. A convenient and thorough index of references to proper names lacks subordinate differentiations, and there is no index of terms or concepts, though that would be extremely valuable for rapid reference to the varieties of usage and connotation and for ease in making comparisons between thinkers and periods.

University of Texas, El Paso THOMAS I. COOK

PRELUDE TO NATION-STATES: THE FRENCH AND GERMAN EXPERIENCE, 1789–1815. By *Hans Kohn.* (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1967. Pp. x, 416. $9.75.)

THIS book bridges the gap between Professor Kohn's major work, *The Idea of Nationalism,* and his subsequent smaller volumes on the nationalisms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Based on amazing, exhaustive reading of the literature, the book describes the sentiment of nationalism through Kohn's usual approach: illustrative short sketches of leaders and their views. Social psychologists, anthropologists, political scientists, and economists will find basic historical information for their generalizations, but they will not find the behavioral or quantitative analyses so dear to many of them nor, except indirectly, the Weberian models they hope to establish for predictive purposes.

The book is stronger on the rising German nationalism than on the French. "Napoleon [and the Revolution] became a midwife to the birth of the Age of Nationalism on the continent of Europe," but Kohn stresses the German forerunners: Friedrich Schlegel, Adam Müller, Heinrich von Kleist, Wilhelm von Humboldt, the Baron vom Stein, Fichte, Schleiermacher, Arndt, Jahn, Joseph Görres, and others. These representatives of the German elite, as Kohn shows, by no means agreed upon what Germany should be or upon nationalism. Indeed, some were not nationalists, but their views nonetheless foreshadowed the new Germany that was to arise in the nineteenth century. From Kohn's brief accounts I took many notes that will buttress my own lectures.

Kohn chose to present his findings in thirty-six chapters that originally may have been his own lectures, though in a few cases parts or all of the chapters were previously published as articles. The chapter headings do not always accurately describe the content. Kohn chooses, as he customarily has done, to put some of his best material in long, discursive footnotes. This is a hardship for the interested reader because the footnotes are backnotes.

As Kohn demonstrates his immense knowledge once more, one could hope that he would more often give us the benefit of his own reflections on the "whys" of nationalism. It is not new to say that "French nationalism was born in the

enthusiasm of a revolution. . . . German, . . . in a war against France. . . ." Kohn is among the scholars who have taught us this. But still one wonders why it is true. Perhaps there are no certain answers, but Kohn could give us informed hypotheses.

He refrains from drawing explicit parallels between the European nationalisms of 1789–1815 and those of the later Asian and African nationalisms since 1945. His self-imposed restraint may be wise, but there are striking similarities. Kohn thinks of his book as a "contribution to the comparative study of nationalism," in his view "the only fertile" way. But by design he devotes his attention chiefly to the experience of 1789–1815 as prelude to later French and German nationalisms.

I doubt whether the French Revolution of 1789 was as much the work of the middle class and the people as Kohn implies, and I am not as certain as Kohn that England "solved the problem posited by the French Revolution for the Age of Nationalism": how to harmonize individual liberty with unity of the state. These matters remain for further debate.

Kohn and Carlton J. H. Hayes were the great pioneers in the study of nationalism. We owe them much, for they laid foundations on which we still build. In this book Kohn continues to strengthen those foundations.

Macalester College BOYD C. SHAFER

MONARKHI PROTIV NARODOV: DIPLOMATICHESKAIA BOR'BA NA RAZVALINAKH NAPOLEONOVSKOI IMPERII [Monarchs against Peoples: The Diplomatic Struggle on the Ruins of the Napoleonic Empire]. By *L. A. Zaḳ*. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Mezhdunarodnye Otnosheniia." 1966. Pp. 375.)

THE "diplomatic struggle" referred to in the title of this book is the Congress of Vienna. With some digression, this is the proper subject of the book, and its organization, bounded by an introductory chapter on "The Vienna Congress in Historical Literature" and a concluding one on "The Vienna Congress and Russian Society," follows, on the whole, that of the well-known studies by Webster and Nicolson.

The general value of this serious work can be described fairly succinctly: it is in fact the first full-scale study to come from Russia, the last of the "Big Five" to be so represented in the historiography of the Congress. While it reveals no startling discoveries or interpretations, the book does introduce new perspectives and new documentary materials, mainly from the Russian archives. (In particular, some new evidence is presented on the Poland-Saxony question, on Scandinavian issues, and on Russian policy vis-à-vis Italian unification.)

The author makes some stimulating comments on the "class content" of the Vienna decisions. He devotes an entire chapter to the "Ideology of the European Reaction," but the overwhelming portion of his study is devoted to a solid, "old-fashioned" treatment of the diplomatic issues. This treatment tends to submerge under the massive weight of national self-interest the occasional thesis that the Vienna accords represented a compromise between "feudal" and "bourgeois" in-

terests. In other words, the sociological conclusions, while deserving attention, are not adequately substantiated in the body of the study.

The author displays a remarkable command of the international literature on the subject, citing works, both old and recent, in a half-dozen languages.

It is my dreary duty to report that, like so many Soviet books, the present work lacks a useful index or table of contents. It possesses only a brief list of proper names. The final chapter on "The Vienna Congress and Russian Society" is superfluous and superficial.

Stanford University TERENCE EMMONS

LE RELAZIONI DIPLOMATICHE FRA L'AUSTRIA E IL GRANDUCATO DI TOSCANA. Third Series, 1848–1860. Volume II (1 GENNAIO 1850–9 MAGGIO 1851). Edited by *Angelo Filipuzzi.* [Documenti per la Storia delle Relazioni Diplomatiche fra le Grandi Potenze Europee e gli Stati Italiani 1814–1860. Part 2, Documenti esteri. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1967. Pp. 543. L. 5,000.)

THIS addition to the growing and invaluable collection of foreign and Italian documents ("Fonti per la Storia d'Italia") deals with European diplomacy on the Italian question during the nineteenth century. Dr. Filipuzzi has carefully edited 273 Austrian documents drawn from the Austro-Tuscan diplomatic correspondence (January 1850 to May 1851) in the Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna. As was the diplomatic custom of those days, all these Austrian documents on Italy are in French. While 80 per cent are reports from the Austrian chargé at Florence, Baron Hügel, the other 20 per cent are instructions from Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, Austrian President of the council, to Hügel. There is much material here on such questions as: the Austro-Tuscan military convention, the Leghorn affair of British claims for damages, the Tuscan concordat with the Pope, the suppression of Tuscan freedom of the press, the repressive control of Tuscan theaters, the nonreactivation of the Tuscan Constitution (*Statuto*), the secret conference in Rome of the Italian conservative states, negotiations of agreements for railroad construction in Italy, and protests against the Mazzini loans. For fuller documentation on early Italian railroad construction, one should consult the files HHSA, SK, Ital. Staaten, Toscana, Admin. Akten: Eisenbahnwesen. In this volume we find how completely Austria controlled Italy after the victory at Novara in 1849: military occupation, internal repressive administration, diplomatic representation abroad, and railroad construction. According to Hügel, the Tuscan Habsburg Grand Duke asked that "je continuasse . . . à éclairer son Gouvernement comme par le passé sur toutes les questions difficiles et . . . me demandait la continuation de ma coopération et de mon appui." Although Austria prevented the restoration of Tuscany's Constitution, Filipuzzi still thinks that Radetzky's celebration of the anniversary of the Austrian Constitution in 1850 supports the editor's previous contention, in his *Pace di Milano,* that Radetzky did not ask for the abolition of the Sardinian *Statuto.* For those historians interested in biographical data there is much informa-

tion (1850–1851) on Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, Emperor Francis Joseph, Grand Duke Leopold II, Giovanni Baldasseroni, the Tuscan Prime Minister, the Duke of Casigliano, the Tuscan Foreign Minister, Lord Palmerston, and Count Alexander Walewski, the French minister to Tuscany.

As usual the list of documents with summaries, the editorial notes, and the careful index bespeak the exemplary quality of this Italian series.

University of Pennsylvania LYNN M. CASE

WORLD WAR I: A TURNING POINT IN MODERN HISTORY. ESSAYS ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WAR. By *Gordon A. Craig et al.* Edited with introduction and conclusion by *Jack J. Roth.* [Borzoi Studies in History.] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1967. Pp. 137, vii. $1.95.)

"In sum, the problem of the First World War as turning point would appear to be basic to the meaning of contemporary history." This comment, developed in depth in Professor Roth's incisive conclusions, suggests the common theme of these essays, based on public lectures by Gordon Craig, Carl Friedrich, Charles Hirschfield, and Hans Kohn at Roosevelt University.

With customary *expertise,* Craig describes the impact of the conflict on war and diplomacy and concludes that it shattered the complementary relationship of the tasks of the soldier and the diplomat. "The art of warfare had been revolutionized by technological innovation, extended in scope, and given a pseudo-religious cast—and for all these reasons it had become more dangerous, more destructive, and much more difficult to get back under control once it had been loosed." Craig also deals with the significant changes in diplomacy, notably the expansion of the diplomatic community, the breakdown of the intellectual homogeneity of the diplomatic system, and the emergence of a new diplomacy. Small wonder that the interwar period became essentially a *dialogue des sourds,* in Craig's view, with depressing consequences. Kohn's superb discussion of the crisis in European thought and culture is keynoted by Valéry's acute observations. "The Mind has indeed been cruelly wounded; its complaint is heard in the hearts of intellectual men; it passes a mournful judgment on itself. It doubts itself profoundly." The deceptive aura of *la belle époque,* the growing intellectual ferment and disarray, the aesthetic appeal of primitive art, the cult of force, the outmoded social order, and the utopian schemes of renovation are but a few of the themes considered. Friedrich's essay reflects his prolonged study of totalitarianism. Addressing himself to the relationship between war and totalitarianism, he concludes that "no such regime arose or was foreshadowed by developments during the First World War." To be sure, the war helped clear the ground by creating considerable *anomie,* but the author prefers to view the war and totalitarianism as joint products of related forces in Western society rather than as cause and effect. Hirschfield's concluding essay on the transformation of American life emphasizes the fusion of ideal and self-interest, the nationalization of society, the nostalgia for a world beyond recall, and the search for a moral style.

University of Pennsylvania WILLARD ALLEN FLETCHER

THE RISE OF FASCISM. By *F. L. Carsten.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. 256. $6.50.)

PROFESSOR Carsten's book is the second major work examining fascism as a European phenomenon, the first being Ernst Nolte's *Three Faces of Fascism* (1963). Where Nolte was concerned with definition and classification of variations of fascist doctrine, and with the sociological implications of fascism as a continuing crisis within liberal ideological traditions, Carsten has written a political history of the rise and success of fascism following the world war.

Despite this difference of approach, both scholars take a historicist position, attempting to understand fascism rather than to condemn the criminal and loathsome in history. In keeping with this attitude, and with their agreement on the European rather than the national character of fascist theories, Carsten, like Nolte, rejects the conclusions of those historians of ideas who have concentrated on German totalitarianism as a unique movement growing out of an isolated and anti-European cultural tradition. Because of this, both books may be seen as examples of a shift in emphasis that has produced a new revisionism.

Apart from this important similarity, however, the two works have nothing in common. For Carsten, the rise of fascism owed little to doctrine and may best be explained as a result of the war. His treatment of ideological "precursors" is brief and concludes with the statement that their ideas were fast losing their attractiveness by 1914. Nolte, in contrast, saw fascist ideas taking shape after 1870, growing stronger in succeeding decades, and fascist leaders themselves as believers in a coherent system of social and political philosophy. Rivalries between many similar postwar movements, errors of judgment by the older leaders of liberal Europe, the impact of events over which fascists had little control, and a talent for maneuvering that was, in Carsten's opinion, essential to the success of fascists whose tactical abilities were far more impressive than their interest in political philosophy: these factors found little place in Nolte's analysis.

Yet a striking result of Nolte's methodology—a result that tends to support Carsten's more prosaic explanation of fascism's seizure of power—was that Nolte's sources undermined the thesis of his immensely thoughtful study. The historicist's desire to understand, even to sympathize, led Nolte to allow fascism to speak for itself. But from copious citations what was revealed was not men of doctrine but political leaders always willing to shift with the tide, to exploit events in whose making they had played little or no part. Nowhere was the contrast between analysis and results more apparent than in Nolte's own explanation for fascism's failure in France, and this despite Nolte's belief that the first and most impressive formulation of fascist dogma was that of the *Action Française:* the war was won by the enemy, by the republic under Clemenceau, France's leading "defeatist" for the writers of the *Action Française.*

Such conclusions reinforce Carsten's emphasis on the importance of the war for any investigation of fascism, and also his claim that no such thing as fascism existed before 1919. Upon this thesis Carsten bases his description of fascism's rise, emphasizing the German and Italian experience, but also comparing these examples of the exercise of power with fascist regimes in Spain and

in Eastern Europe. Always the stress is on political, economic, and social realities that account for the differences to be found, and on the outcome of the world war. Save for the chapters on National Socialism that utilize archival materials, the work draws on well-known published sources. But even here Carsten selects with much good sense and describes the complexity of political events with admirable clarity, giving the reader the best scholarly description of European fascism available.

University of Minnesota JOHN THAYER

THE FASCIST TRADITION: RADICAL RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM IN MODERN EUROPE. By *John Weiss.* [Major Traditions of World Civilization.] (New York: Harper and Row. 1967. Pp. xxxvi, 151. $2.25.)

FASCISM is "revolutionary conservatism," and fascists, however radical they think or claim to be, are socially conservative, leaning on a conservative intellectual tradition (organic and antiliberal), supported by conservative groups ("preliberal power elites . . . , reactionary industrialists, and elements of the socially frustrated middle class"). They are, in effect, "new conservatives," harnessing the fears and tensions of social change to their promises of order, translating (as in *Mein Kampf*) "the sophisticated ideas of aristocratic conservatism into the vulgar language of German lower-middle class culture," drumming up "a mass following for conservative racial nationalism," the last hope of conservative groups hard pressed by the Left.

Fascists come to power "where traditional ruling elites [are] desperate in the face of spontaneous social changes which favored liberalism and radicalism." Like "Sorel and other fascists," they prescribe and use terror and controls that they know "must be imposed if conservative values and interests [are] to be preserved." Totalitarianism and the single-party state, "invented" by Mussolini, are enlisted in the defense of "the sacred rights of private property." Witness the results of Fascist and Nazi rule: defense of conservative interests and values, terror substituted for reform, increased productivity subordinated to the needs of militaristic imperialism of a traditional kind, none of the ambiguity of David Schoenbaum's study of *Hitler's Social Revolution.* "In Germany under Hitler . . . by every standard, the exploitation of labor increased." There are no mitigating factors. Wherever "the cautious gradualism of traditional conservative theory is incapable of defending conservatism in swiftly modernizing societies," fascism can threaten. Today, it is most likely to appear in underdeveloped countries where privileged groups may adopt its totalitarian panoply to stifle challenges born of modernization, and secure for themselves both "the privileges of the old order and the advantages of the new."

This, roughly and briefly, is Dr. Weiss's thesis. It rejects the argument that fascism is truly radical and uninterested in preserving the established order, that national socialism really attempts to combine the two greatest appeals of our time, that fascist successes stem less from the needs of the conservative Right than from the failures and absences of the progressive Left. It confuses conservatism and reaction. It relates fascism neither to populism (or Bonapartism), nor to the formulas evolved and applied by Lenin and his successors. Its context

is set by the needs of ruling or traditional elites, much less by the aspirations of those who hope or call for change. It is clear, concise, and, to me, unconvincing.

Specialist readers will reach their own conclusions. I hope nonspecialists will balance its views with those of men whom it does not cite, such as Hermann Rauschning, René Rémond, and Ernst Nolte.

University of California, Los Angeles EUGEN WEBER

DER NOTENWECHSEL ZWISCHEN DEM HEILIGEN STUHL UND DER DEUTSCHEN REICHSREGIERUNG. Volume I, VON DER RATIFIZIERUNG DES REICHSKONKORDATS BIS ZUR ENZYKLIKA "MIT BRENNENDER SORGE." Edited by *Dieter Albrecht.* [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte bei der Katholischen Akademie in Bayern. Series A, Quellen, Number 1.] (Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald-Verlag. 1965. Pp. xxviii, 459. DM 45.)

DIE BRIEFE PIUS' XII. AN DIE DEUTSCHEN BISCHÖFE, 1939–1944. Edited by *Burkhart Schneider* in collaboration with *Pierre Blet* and *Angelo Martini.* [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte bei der Katholischen Akademie in Bayern. Series A, Quellen, Number 4.] (Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald-Verlag. 1966. Pp. xlvi, 381. DM 48.)

THESE two volumes, on the exchange of diplomatic notes between the Holy See and the German government, 1933–1937, and on the letters of Pope Pius XII to the German bishops, 1939–1944, are part of a new project by the Commission on Contemporary History of the Catholic Academy of Bavaria. Two series, one of sources (Series A), the other of monographs (Series B), will, once completed, present a comprehensive history of German Catholicism in modern times.

Series A will deal initially with three main problems: the relationship between Church and state, 1933–1945; the attitude of German Catholics toward the National Socialist regime; and German Catholic emigration during the Nazi period. Each series will go beyond the interwar period, as well as reach back into the nineteenth century. The volumes reviewed here are limited in scope and time. Both deal with important problems: the consequences of the concordat, the status of the Church in Germany, and the problems faced by the Holy See during the Second World War.

By signing the concordat with Germany, the Vatican was first to conclude a formal agreement with the new regime and thus certify, so to speak, Hitler's respectability. Officials in the Vatican and the German bishops hoped for a period of cooperation and stabilization between the Catholic Church and the Nazi state. As it turned out and as is amply documented here, their hopes were in vain. Violations and infringements by local and state authorities started within a few days after the documents were signed. The ensuing struggle concerned the activities of Catholic youth organizations, the existence of Catholic schools, the training of priests, the publication of Catholic newspapers and periodicals, Rosenberg's antireligious agitations, and the foreign exchange trials with which the government harassed scores of priests and nuns. Under the circumstances and considering the overwhelming powers of the state, the Church had but limited means to meet this challenge. Submitting without protest most likely would have

meant the end of the Catholic Church in Germany. Alternatively it could have counseled open and active opposition; this too would have failed because the overwhelming majority of German Catholics were sufficiently patriotic and nationalistic to reject such a course out of hand. There remained, then, the road of quiet diplomacy, so eminently suited to the then Cardinal Secretary of State Eugenio Pacelli. By pointing out the numerous violations and by reminding the German government of its failures to fulfill its obligations under the concordat, the Church in Germany assumed essentially a defensive position, but one from which it still could operate with some success.

Pope Pius XII's letters to the German bishops have appeared earlier in the new series of Vatican documents (*Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la seconde guerre mondiale*) and have been translated and reissued (with some minor changes as noted in the introduction) in the Bavarian series because of their great interest to German readers. This one-sided correspondence (the letters of the bishops are referred to in editorial notes and footnotes) deals with the situation of the Church in Germany, the issues of war and peace, Vatican neutrality, and the fate of prisoners of war, refugees, and minority groups. The documents illustrate a small but important area of the Pope's many-sided wartime activities. One interesting episode concerns Pius XII's letters of sympathy to the Belgian and Dutch royal families on the occasion of the German invasion of their countries in May 1940. When German officials complained that no similar letters had been sent to the Abyssinian and Albanian rulers when Italy had invaded those countries, the Pope replied that these cases were not at all similar because these sovereigns "had no diplomatic relations with the Holy See."

Both volumes give us a welcome, though limited, addition of basic source materials to an interesting and controversial subject. The editors have provided excellent introductions and extensive footnote and bibliographical references. Many more volumes are required, however, before we will have a complete picture of the Catholic Church in Germany in modern times.

Washington, D. C. GEORGE O. KENT

LA FINLANDE DANS L'ÉTAU GERMANO-SOVIÉTIQUE, 1940–1941. By *Heikki Jalanti*. [Histoire et société d'aujourd'hui.] (Neuchatel: Éditions de la Baconnière. 1966. Pp. 380. 40 fr. S.)

THE stated purpose of Dr. Jalanti's study is to clear up the question of how Finland in June 1941 found itself involved on Germany's side in the attack on the Soviet Union. Others have tried to do this before. Those who came closest to succeeding were the American, Earle F. Ziemke, and the Scot, Anthony F. Upton. The most ambitious previous Finnish effort was made by Arvi Korhonen, who, like Ziemke, used contemporary German diplomatic and military records extensively, but, unlike Ziemke, permitted his judgment to be swayed too much by postwar Finnish testimony, notably when the latter put Finland's wartime policy in a more desirable light than did the German records.

Jalanti falls short of his purpose by a considerable distance. The reason for this is twofold. He has not attempted to work his way through the massive German records that remain the most important source of information on

Finnish-German relations in 1940–1941, and he relies too much on the analysis and conclusions presented earlier by Korhonen, the grand old man among Finnish historians. Korhonen's opinions turn up with remarkable consistency in Jalanti's book, which essentially can be characterized as a catalogue of the facts, or fictions, of this story already published by others. It is not an original contribution to historical knowledge, although it earned for its author a doctorate from the Sorbonne. Most of his primary source materials consist of the records of the 1945–1946 war guilt trials in Helsinki, a body of information that falls in the same questionable category as the transcripts of the Nuremberg Trials.

The author retells the story of how Finland, "le jouet des événements," was forced by unbearable Soviet pressure to respond to German initiatives for cooperation, eventually being "dragged into the war" against its will, trying to stay neutral until Russian bombs fell on June 25, 1941. This, the standard Finnish version, is only half the story. The other half includes Finland's efforts, triggered by a fear of sharing the fate of the Baltic States, to gain entry into the German orbit in the summer of 1940; the developing Finnish-German military collaboration after February 1941; the diplomatic collusion aimed at frustrating Soviet policies throughout the winter; and the Finnish commitment of early June 1941 to attack the Soviet Union on dates and against targets to be determined by Germany, a commitment subsequently endorsed by President Ryti.

Jalanti still wonders what would have happened had the Russians not bombed Finland. The answer is simple: Finland would have attacked on the appointed dates. The evidence of this is overwhelming. Under the existing circumstances, Finland probably had no alternatives to the policy adopted, but the facts ought to be told.

University of Wisconsin H. Peter Krosby

TUDOR HISTORICAL THOUGHT. By *F. J. Levy*. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1967. Pp. xii, 305. $6.50.)

The subject of historical writing in sixteenth-century England has heretofore been explored in depth by scholars concerned primarily with individual authors or with the subject as a reflection of other historical developments. Professor Levy has now brought together the work of the specialists, including his own on Camden and Daniel Rogers, in a comprehensive and superbly organized study. Instead of writing a chronological survey, he has wisely chosen to consider the various facets of the subject separately: the contribution of humanism, the effect of the English Reformation, the development of antiquarianism, the persistence of the chronicle tradition, the significance of popularization, especially the drama, and finally the emergence of "politic history" in the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean years. Each facet can thus be studied for itself, but Levy never allows the reader to lose sight of the close relationships among them. The result is a series of essays tightly woven together into a larger essay greater than the sum of its parts.

Levy begins his study with an examination of the fifteenth-century chroniclers. The medieval chronicle tradition, with its failure to grasp the essential difference between past and present, was long in dying. Holinshed, a century

after Caxton's printing of the *Polychronicon,* was still writing history "by agglomeration." The extremely popular sixteenth-century chroniclers merely added material contributed by the humanists and antiquarians, apparently unaware of their new methods and standards. More's biography of Richard III, for instance, was incorporated intact again and again with no indication that the chroniclers were influenced at all by his radical use of psychology or his stress upon a dominant theme.

The humanists' sense of anachronism, however, did bring about a basic change, though much later than one might expect. Levy points out that while the concept of anachronism is to be found among the Italian humanists even before Valla, its introduction to England had to await the pioneering efforts of John Colet and Erasmus. Even then, its general acceptance was extremely limited. He credits the major step forward to the English reformers, culminating in the defense of the English Church by Jewel and his contemporaries. Not until the end of the century, however, with the work of the secular historians, Stow and Camden, was the principle accepted as a matter of course.

Since so much of Levy's book is based on widely scattered sources, frequently in periodicals not commonly cited in historical bibliographies, and since there is no section on the writing of history in Conyers Read's Tudor bibliography, the addition of a comprehensive bibliography of Tudor historical writing of the sort that Levy is so eminently qualified to offer would have been most welcome.

Denison University W. M. Southgate

THE ELIZABETHAN WORLD. By *Lacey Baldwin Smith.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1967. Pp. 285. $6.50.)

Mr. Smith has published two books in 1967: one the volume under review, the other a larger book built around handsome illustrations, *The Horizon Book of the Elizabethan World.* The texts of the two volumes are almost identical, though not quite, and the relation is unclear. It is probable that the larger work represents a revision, for its literary style is clearer, simpler, and much the better of the two. Both volumes, despite their titles, range over continental as well as English history throughout the sixteenth century.

The Elizabethan World is not addressed to scholars but to the general reader, and it should be judged as a piece of popular history. The author is well informed and could have written an excellent book. Unfortunately, however, he has spoiled his work by his flamboyant and sensational literary style that constantly stresses the bizarre and the exotic. Mary Stuart is said to have acted "like a guttersnipe"; the Politiques in France are called disciples of "belly-wisdom"; James I "manifested such unkingly habits as drivelling at the mouth, picking his nose, and closeting himself with pretty young men." The Renaissance, it is said, inspired beardless boys (though most of them wore beards), who "carved out their kingdoms in the sky." Words are used very strangely. In the religious strife of the time "conscience was proving to be thicker than blood"; reformers regarded the Church of England as "a putrefied old oak in desperate need of purification and redemption"; the Scots found Calvinism "peculiarly congenial to the black independence of their clannish souls and highland fast-

ness." How thick is conscience, how does one redeem an oak, and why is independence black? The author contradicts himself. We are told that Loyola was a man of "iron will and inflexible conviction," but two pages later we hear of "the tempered and flexible will of Ignatius Loyola." Although the book contains many factual errors, these are less serious than the lack of explanation of why things happened as they did and the tendency to combine legend with fact in such a way that an unsophisticated person might well mistake the one for the other. The book is poorly organized. In short, the general reader, having learned little, will carry away impressions that are distorted and confused.

University of Minnesota DAVID HARRIS WILLSON

THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION OF 1688. By *Maurice Ashley*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. [1967.] Pp. 224. $4.95.)

MAURICE Ashley, former editor of the BBC's *The Listener* and now research fellow at the University of Loughborough, here skillfully adapts the biographical approach of his Cromwellian studies to the revolutionary era. William III, who has come less and less to resemble Macaulay's portrayal—coldly deferential to the Englishman's yearning for liberty and Protestantism—is developed into the grand manipulator of the Glorious Revolution. Ashley feels that as early as 1681 William may have entertained the idea of invasion, which is far too early according to Stephen Baxter's recent biography of William. The Prince agonizes over the Monmouth affair and James's seeming closeness to France (unfounded, according to Ashley). The possibility of a successful republican resurgence, nurtured by James's growing autocracy, would not only revive the Commonwealth's old maritime hostility to Holland, but would cancel out his wife's wearing of an English crown. Anglo-Dutch relations had thus to be resolved, from William's perspective, by forceful intervention.

While Ashley does not repeat Lucile Pinkham's bold but incautious assertion (1954) that William desired the crown for its own sake, he, like Baxter, places most of the success of the crucial gamble of 1688 on William's intelligent assessment and dedicated resolution. Trevelyan's Glorious Revolution, magnified into a united national undertaking, is now more accurately confined. Ashley remains true to the Whig tradition, however, once he gets William safely into London. Parliament's "offer" of the crown, just as in the textbooks of old, is emphatically conditional, and limited monarchy is supposedly born. Even David Ogg, Ashley's tutor, felt that such limitations were far less potent than were William's actual powers, and that they were consonant with traditional constitutional theory. Ashley's failure also to note that the "social contract" clause was omitted from the Bill of Rights is misleading, giving the impression that Commons forced the Lords, and the nation, to "swallow the concept." Nor was the comprehension bill, alternative to the Toleration Act, "rejected" as Ashley states. It simply was tabled and never reached a final vote.

As an essay on William's role in the period 1677–1688, Ashley's volume is highly thematic, brisk, and lucid, evoking the immediacy of any current international crisis. Though this is one of many approaches from the vantage of kings, courts, and cabals, its emphasis on princely duty and religious dedication, archaic

in other revolutionary settings, will distinguish Ashley's work as one of the ablest delineations of statecraft behind the "glorious deliverance" of 1688.

University of Delaware GERALD M. STRAKA

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF ISAAC NEWTON. Volume IV, 1694–1709. Edited by *J. F. Scott.* (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Royal Society. 1967. Pp. xxxii, 577. $38.50.)

A DEFINITIVE assessment of the seventeenth-century scientific world's paramount figure awaits the digestion of Sir Isaac Newton's manuscript remains by the scholarly community. The Royal Society and the Cambridge University Press are aiding this process by supporting the publication of Newton's substantial correspondence, intelligently supplemented by related manuscripts and letters of associated scientific men. This fourth volume appears under the editorship of J. F. Scott, who succeeded the late H. W. Turnbull.

It comprises correspondence and related manuscripts covering the period 1694–1709, a remarkably diversified period in Newton's career. It was during this time that Newton became Warden of the Mint and president of the Royal Society, pursued his investigations of lunar and cometary theory, and published his vastly important *Opticks.*

Newton's association, and subsequent acrimonious relationship with John Flamsteed, the King's Astronomer, is amply recorded in the many letters between the two men, and in Flamsteed's diary notes and letters to third parties. A picture of Newton's service at the mint is likewise provided by his letters to Godolphin and various others.

What is disappointing to the historian is the paucity of materials relating to Newton's growth, in the public eye, as a natural philosopher and statesman of science. We learn little, for example, of Newton's presidency of the Royal Society or of his short tenure as member of Parliament. Nor do we learn much about the publication of the *Opticks,* apart from John Wallis' entreaties to Newton for its publication during the 1690's. Equally disappointing is the absence of any information regarding Newton's changing views on gravity, apart from the tantalizing note by David Gregory that it is "Mr. Newton's belief that it [gravitation] does not occur by mechanical means, but was introduced originally by the Creator." Newton appears to have abandoned this view by 1717. Perhaps later volumes of the correspondence will provide further clues.

Scott's edition is copiously, perhaps even too fully, annotated. Letters in the possession of various sources (libraries, record offices, societies, and private persons) were included. The press is to be congratulated for the superb physical appearance of the book and for the inclusion of the six handsome plates.

Johns Hopkins University ROBERT KARGON

JONATHAN SWIFT AS A TORY PAMPHLETEER. By *Richard I. Cook.* (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1967. Pp. xxxiv, 157. $6.95.)

FOR almost all of Swift's biographers, and especially those considering him primarily as a literary man, those years of his life that he devoted to politics and

pamphleteering have produced difficulties. The four years he gave to the Tory cause (1710–1714) were to him the most exciting and satisfying of his life. Yet the writings he produced contributed less to his ultimate stature as a literary figure than those of the 1690's or those of the 1720's. In view of his demonstrable success as a Tory pamphleteer, is Swift to be discussed as a political controversialist who is now better known as a satirist, or does justice require that we think of him between 1710 and 1714 as on a furlough from his career as a satirist, to which he would soon return?

Neglect of this problem has led to a similar neglect of Swift's political writings as writings, and Mr. Cook seeks to repair this oversight. In *Jonathan Swift as a Tory Pamphleteer,* he undertakes to study Swift's rhetorical and stylistic methods as a political controversialist. If one misses a steady, coherent development of this subject, it is because six of the nine chapters have appeared separately elsewhere, and the synthesizing problems were greater than the other three chapters were able to cope with, skillful though they are. The general focus of the book is, however, clear. Cook has brought a lively mind to bear on the tracts and pamphlets themselves and has produced a genuinely critical account of their effectiveness.

Astutely, he begins with two chapters on the kinds of audience for which Swift wrote, at the beginning of his career and later. It is useful to keep in mind that the early *Contests and Dissensions* pamphlet and *The Battle of the Books* were written for a small circle of nonprofessional men of learning and that *The Sentiments of a Church of England Man* (1708) and *A Project for the Advancement of Religion* (1709) were written for a large audience of middle-class readers. The stylistic consequences of this change in audience are well described and illustrated, though not everyone will agree that "by 1708, the reception accorded the *Tale of a Tub* had obliged Swift to reconsider the nature of his intended audience and the sorts of moral ends towards which his work might be applied." Cook is on more certain ground in the second chapter, where he describes the difference in mentality and temperament between the Tory "Landed Men" and the "Monied Interest," which formed the backbone of the Whig party. Not only does Cook show how Swift geared his style to the Tory squires and their adherents, but he is also able to supply valuable evidence from contemporary correspondence to show that *The Examiner* and *The Conduct of the Allies* were successful parts of a calculated propaganda campaign.

From a purely literary point of view, Chapters III and V are perhaps the most interesting. Following Aristotle's division of the means of persuasion into two kinds of proofs, Cook is able, in Chapter III, to describe Swift's polemical methods with great clarity. In Chapter V he is equally successful in treating Swift's skill at handling the satiric "character" as a polemical device.

The chapter on "Swift and Defoe" is more valuable as a contrast between two men's careers than between their pamphleteering styles, it being impossible to present Defoe in enough detail to make a balanced comparison between the two men as stylists. Like the introductory chapter, it is not quite gauged to the background of either the expert in the period or the novice. Nevertheless, by describing the different circumstances under which Defoe wrote and the difference in the audience he was trying to reach, Cook accounts quite persuasively for the

greater daring of Swift's controversial methods. The most sustained analysis of the techniques of *The Examiner* comes in this chapter, where two of Swift's most ingenious onslaughts on the Duke of Marlborough are described.

Williams College ROBERT J. ALLEN

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO ANSON'S VOYAGE AROUND THE WORLD, 1740–1744. Edited by *Glyndŵr Williams*. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, Volume CIX.] ([London:] the Society. 1967. Pp. xiii, 303. 50*s*.)

THE English had never forgotten Drake's voyage around the world and his capture of the Manila galleon. When, then, war with Spain became imminent in the tense summer of 1739, it was decided to consider sending ships to take the treasure galleons sailing between Acapulco and Manila. Sir Robert Walpole listened to various elaborate proposals, but decided to send only a small expedition into the Pacific. George Anson, an experienced captain of forty-one, was selected to command the venture. While the expedition was greatly reduced from first plans, it was, nevertheless, no small undertaking. The squadron consisted of six warships and two merchant supply vessels. Anson's flagship was the powerful sixty-gun *Centurion*, and it was accompanied by *Gloucester* and *Severn*, each with fifty guns, the smaller *Pearl* and *Wager*, and the sloop *Tryal*.

If the ships were adequate, the personnel was deplorable, and Anson's expedition was left with the dregs. Wretched seamen were supported by a military contingent consisting of old, invalid pensioners from Chelsea Hospital and 210 raw marines.

After maddening delays the squadron finally sailed in mid-September 1740. The late start meant rounding Cape Horn at the worst possible season. Only the battered *Centurion*, *Gloucester*, and *Tryal* limped into the rendezvous at Juan Fernández. The others, except for the *Wager*, which was wrecked, were forced to turn back.

With the remnants of his fleet Anson left Juan Fernández in September 1741, destroyed much Spanish shipping, captured and sacked the town of Paita, and waited for the Acapulco galleon. The galleon was wisely kept in port, and Anson, after scuttling his remaining ships and prizes, sailed for Macao where he arrived in November 1742. Hundreds of men had died of scurvy. Only 210 were left to man the *Centurion*.

Anson, refitting under great difficulties, left Macao in April 1743, ostensibly bound for England. Instead he sailed for the Philippines and intercepted the galleon *Covadonga* bound for Manila. After a brief engagement, the *Covadonga* with nearly £400,000 of treasure was captured. The *Centurion* then sailed for home, arriving in England in June 1744. In spite of the dreadful losses to scurvy, the capture of the galleon was a bright spot for the English in a rather drab war.

This valuable book thoroughly documents, from contemporary letters, newspapers, and journals, the events leading up to and subsequent to the expedition, as well as the voyage itself.

Peabody Museum of Salem ERNEST S. DODGE

CAPITAL AND THE COTTON INDUSTRY IN THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. By *Seymour Shapiro.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 293. $9.00.)

STUDENTS of British economic history should find this work extremely useful, particularly in respect to its main theme: British credit facilities in the eighteenth century. The late Seymour Shapiro has drawn together, systematically and with informed judgment matched with clear presentation, the evidence on the conditions and the functioning of the capital markets, both long- and short-term, in the beginning years of the Industrial Revolution. The connection with the cotton industry, indicated by the title, is largely effected through the use of illustrative examples drawn from its great period of applied innovation and expansion. For the cotton industry, long-term capital was mainly put up from personal savings by the entrepreneurs and their partners, the latter drawn from a rather wide social spectrum, and expansion was financed from profits. Short-term capital was about half as much as long-term needs, but was more difficult to secure from the banks and other sources since currency was scarce in late eighteenth-century England. Shapiro suggests that the problems entailed in covering such matters as inventory, wage payments, and the time lag on turnover lay behind the variety of expedients that placed workers, jobbers, and others under involuntary short-term capital contribution. To establish the chronology of the British spurt in productivity, Shapiro has re-examined in Chapter I growth rates of population, production, prices, and wages from 1710 on, all in terms of national aggregates and decennial percentage rates of change. The cotton industry is comparably treated in Chapter VI. His evidence confirms again that large and sustained British industrial growth began in the 1780's. The study is reinforced with some twenty-six tables in the text and twenty-five more in the twenty-three appendixes, most of them constructed with immense labor from the best estimates and data available. Critical notes on data, used and unused, will be especially helpful to the beginning student.

Shapiro had completed the manuscript for this study before his death in April 1967. It was seen through the press by two friends, Robert M. Bardahl and Mordecai Melnitsky, who performed their tasks with exemplary care.

Tufts University ALBERT H. IMLAH

HORACE WALPOLE: WRITER, POLITICIAN, AND CONNOISSEUR. ESSAYS ON THE 250TH ANNIVERSARY OF WALPOLE'S BIRTH. Edited by *Warren Hunting Smith.* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 358. $15.00.)

HORACE WALPOLE'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH SIR HORACE MANN. Volumes VII and VIII. Edited by *W. S. Lewis et al.* [The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence, Volumes XXIII and XXIV.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. 571; 545. $17.50 each.)

To avow Horace Walpole "a unique" goes no farther than to assert that, like Coke's Magna Carta, he hath no fellow. His correspondence, all compact of gos-

sip, *sententiae,* wit, and public news, describes the man and the world in which he lived, and so often recalls Charles Churchill's "fribble" on another subject:

> Much did *It* talk, in *Its* own *pretty* phrase,
> Of Genius and of Taste, of Play'rs and Plays;
> Much too of writings, which *Itself* had wrote,
> Of special merit, tho' of little note.

Without it the historian would be the loser. No less would Yale University, the font of this magnificent edition wherein scarcely a name remains unidentified or a circumstance left dangling and the beneficiary of substance for a hundred monographs and causeries, of which the volume commemorating the 250th anniversary of Horace's birth is but a sample. Here solid food, well if not excitingly prepared, is interspersed with contrived concoctions neither nourishing nor pleasing, concoctions that prompt the litany: from pedantry, verbosity, and inconsequence, *Libera nos, Domine.* What Horace himself would have thought about the least of these homages to W. S. Lewis can only be conjectured, though one can hear him saying what a pity there's so little wit in them.

It is a pleasure then to turn to the two volumes of that "magnificent" correspondence that John Brooke believes could have stopped the gap had Walpole's *Memoirs of the Reign of King George III* been lost. This "Andean range of the Walpolian continent," now in eight volumes with three still to come, here covers the years 1768–1779 (the dates on the jackets are in error) out of a total run of forty-five years, 1741–1786, during which span the two men never met. In Mann Walpole found both his man in Italy and a sounding board for his varied opinions. Unlike the extensive correspondence with the Countess of Upper Ossory, the present is an exchange, and, though commonplace, Mann's letters do facilitate the "narrative." Obviously the dozen years could scarcely be matched for excitement at home or abroad. They gave full scope to our Puck who could put a girdle about his world in forty words and in the process prove what fools its mortals were.

But malice or mischief alone would not give him distinction, and it is some measure of the man that in the years of "civil war," when he saw England sliding into decay and disgrace through ministerial ineptitude, he had little space for gossip. In these years he pays tribute alike to Chatham's magnificence and his own father's wisdom. In these years he sees America as a new country that will offer mankind a different outlook from that of Europe. In these years too his jeremiad has great relevance to 1968, for with little effort one could substitute Vietnam for American colonies. It is atmosphere not facts that this correspondence provides, and that in abundance. One need not dismiss the gossip, for even if it was not more than half true, as Chesterfield told the *soi-disant* Duchess of Kingston when she reported that rumor had credited her with giving birth to twins out of wedlock, it made the world go round for many people. Although "Wilkes and Liberty," foreign policy, ministerial changes, the American war (which Walpole saw lost five years before Yorktown), great men and great causes (or, if you prefer, little men and little causes) are necessary to doctoral candidates, a seasoning of trivia makes facts more palatable. It is diverting to learn who is cuckolding whom, to read that fortune, in a most jocular mood,

had made one family's marital matches with intent to "torment the Herald's Office." It is informing to learn that the extravagances of drink, dress, and gambling among upper-class youth prompted a response similar to drugs and love-ins today. So we might go on, mindful that Horace never wrote a letter without an eye to posterity and seldom one without its epigram which, wise or not, takes the reader into the center of the eighteenth century.

University of Missouri CHARLES F. MULLETT

EDMUND BURKE: THE PRACTICAL IMAGINATION. By *Gerald W. Chapman*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 350. $5.95.)

THIS reconstitution of Burke's ideas and his positions—on America, Ireland (and religion), constitutional reform, the French Revolution, and India—is distinguished in recent Burkean criticism as probably the least doctrinaire or polemical, and as the closest to Burke's frame of reference and his language. Chapman seeks no "system" in Burke's thought and finds none. He searches Burke's "particular judgments . . . for a characteristic activity, of which they are *ad hoc* expressions"; and he isolates that activity as the operation of "practical imagination"—"a peculiar fusion of poetic conception and literary brilliance, ethical awareness and religious reverence, preference for concrete inquiry and compromise, common sense and sense of duty," fusing and enlarging upon particular circumstances and principles.

The Burke who re-emerges is not unlike the Burke whose wisdom John Morley admired: the practical, reforming conservative in whom the empiricist "was constantly liberalizing the patrician." Chapman's method is what he calls "quotative," his presentation and examination of Burke's "particular judgments" are detailed and extensive, and his argument, within the limits thus imposed, is convincing. An opening chapter developing "The Organic Premise" and the concept of practical imagination as the key to Burke's achievement would function better as a conclusion, of which there is need.

Had Chapman's *Burke* been published ten years earlier, when it appears to have been completed, it might have had a salutary effect on the new image of Burke. Perhaps it still may, in spite of a major scholarly deficiency that makes it now appear as an unconscious anacronism. Nowhere, implicitly or explicitly, in preface, bibliography, notes, or substance, does Chapman hint that he is aware of, much less has used, any of the abundant Burkean studies of the past decade: the five published volumes of the new ten-volume *Correspondence* and the manuscript resources of the Burke center in Sheffield; the two-volume biographical study by Cone, which makes Chapman's work in part redundant; the prolific writings of the devotees of natural law, neoconservatism, Christian humanist anti-Communism; the *Burke Newsletter;* the work of the Namierite historians; and the dozens of special studies large and small. Chapman writes of Burke and America, for example, without the New York letter book or the O'Hara letters, of Burke and Ireland without Mahoney, of Burke and Montesquieu without Courtney, of Burke and India without Marshall, of Burke's rhet-

oric on the French Revolution without Boulton or Fennessy, of Burke's liberal conservatism without Graubard, and so forth.

There is much to be said for independence, even perhaps a certain isolation from contemporary confusion, in the critic if not in the historian. A simple statement in the preface, however, might have acknowledged this as a book of 1957, not 1967. The reader then would at once see it as, in effect, a reprint, he would adjust his expectations accordingly, and no doubt he would be pleased.

University of Iowa DONALD C. BRYANT

LORD NORTH. In two volumes. By *Alan Valentine.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 568; vii, 517. $19.95 the set.)

DR. Alan Valentine has devoted an impressive amount of earnest energy to the production of this biography. He has expended, he states, "a decade of intensive research" into every available archive likely to contain relevant material. He has waded through a mass of printed volumes of memoirs and correspondence, and he has consulted the great accumulation of monographs and scholarly articles relating to British politics during North's career. The result is two volumes containing more than one thousand pages which, the publishers assert, will last three hundred years.

A work of such dimensions inevitably assumes the character of a "life and times." In sheer bulk the "times" predominate. The major portion of the work is a rather uneven summary and synthesis of the current scholarly interpretations that Valentine has studied. He faces intrepidly the fierce historiographical controversies that color Georgian scholarship, but he finds no constructive way to resolve them. For example, after discussing the piquant problem of differentiating Whigs from Tories, he reaches this bland conclusion: "In the measures that it took and the support it received, North's ministry was certainly so far from the ideas of its Whig opposition that it would be less reasonable to call it Whig than to call it Tory." Valentine goes into great detail in many passages, but there are just enough errors to make the specialist shy away from the biography as a work of reference for the "times": Lord Mansfield's retirement and death are misdated; "Consols" appear as "consuls"; Sir John Rous, who proclaimed his hostility to the American war from the moment he entered Parliament, is typed as a "friend" of the ministry. Though the author displays sound historical judgment on many issues, he often spoils the effect with literary conceits. To say that Sandwich was maladroit in the selection and management of naval commanders may be a severe verdict, but it is scarcely mitigated by adding that "he could not turn mere ducks into Drakes." The maneuvers leading to the Fox-North coalition are deftly handled, but the reader's faith in Valentine's exposition is not secured by his insistence upon the fanciful metaphor that Eden and Wedderburn were "North's Rosencrantz and Guildenstern." All things considered, however, the "times" provide a firm and well-articulated, if rather overornate, setting for the "life."

Valentine knows his man intimately. The amiable, dilatory, indolent North re-emerges, but the author's diligent labors in the archives have enabled him to brighten and highlight facets of character that have remained obscure to previous biographers. The faithful, pliant North, reluctant to ask favors directly, was not

above tricking his King into giving his half brother the wealthy bishopric of Winchester. Though not as rapacious as a Grenville or a Walpole (or his own father), the Prime Minister did well by himself and his relatives. In this regard Valentine rightly concludes, "North's real significance is as a symbol of his society." A child of the Pelhamite era, he considered the maneuvers of politics as their ultimate purpose. Valentine adds nothing to our knowledge of North as a financier—an aspect of his career that merits further treatment—but it becomes abundantly clear that for "the Noble Lord in the Blue Ribbon" a good budget was whatever scheme he could get through Parliament with the least difficulty. He was, in finance as in all things, a generous, peace-loving, landed gentleman who was obliged to devote most of his career to coping unhappily with the demands and quarrels of others.

Yale University ARCHIBALD S. FOORD

THE JOURNALS OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK ON HIS VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY. Volume III, THE VOYAGE OF THE *RESOLUTION* AND *DISCOVERY*, 1776–1780. In two parts. Edited by *J. C. Beaglehole*. [Hakluyt Society, Extra Series Number 36.] (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Society. 1967. Pp. ccxxiv, 718; viii, 724–1647. $47.50 the set.)

PROFESSOR Beaglehole's monumental edition of the documents that record the three Pacific voyages of discovery of Captain James Cook from 1768 to 1780 nears its end with this sumptuous presentation of the last voyage. Turning from the South to the North Pacific, the expedition swept both shores, being stopped in two successive summers by pack ice at 70° north in the search for the Northwest Passage, but it discovered the Hawaiian Islands and for the first time mapped the coasts of Canada, Alaska, and the Aleutians. The shores of the Pacific Ocean and many of its islands were now substantially known.

The first volume of this edition of the complete Cook *Journals* first appeared in 1955; Volume II came out in 1961. For this last and longest voyage, the editor has used the logs and journals of some thirty persons, eight published reports, official and unofficial, some eighty-four charts, and several hundred drawings by the two official artists. Beaglehole has been allowed space to print the complete journals of the successive commanders—Cook, Clerke, and King—and of the surgeons—Anderson and Samwell—together with lavish citations from others. He has included a large number of illustrations and has previously published a portfolio of the charts of the three voyages. He has seen all of the documents, which are scattered in at least three continents. He has made many of the landfalls himself, especially in the Hawaiian Islands and on the British Columbia coast, calling on geographers, ethnologists, botanists, and zoologists for enlightenment. His introduction gives a masterful survey of the aims, the personnel, the life on shipboard, and the events of the voyage and their meaning, and his extensive footnotes amplify the text. The result is an unexampled perspective view of the events and the personalities; the purposeless murder of Cook, for example, takes on a new poignancy.

Credit should be given first to the government of New Zealand, which has

sponsored the project. Cambridge University Press has contributed its usual superb printing, and the Hakluyt Society imprint again justifies the devotion of the society to the lofty Hakluyt aim of "the search and discovery of the world."

Volume IV will sum up the voyages, giving the verdicts of specialists on the achievements: on Cook as hydrographer; on the ships and their maintenance (it is a shock to be reminded that the two vessels of the four-year voyage were of only 462 and 298 tons burden, respectively); and on the contribution of the voyages to botany, zoology, and ethnology.

For Cook himself, who remains Britain's greatest navigator, we look forward to the biography, independent of the edition promised by Beaglehole. This distinguished New Zealand scholar only last year supplied us with a third edition of his early substantial survey, *The Exploration of the Pacific* (1st ed., 1934). Of the great Cook enterprise that derives from it, we hope soon to say, *finis coronat opus.*

Queens College GEORGE B. PARKS

THE JOURNAL AND LETTERS OF CAPTAIN CHARLES BISHOP ON THE NORTH-WEST COAST OF AMERICA, IN THE PACIFIC AND IN NEW SOUTH WALES, 1794–1799. Edited by *Michael Roe.* [Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, Second Series, Number 131.] (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Society. 1967. Pp. lvi, 341. $7.50.)

AFTER the return of Captain James Cook's ships from his third voyage, news gradually spread of the fabulous profits to be made by selling sea otter skins from the Northwest coast to the Chinese in Canton. It was five years after the *Resolution* and *Discovery* returned to England before the first Englishman pioneered this trade. In 1785 James Hanna made the first such expedition, and it was successful. He was followed by Portlock and Dixon, Meares, Colnett, and numerous others, including the first Americans, Kendrick and Gray. The trade had been operating with varying success for nearly ten years when Captain Charles Bishop arrived on the scene.

Bishop's manuscript, which has been used by various scholars but never before printed in full, exists in two parts that were originally a single book. The voyage of the *Ruby* is in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia at Victoria; that of the *Nautilus,* his second vessel, is in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

Bishop was employed by Sydenham Teast, a merchant of Bristol who had invested in whaling, the African trade, and other ventures. The lucrative sea otter trade quickly attracted his attention.

Bishop sailed from England in the American-built ship *Ruby* in 1794. Besides the usual calls at the Cape Verdes and Rio de Janeiro, he stopped at the Falklands and then, after rounding Cape Horn, called at Easter Island on his way north. He arrived on the coast in the spring of 1795, and the following January he sailed for the Sandwich Islands for refreshment and then proceeded to Canton. Fur prices were low, and the venture was not a financial success. In mid-1796 he sold the *Ruby* in Amboyna and bought the *Nautilus* with which he traded around the South Seas and made one sealing excursion. The *Nautilus* voyage ended at Macao on August 18, 1799.

Following an excellent introduction are three sections devoted to Bishop's journal of *Ruby*'s voyage from Bristol to the Sandwich Islands. Section IV contains "Memoranda concerning *Ruby* Voyage," and Section V, "Memoranda concerning *Nautilus* Voyage." Unfortunately there is no journal of the *Ruby* beyond the Sandwich Islands or of the *Nautilus* voyage.

Bishop's descriptions are good, and the publication of his well-edited papers is one more important contribution to the history of the Pacific-China trade and of the Northwest coast and Australia.

Peabody Museum of Salem ERNEST S. DODGE

SCOTLAND AND AUSTRALIA, 1788–1850: EMIGRATION, COMMERCE AND INVESTMENT. By *David S. Macmillan.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xviii, 434. $12.00.)

BRITAIN AND AUSTRALIA, 1831–1855: A STUDY IN IMPERIAL RELATIONS AND CROWN LANDS ADMINISTRATION. By *Peter Burroughs.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 419. $13.45.)

HERE are two very different books about the early development of Australia. One is a study of private effort—Scottish settlement, investment, and enterprise in a distant corner of the British Empire. Though the theme of Scottish interests overseas is well known (in Newfoundland and the Maritime Provinces of Canada, in the tobacco trade of the southern colonies in the eighteenth century, in the colonization of Otago in New Zealand, and in Aberdeen investments in midwestern banking and railroad enterprises, to cite just a few examples), this is the first attempt at a full-scale analysis of the Scottish role in Australia. If the theme is old, David Macmillan gives it fresh life by the imaginative and thorough way in which he has tackled it and by the richness of the data he has spread before us. The second book is a study of public policy in an area of traditional interest to historians of the British Empire—the theory and practice of crown lands administration. Dr. Burroughs justifies another look at this old topic on the grounds that a generation of scholarship since the publication of the studies of R. C. Mills and S. H. Roberts requires a new synthesis.

The Macmillan study is divided into two parts. The first deals with the period from 1780 to 1832 and treats successively the Scottish background, Scottish attitudes and emigration to Australia, and the activities of the Australian Company of Edinburgh and Leith. Part II examines conditions in Scotland between 1832 and 1850, Scottish attitudes toward Australia, and the activities of the Aberdeen Australian companies. There are illustrations, a map, appendixes, and two extended notes. All of this adds up to a first-rate book, one that makes distinct contributions to the literature of both Scottish and Australian history. The analysis of Scottish business forms and the interrelationships between investors and managers is unusually good. Less satisfactory, perhaps, is the treatment of Scottish emigrants in Australia where, to be sure, the data are much more difficult to control.

Burroughs' complete reworking from original sources of a traditional topic is an excellent piece of revisionist history. He sets out to examine "the interplay between the demands of British policy and the response of colonial con-

ditions," and to assess "the influence exerted by Wakefield's theory of systematic colonization on imperial land policies." Western and South Australia, Van Diemen's Land, and especially New South Wales are the chief focuses for the elaboration of these themes. In the end, Burroughs comes back to a traditional position that "Colonial conditions were bound to triumph over imperial policy, however enlightened," but along the way he provides subtle and generally plausible corrections to the interpretations offered by such figures as Paul Knaplund, W. P. Morrell, June Philipp, Mills, Roberts, and others.

University of Illinois, Chicago Circle PETER J. COLEMAN

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND PARTY POLITICS IN BRITAIN, 1866–1914. By *Constance Rover*. [Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 240. $6.75.)

THE FIGHTING PANKHURSTS: A STUDY IN TENACITY. By *David Mitchell*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. 352. $7.95.)

DR. Rover's book is a carefully documented study of how women won the vote in Great Britain, the nature of the obstacles that blocked them from 1866 to 1918, and why it took so long. The main reasons she believes to have been partisan politics, the lack of strong conviction among many M.P.'s nominally supporters of the women's cause, and the decision of both major parties to treat it as an "open" question, "thus depriving it of the official support (or opposition) of either party." Consequently women's suffrage had no committed ally and no visible enemy. Another result of this policy was to deny its supporters the availability of "government time" in the House of Commons, and leave private members' bills as the only means of bringing the issue before the House. Support was further diluted by the conflict between universal male suffrage, which did not become a fact in Britain until after the First World War, and votes for women. Advocates of one cause did not necessarily favor the other, and their inclusion in one bill invariably weakened both.

Women had two real opportunities to win some form of enfranchisement prior to the passage of the Representation of the People Act, which gave the vote to most women over thirty in 1918. The first came as early as 1884, in an amendment to the Reform Bill of a Liberal government headed by Gladstone. There had been gradual emancipation of women in many areas, opposition had not yet hardened in the House of Lords, and the issue was enfranchisement of a mere hundred thousand women property holders. This would have constituted an admirable pilot plan, which would have allayed fears of a major constitutional change, and provided an entering wedge for broader enfranchisement later. The opportunity was lost because of Gladstone's opposition. Another came in 1910–1911, again under a Liberal government, and was also lost because of the Prime Minister's opposition; the conciliation bill went down to defeat because the Asquith government broke its pledge to the women; because the Irish Nationalists, fearing Asquith's resignation if it passed, also deserted it; and because Labour M.P.'s were absent because of unrest in the industrial areas.

The militant suffragettes achieved wide publicity and won some new support in the early years of their campaign, Rover thinks, but lost public sympathy

and some parliamentary votes in 1912, when they were going in for arson as well as hunger and thirst strikes. Nevertheless, she is chary of blaming them; it would have been less than human if some women had not resorted to violence in view of the shabby treatment accorded their cause by political leaders. The war, by hastening social changes already under way, made women's suffrage inevitable, not only due to *noblesse oblige* but because renewed demonstrations against and consequent imprisonment of women who had supported the war effort were unthinkable from any angle.

The author has presented her material in a series of parallel studies, dealing with arguments pro and con, tactics, developments in the political parties, and parliamentary maneuvers. The result is a highly informative work, based on solid research, in an area hitherto neglected by serious scholars, but it is not a book for the casual reader.

By contrast Mr. Mitchell's book deals largely with the flamboyant personalities of the militant suffragist clan who might well be called the "incredible Pankhursts." Only the first fifty pages are devoted to the campaign for votes for women, since the Pankhursts never returned to it after the war. Instead they spread themselves around the globe in a variety of causes. All four women—Emmeline, Christabel, Sylvia, and Adela—were gifted, indefatigable, and highly emotional. Their emotionalism has carried over to Mitchell's account, which is often purple in style and sometimes tasteless. Because the Pankhursts' lives were so scattered and far-ranging, his book is diffuse, and the background sketches of conditions in Great Britain, the USA, Canada, Australia, and Ethiopia necessarily somewhat sketchy. He has drawn on private papers and personal interviews as well as secondary sources, but the absence of any reference notes or documentation makes his book suggestive rather than scholarly.

Northampton, Massachusetts ELEANOR FLEXNER

SPLENDID ISOLATION: A STUDY OF IDEAS CONCERNING BRITAIN'S INTERNATIONAL POSITION AND FOREIGN POLICY DURING THE LATER YEARS OF THE THIRD MARQUIS OF SALISBURY. By *Christopher Howard.* (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 120. $6.00.)

MR. Howard has approached a historical problem by way of a semantic inquiry. He shows how isolation was something peculiar to Britain's position in the period 1894–1896, and how this was used to pressure that country into joining the Triple Alliance. "Splendid" isolation was, however, a Canadian invention, and it was picked up by the imperialist school in Britain with the underlying idea that in time of crisis, colonial loyalties could always be relied upon. Howard next inquires to what extent "isolation" was a consciously practiced British policy and what were its limitations. He shows by how many treaties Britain was in fact pledged to action, but how these obligations were held by Salisbury in his later period to be conditioned by circumstances and by Britain's constitutional inhibitions. He shows how little importance was attached, for instance, to the "scrap of paper" that was to play so great a role in 1914. On the other hand the needs of the South African situation led even in Salisbury's time to a renewal of the guar-

antee to Portugal and its colonies. It was indeed permanent combinations of Great Powers from which Britain stood isolated, and though this was imperfectly appreciated at the time, even this principle was breached by the Anglo-Japanese alliance.

Howard has drawn on a wide variety of sources, British and foreign, to document his points, and although his conclusions are not startling, his little book will make it harder for people idly to credit British policy with a traditional isolation from all Europe's affairs, for which there is little warrant.

All Souls College, Oxford MAX BELOFF

PHILIP SNOWDEN. By *Colin Cross*. (London: Barrie and Rockliff. 1966. Pp. x, 356. 50*s*.)

ALTHOUGH he may have been looked upon as "our Philip" by many loyal members of the Independent Labour party and then of the infant Labour party, Philip Snowden was clearly a difficult, often tortured, certainly complex minor politician in the history of twentieth-century British public life. For the Labour party, he was one of the courageous early pioneers, but it is not easy to escape the judgment that, despite his years of service as Chancellor of the Exchequer in Labour and National governments and a final, bitter translation to the House of Lords, the times had begun to pass him by even as he moved into high office. Temperance and free trade were so characteristically the key issues of his youth that somehow his insistence upon their overriding importance (to say nothing of the gold standard) in the 1920's and 1930's sharply revealed the fact that, unlike a Ramsay MacDonald or for that matter an Arthur Henderson, he showed little capacity for political and social growth after he had reached his middle years.

Some of this comes out in Colin Cross's rather thin, indeed almost cursory, account of Snowden's life. The best parts of the book, I think, are those dealing with the young Yorkshireman's upbringing and first political experiences. Cross's discussion of Snowden's later political career suffers from the same faults most observers have noted in his previous works. He presents a clear, almost terse, account of what happened, where it happened, and under what circumstances. But rarely does he probe very deeply, and seldom does he really give us much insight into the whys of Snowden's career. There is some effort, to be sure, to assess the role of Snowden's physical handicap in determining his personality, but whether it is on Snowden's attitude toward the First World War or on his behavior during the breakup of the Labour government in 1931 or on his envenomed relationship with Ramsay MacDonald, the author manages to tell us the story without producing very much more in the way of fresh perceptions than one can deduce from Snowden's own flawed autobiography, the early memoirs of a Hugh Dalton, or even such standard secondary works as Charles Mowat's *Britain between the Wars*. I do not mean to say that the book has no value. It is a useful enough sketch, but only a sketch, of a complicated man who suffered from many tribulations, not the least of which was a wife who, despite her fierce loyalty to her husband and her own active political concerns, must surely have been one of the greatest handicaps any Labour leader of his time had to bear. But we must still wait for a longer, more reflective, and more revealing

biography of Snowden, as we still wait, it may be gratuitously remarked, for Marquand's long-promised biography in depth of MacDonald.

Rutgers University HRW

DOCUMENTS ON BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1919–1939. First Series, Volume XV, INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AND CONVERSATIONS, 1921. Edited by *Rohan Butler et al.* (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Service, New York. 1967. Pp. xxxi, 835. $19.00 postpaid.)

STUDENTS and scholars interested in the diplomacy of the period following the end of World War I have long appreciated the value of this series of British documents, which first began to appear in 1947. This latest volume comprises "minutes of international conferences and conversations on high policy" held during 1921. The major meetings covered are the Second and Third Conferences of Paris and the Third and Fourth Conferences of London. Also records of four other meetings are included, making a grand total of 117 entries. Use of this material is greatly facilitated by "Chapter Summaries" which list the topics covered in each discussion session.

The year 1921 was hardly one of decision, much less of diplomatic accomplishments. Rather, it was one of frustrations and of deepening difficulties. The problems to be faced were already very much in evidence at the beginning of the year and, in spite of four major conferences, little progress was made in solving them. German reparations and disarmament were probably first in importance and urgency, followed by the dispute between Greece and Turkey involving the whole question of the Treaty of Sèvres. Then came the question of a settlement in Upper Silesia and a whole spate of economic problems, especially those of Austria and Russia.

Scholars pursuing specific research projects related to these matters will of course want to follow the course of negotiations throughout the year covered by this volume. For persons of more general interests perhaps the most significant developments documented here are the growing divergence of French and British policies, especially toward Germany but also discernible in other areas, and Europe's reaction to the increasing diplomatic isolation of the United States.

Outwardly Britain and France remained friendly, but the differences between them were becoming acute. At one point Lloyd George was moved to warn Briand that Britain would only support French demands concerning Germany as long as they were "practicable," and at the end of the year he rejected Briand's proposal for an Anglo-French treaty of alliance that was to have been broader than the abortive treaty of 1919. His grounds were that the British people were not ready for such an extensive involvement in Europe.

As to the position of the United States, which had a representative at only one of the year's conferences, there was a curious ambivalence. At one point during a discussion about communicating to Washington the decisions being made, Lloyd George remarked that "He did not know whether the United States of America was a neutral, an ally or a belligerent." Whereupon Briand replied "half and half." And another time Briand said that, while he desired American approval of the policy toward Germany, he thought France and Britain should

design the policy so that the United States would not have to step in and take a preponderant part in Europe. Prophetic words indeed!

Southern Methodist University H. Russell Williams

THE MERCHANT BANKING ARENA: WITH CASE-STUDIES. By *Richard Kellett.* (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 182. $6.00.)

Historians usually associate the merchant bank with the development of international trade and with such famous banking families as the Barings and the Rothschilds. Today in London, a half-dozen merchant banks fit this image; they have been in existence for over 150 years. But in the present-day context merchant banks of any sort represent only a small fraction of banking activity. Perhaps the surprising thing is that this "peculiarly British institution" has survived at all and that in recent years it has acquired new vigor. The activities of the merchant banks in the last two decades are the main concern of Richard Kellett's book. The central theme that emerges is the reorientation of these banks as they adapted to the needs of modern industry. Until 1914 the banks stuck closely to their traditional role of financing international commerce. After World War I they concentrated on international lending, with heavy emphasis on loans to foreign governments. The disruption of the world economy after 1929 severely curtailed all international financial operations, and the merchant banks found little opportunity to compensate for this loss by shifting their attention to the home market. This pre-World War II decline was reversed during the economic expansion of the 1950's and 1960's. During this recent revival of activity, several important changes have taken place in the merchant banking sphere. The banks no longer depend so heavily on international commercial ventures and have become more involved in the financing of domestic industry. They now render more and more of the services of investment banks and assist their industrial clients in mergers and acquisitions. Another important change has been the relative decline of the family partnership, that traditional symbol of financial responsibility and discretion. The incorporated merchant bank has become increasingly important. Closely associated with this new form of organization are an influx of new managerial talent, an emphasis on new ideas, and a display of aggressiveness.

Kellett describes these changes in very knowledgeable fashion. He has drawn on the scholarly literature, public documents, and bank reports, and his treatment also reflects a firsthand knowledge of the industry. The book also has the unfortunate defects that often accompany close contact with a subject: the author tends to elaborate on details without much attention to the broader historical and economic setting. Consequently, the book is of limited value to either historians or economists. Students with a special interest in financial intermediaries may find it more relevant. They can find out who is who among merchant bankers. They will even discover in which banks bowler hats are still in style. They can learn something about what these banks do, even though they will not find any analysis of decision-making processes. The style and content of the book reflect the author's experience as a financial columnist.

Rice University Gaston V. Rimlinger

GUIDE TO IRISH QUAKER RECORDS, 1654–1860. By *Olive C. Goodbody.* With a contribution on Northern Ireland records by *B. G. Hutton.* [Coimisiún Láimhscríbhinní na hÉireann.] (Dublin: Stationery Office for the Irish Manuscripts Commission. 1967. Pp. 237. $8.50.)

FROM the mid-seventeenth century the Quakers played an important role in the economic, social, and intellectual life of Ireland. They engaged in almost every type of business, attempted to develop industries that might provide employment for the poor, and maintained a system of poor relief that aided both members and nonmembers. The Friends suffered much for liberty of conscience. They not only kept a record of their sufferings; they also sought to limit penalties by forming committees to scrutinize the Irish Parliament and to influence legislation. After the union, they participated in early nineteenth-century reform, especially in the antislavery movement. From the beginning, the Friends took an active interest in education and established a number of schools in Ireland. Ballintore, where Edmund Burke was educated, was closely connected with the Society, although not under its supervision.

The Friends paid careful attention to detail and maintained records of their yearly, half-yearly, provincial, and monthly meetings, of their committees for the care of the poor, of the certificates indicating unity and disunity. These records for the republic of Ireland are preserved at the meetinghouse in Dublin; the remainder are in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland. Both places also possess family letters and other manuscripts.

This volume is an account of the records available in the archives and a summary of the content of some five thousand letters and of twenty-four diaries deposited in Dublin. It includes also abstracts of wills, of deeds, and other documents, and a list of names in Irish Quaker registers. There are an excellent introduction and a useful index.

The *Guide* is most valuable to those planning to consult the archives in Ireland. It also provides a general picture of the period and facilitates research in numerous topics. The letters present the reaction of the Friends to the world in which they lived and to the intellectual divisions within the Society. Frequently, prices for food and clothing are given. The manuscripts are available, and it is possible, using the *Guide,* to request, for instance, the letters in which Brisbane commented on New South Wales before and after he became its governor.

San Jose State College MARY D. CONDON

THE AGE OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT: STUDIES PRESENTED TO THEODORE BESTERMAN. Edited by *W. H. Barber et al.* [St Andrews University Publications, Number 57.] (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd for the University Court of the University of St Andrews. 1967. Pp. xii, 468. 63*s.*)

THE *Festschrift* is traditionally a tribute that scholars pay to another scholar always with admiration and frequently with personal affection. In this instance the tribute is addressed to the fabulous Theodore Besterman who, by a long-sustained explosion of scholarly energy, especially in his studies of Voltaire, richly deserves the wreath offered him. Obviously, to itemize individual contributions

within available space limits is not possible; nor is it desirable. The relevant question to ask is whether the volume as a whole is held together by a central theme elaborated in its different facets.

If the title itself implies that such is the case, the reading of the essays belies the implication. The great majority of the articles, in their own right both learned and valuable, are essays by specialists for other specialists. They have a tangential relationship to the deeper substance of the *siècle des lumières*. Yet that substance and the scope of the Enlightenment are presented in an admirable synthesizing study, "The Age of the Enlightenment," by Robert Niklaus. Though it might well have served as the central core of the entire collection, the possibility, in my judgment, has not been utilized.

Briefly, what Niklaus does, by combining a bibliographical survey of recent studies with a programmatic statement of what it would be desirable for future works to deal with, is to restore to the Age of the Enlightenment the unity that it intrinsically possesses and also to emphasize by cogent illustrations its inner relationships, relationships that the philosophes, for all their divergences, were united in understanding. His point of departure is the reality of a parallel between the concerns of the earlier age and our contemporary preoccupations. Some earlier and exceedingly valuable studies have already focused on that theme, but not enough. After surveying critically what has been done, among others by Crocker, Mauzi, and Proust whom he singles out, he suggests the range of inquiries that should be made. These would include investigations of the precursors of the *Encyclopédie* and its contributors and, above all, of the basic interests and extraordinary diversities of the *Encyclopédie* itself. In conclusion he maintains that such studies would bring about a fuller recognition than now exists that "philosophy, the philosophical and critical spirit, can no longer be separated from science, history, jurisprudence and politics, nor confined to the realm of abstract speculation."

Perhaps he overstates the case, but even so, his point is well taken. It is in that vein that Robert Schackleton's article on the Encyclopedists and Freemasonry and Arthur Wilson's graceful and urbane essay on the concept of *mœurs* in Diderot's social and political thought were written. Also along that line of suggestion is Roland Mortier's lucid discussion of Voltaire and *le peuple*, interesting and suggestive if not entirely acceptable in its conclusions. Niklaus' desire for the attainment of a new view by cutting across divisions established by genres and disciplines is vigorously served by Peter Gay on medicine and the Enlightenment; he maintains that "medicine was not merely the target of the philosophers' scorn and the centre of their pessimism, it was also the object of their admiration and the ground of their hopes."

New York University LEO GERSHOY

THE EARLY ROUSSEAU. By *Mario Einaudi*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 294. $7.95.)

STUDENTS of Rousseau's thought used to make much of a supposed sharp contrast between the early Rousseau of the two *Discourses* and the later Rousseau of the *Social Contract*, but the current trend is to emphasize the essential unity in

Rousseau's philosophy. Professor Einaudi, who is in agreement with this general thesis, makes a useful contribution to the subject here. He recognizes the contrast between a denunciation of the *status quo* to be found in the *Discourses* and the principles of an ideal society as outlined in the *Social Contract,* and he sees that the inevitable tension between these two approaches is to be found in the same work, for example in the *Discourse on Inequality.* Yet underlying it all are the unifying moral principles that are the premises for both the analysis and the prescription.

The book covers the period from 1736 to 1756, with emphasis on the several years immediately following the decision in 1749 to write the famous first *Discourse.* The author's stated purpose is "to show how much of decisive importance Rousseau had said in the course of these twenty years, how indeed most of what he was to say later in his major works is to be found in this early period of vigorous polemics and creative thinking." A preliminary chapter outlines the contemporary setting and climate of opinion against which Rousseau was to react. Successive chapters then trace the development of his own distinctive analysis of his society, which he had begun to formulate, Einaudi points out, long before the decision in 1749 to answer as he did the question posed by the Academy of Dijon. Much of the book is devoted to a précis of the writings with commentary, and there is at times too much citation of other writers. Yet such a summary of the early writings, some of which are scarcely known, and such a review of recent research have value.

For Einaudi, Rousseau's ideas are "astonishingly relevant to twentieth-century problems." He finds particularly significant the ideas concerning those problems that the economic institutions of men have created. Rousseau is seen as being haunted throughout his career by the theme of poverty and wealth, by the decisive contrast between the poor and the rich. I find it hard to share the author's preoccupation with this aspect of Rousseau's thought. The Rousseauan analysis is compared with the Marxian, and on several occasions it was difficult to distinguish which was being discussed. But the concluding paragraph wisely contrasts Marx and Rousseau on the crucial issue of man's responsibility and freedom of choice.

University of Arkansas GORDON H. MCNEIL

TWO BROTHERS IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: ROBERT AND THOMAS LINDET. By *Huntley Dupre.* ([Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books. 1967. Pp. xi, 174. $6.75.)

THIS is the second volume by Dupre on a prominent figure during the Terror. The first was a biography of Carnot, who, with Robert Lindet, was more responsible for the victory of the revolutionary army in 1794 than any other member of the Committee of Public Safety. This volume, like the former, leans heavily on French published sources, especially the works of Amand Montier, published in 1899. It is less a contribution of new research than a skillful weaving of the narrative of the French Revolution, embodying some of the recent interpretations, with the careers of the two brothers, Thomas, a member of the clergy, and Robert, layman and member of Robespierre's Committee of Public Safety.

The biographical information on Thomas is newer than that on Robert, but the volume will be useful particularly to students of the Revolution who do not read French. To me, the author relies too much on what the brothers say or write each other, and particularly on the various pamphlets of self-defense written by Robert during the Thermidorian reaction, without sufficient consultation of contrary sources.

I miss a bibliography. One can learn the printed sources from footnotes, but almost no manuscript materials are cited. Are there no papers in departmental archives? What has become of the collection of papers loaned to Montier when he was writing his volumes? Would the unpublished parts of Thomas' correspondence have given significant information on some points, especially for the years 1793–1794 since the published correspondence stops with 1792? The delineation of Robert as a conscientious bureaucrat, as incorruptible as Robespierre, explains his career during the Terror and his escape from death after the fall of Robespierre, yet twice the Thermidorians renewed charges against him. Thomas, a juring clergyman, nevertheless retired from an active role during the Terror. The volume leaves room for a more thorough investigation, at least for the years after 1793.

Hunter College BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

BAYEUX IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: A SOCIAL STUDY. By *Olwen H. Hufton.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 317. $10.10.)

IN 1789 Bayeux was a town of ten thousand souls. Its economy depended on the service of a bishopric and other ecclesiastical institutions, income from land and office, and the declining activities of certain jurisdictions, all of which was inadequate: 30 per cent of the population lived a marginal existence, and 18 per cent were destitute and depended on ecclesiastical charity. In short, this was a precapitalist community with excessive population and nearly insoluble social problems.

Revolutionary reforms ruined whatever was viable in this situation. The Church was eliminated as a source of employment, charity, and spending. Bourgeois who leased ecclesiastical seigneuries and tithes and managed Church properties lost these sources of revenue. The law courts were reduced to a district tribunal. Owners of venal offices were inadequately compensated for their *charges.* Although nobles, *laboureurs,* and a few tradesmen bought Church properties, the mass of the inhabitants found in the Revolution a painful shrinkage of wealth and income. The poor suffered because the ecclesiastical welfare system was dismantled, and the impoverished new regime was unable to replace it. Bad harvests during the revolutionary years and the peasants' reluctance to sell produce for assignats made the subsistence problem chronic and often desperate. During the Year II peasants were terrorized by municipal commissioners and troops requisitioning grain, and under the Directory they were victimized by Chouans and brigands. By 1799 it would have been hard to find at Bayeux anyone who was grateful for the Revolution because the memory of it was identified with continuous misery and disaster. The main revolutionary issue was the civil con-

stitution of the clergy. This was settled under the Consulate, to the general satisfaction of the nonjuring clergy.

To summarize this book, even so inadequately, is to establish its importance. It is an excellent study of the Revolution in microcosm. Although Bayeux was not a "typical" town, it resembled, on a small scale, the Angers that John McManners has studied in his *French Ecclesiastical Society under the Ancien Régime* (1960), and it is profitable to read Hufton's and McManners' books at the same time. One thing that Hufton's study shows is that we need to know much more about property in office and the sociology of the law courts. Also apparent is the difficulty, for lack of documentation, of studying what happened outside the towns. On the whole, however, Hufton's work, grounded firmly in local and national archival sources and the multitudinous literature of French local history, is a first-rate contribution that deserves to be read carefully by anyone interested in what the Revolution, aside from its principles and pretensions, meant to people who had to live through it.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill GEORGE V. TAYLOR

THE ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC: THE PLACE OF THE MILITARY IN THE POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF FRANCE, 1871–1914. By *David B. Ralston.* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1967. Pp. xiii, 395. $12.50.)

THE author based this detailed and informative study on his doctoral dissertation of 1964. It analyzes the protracted efforts to rehabilitate the French Army after the debacle of 1870. "Parliament was an inefficient instrument for effecting military reforms, yet the creed of a good republican demanded that all important questions be treated by the sovereign legislature." Ralston emphasizes the loyalty and circumspection of the French Army officers. They shunned politics, achieved an entente with the politicians, and never, he maintains, constituted a threat to the government of the Third Republic. The military leaders did believe, however, that an army ought to have "effective autonomy" in the management of its own affairs. They were moving toward this goal when the Dreyfus case shook public faith in the high command, and a decade passed before they recovered the lost ground. Then, as war clouds darkened, the civil-military balance tilted, and the politicians yielded. By 1912 General Joffre, as commander in chief, "had a greater degree of control over the functioning of the French army than any general since Bonaparte."

Professor Ralston writes a lucid, dispassionate, almost phlegmatic prose and confines himself strictly to the implications of his title. No attention is given, for instance, to naval affairs or diplomacy. The long struggle of the French high command for autonomy is brought to an arbitrary, not a historical culmination in 1912, with the legislators yielding control of the army to the generals. Ralston dismisses this unconstitutional abdication as "regrettable, but probably, under the circumstances, unavoidable." He fails to add that, during World War I, the civilian government reasserted its authority over the army and maintained that authority until victory. Jere Clemens King reconstructed this denouement in

Generals and Politicians, 1914–1918, a logical and chronological sequel to the present study.

Ralston's assiduous research in the library of the Ministry of War and the *Service historique de l'Armée* provided most of his documentation; four-fifths of his extensive bibliography is in French and the remainder in English or English translation. Long immersion in military memoirs deepened his understanding of "institutional" loyalty. Conceding, for instance, that "Mercier, Boisdeffre, Gonse, Billot, *et al.*," were "inhumane" toward Dreyfus, he adds the realistic extenuation that "Any social institution must on occasion require its faithful servants to act in this way, or it cannot function."

Ithaca, New York GEOFFREY BRUUN

THE SECOND RALLIEMENT: THE RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE IN FRANCE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By *Harry W. Paul.* (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 234. $8.50.)

A GENUINE rapprochement between Church and state in modern France required not only the maintenance of correct relations between the French government and the Vatican, but also a genuine acceptance by Catholics of the French Republic. It was often in the interests of governments of the Third Republic and the Holy See to establish a working relationship, but such a relationship was difficult to achieve because of the mutually hostile attitudes of French Catholics and Republicans. The first *Ralliement*, which occurred in the 1890's, failed because of this fundamental antagonism.

Harry Paul contends that a second *Ralliement* took place in the twentieth century under the auspices of Benedict XV and Pius XI. Between roughly 1918 and 1929 the Vatican and the French government were able to resolve a number of thorny Church-state problems. Diplomatic relations between Paris and the papacy were resumed in 1921, and the formation of diocesan associations in 1926 gave the Catholic hierarchy effective control over Church property in France. The resolution of these and other problems was due to both Popes' relatively friendly attitude toward the republic and to the declining influence of anticlericalism as a political force in France. This second *Ralliement* culminated in Pius XI's condemnation of the *Action Française* in 1926, which made it difficult for Catholics to continue overt anti-Republican activities.

Paul's thesis is not convincing. He does establish the fact that relations between France and the Vatican improved during the interwar period. The most rewarding feature of his book is the account of the intricate negotiations leading up to the renewal of diplomatic relations and the formation of the diocesan associations. But does this constitute a *ralliement?* The author does not discuss the Christian Democratic movement or Catholic response to economic and social questions; nor does he undertake to show the extent to which French Catholics as a whole were affected by the *Action Française*. He states emphatically that "the rechristianization of the middle classes" reached a peak in the 1920's without saying what effect this significant development had on French society and politics. The establishment of a working relationship between Paris and the

Vatican may have been a prelude to a second *Ralliement,* but such a movement culminating in a genuine rapprochement between Church and state would only take place when the vast majority of French Catholics had become Republican and democratic. The extent to which Catholics truly rallied to the republic is a subject the author virtually ignores.

University of Virginia ALEXANDER SEDGWICK

ERNEST MERCIER: FRENCH TECHNOCRAT. By *Richard F. Kuisel.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. x, 184. $5.75.)

ERNEST Mercier was undoubtedly important enough to merit a biography; he was active in the French economy as well as in politics. Kuisel sees him as atypical among French business leaders during the interwar years; he was a "perfect technocrat" restlessly seeking technical innovation, efficiency, and greater productivity. Under his able management, the Messine Group made France one of the major producers of electrical energy. He was also instrumental in the growth of the petroleum-refining industry there. In these economic fields he was a pioneer, and Kuisel observes that there is continuity between Mercier the technocrat of the 1920's and 1930's and the new managers of the 1950's. Given Kuisel's emphasis on this important role, one must wonder why he devotes so little space to his subject's business career, only 37 pages out of 161. This lack is unfortunate because Kuisel had access to the Mercier papers and to the recollections of several associates who consented to interviews. As a technocrat, Mercier was highly successful; certainly his innovations and activity deserve more careful attention.

Kuisel is chiefly interested in Mercier's political activities, but unduly emphasizes them; they were not successful and apparently left no trace or influence. In politics, Mercier, albeit controversial and an open target for Left-wing rhetoric, was a marginal character. Kuisel recognizes this failure. Nonetheless he feels that Mercier's activities deserve study, apparently because Mercier was a typically European technocrat who not only wanted technicians in high government office but also sought to change the values of society. Therefore the technocrat founded a movement called the "Redressement Français." It failed, Kuisel argues, because Mercier was politically naïve, sought to use it merely as a pressure group, and did not give it compelling power by winning mass support. The technocrat was certainly an antiparliamentarian and a fervent patriot. Although there was a trace of fascism in him, he was too individualistic to become a true fascist. On this point Kuisel might have investigated Mercier's Protestant background which might account for several deviations from the norm of Right-wing politics: his desire for an alliance with the Soviet Union, his refusal to collaborate with the Germans, and his eventual entry into the resistance. Relying on new and important sources, Kuisel ably banishes such myths used by the extreme Left to attack Mercier as that he was secretly supported by the Rothschilds and that he was a collaborator during the war.

Kuisel is sympathetic toward his subject. His is not, however, an official biography, and he is far more favorable toward the technocrat as business manager than toward him as *politique* and *moraliste.* He warns his readers against the

authoritarian elements of European technocracy and the "Redressement Français." Mercier went beyond verbal and legal attacks on the government when he encouraged De La Rocque's veterans on February 6, 1934, and, his individualism notwithstanding, he desired a stronger government to bring about a renaissance in France. All in all, the book is well balanced in its evaluations. It is an important contribution to recent French political history.

State University of New York, Buffalo LEO A. LOUBÈRE

VALLADOLID AU SIÈCLE D'OR: UNE VILLE DE CASTILLE ET SA CAMPAGNE AU XVI^e SIÈCLE. By *Bartolomé Bennassar.* [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI^e Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Civilisations et sociétés, Number 4.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1967. Pp. 634. 79 fr.)

THIS substantial, ably executed study of the sixteenth-century city that preceded Madrid as the capital of imperial Spain combines thorough archival investigation at Valladolid, nearby Simancas, and Madrid with a skillful application of the sophisticated analytical techniques of the contemporary French historical school to Castilian social and economic problematics. No other Iberian town of the period has received such lavish statistical dissection, and since the author likewise gives due attention to the surrounding countryside and its relations with the city, the book is a landmark in Spanish rural as well as urban historiography.

After relating Valladolid to the distinctive geography, ecology, and highway network of the Old Castilian Plain, Bennassar examines the provisioning of the city (with a population, in its peak years of 1540–1560, reaching 60,000–65,000), the effects of the presence of the *Real Chancillería* and the court, and the changing layout of streets and buildings. There follows a long quantitative and qualitative analysis of the components of, and cyclical and long-term fluctuations of, the population, a valuable contribution in itself to the understanding of Spanish demography under the Habsburgs.

The whole middle portion of the volume deals masterfully with economic developments, commencing outside the city with changes in cereal agriculture and viticulture and with the functioning of land mortgages (*censos*) in the rural-urban nexus. We are then given excellent treatments of such central topics as the tradition hampered organization and technology of Valladolid's industry; the highly unstable price and wage structure; the nature of the labor force; the financial system; and the mid-century debasement of the *censo* into a parasitic *rente,* with disastrous consequences for the peasantry. Here and elsewhere, the author explores factors underlying the persistent subordination of the city's businessmen to nobles and bureaucrats, factors characterizing the failure of the Spanish middle class to make significant progress in the early modern period.

The book's final section, on social and cultural aspects, concentrates on traditionalism and exclusivism in noble families, guilds, the professions, and the Church; the starkly contrasting lives of upper and lower classes; the results of a pervasive aristocratic psychology and style of life that emphasized display, entertainment, honor, and the dominance of the immediate present over rational,

bourgeois planning for the future. Less satisfactory, no doubt because of the inevitable limitations of the statistical approach, is the lack of treatment of clerical and monastic life, *Observancia* spirituality, the reformist and intellectual activities of such nationally significant centers as San Benito and San Gregorio, and the cultural role of Conversos and Alumbrados.

This is an important book. With its abundant new data and insights, its statistical tables, graphs, maps, and bibliography, it ranks at once among the major new studies that are contributing so richly to the long-overdue revisionist appraisal of the dynamics of the Spanish *Siglo de Oro*.

University of Virginia C. J. Bishko

LA POBLACIÓN ESPAÑOLA (SIGLOS XVI–XX). By *Jorge Nadal*. (Barcelona: Ediciones Ariel. 1966. Pp. 223.)

Lack of reliable statistical data on modern Spanish history remains acute, but slow progress is being made in certain areas. This is the first serious, professionally sophisticated study of the question of population in the field. Its author, Jorge Nadal, is professor of economic history at the University of Barcelona and the outstanding demographic historian in Spain. Nadal has heretofore been known primarily for monographic work in Catalan demography and economic problems in the early modern period.

This new general treatment of Spanish population, a work of synthesis, relies upon a great variety of previous studies. It incorporates a wide range of relevant material and discusses social, economic, hygienic, and cultural phenomena that have influenced population trends in Spain since the sixteenth century. Statistically, it is the most reliable reference presently available, and it presents a lucid critique of Spanish censuses, particularly in the earlier part of the modern period. Though it presents no startling new discoveries, its usefulness as a basic demographic guide to modern Spain makes it a welcome addition to the small but slowly growing bibliography of Spanish social and economic history.

University of California, Los Angeles Stanley G. Payne

THREE SPANISH HERETICS AND THE REFORMATION: ANTONIO DEL CORRO—CASSIODORO DE REINA—CYPRIANO DE VALERA. By *Paul J. Hauben*. [Études de philologie et d'histoire, Number 3.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1967. Pp. xvi, 141.)

This small volume deals with religious refugees from Spain who, during the second half of the sixteenth century, wandered through many countries in search of a haven. Mr. Hauben has an interesting topic that has not yet received the attention it deserves. Unfortunately, Hauben lacks certain qualifications to fill a real need. His understanding of religious questions and situations is inadequate. For example, Antonio del Corro joined a Calvinist church in Antwerp as a minister. When asked to condemn the Anabaptists and Schwenckfeldians, he refused to do so. In view of such unorthodox leanings one wonders why Hauben considers Corro at this stage of his career an "Evangelical Calvinist" rather than an "Evangelical Christian," as one of his sources suggests. In 1574, after he had

moved to England, Corro published the *Dialogus Theologicus,* which Hauben states shows a clear shift to Anglicanism. At this time the Puritans in Oxford and other places were engaged in an argument with the Anglicans concerning church structure. This would explain their treatment of Corro whom they charged with popish tendencies. Hauben, however, accuses the Puritans of raising a "false issue." Hauben mistranslates "il [Christ] se donne à nous en sa Sainte Cène" as follows: "He has given us the Eucharist."

Hauben is not meticulous enough with his sources. In 1563 Corro was connected with a Calvinist church in the Béarn, whose guiding spirit was Merlin. The latter wrote to Calvin about the troubles Corro caused them. Hauben attributes to "one of the leading scholars of Spanish Protestantism" (Eduard Böhmer) some judgments that occur in Merlin's letter. Merlin speaks in the same letter about the controversy related to whether Corro was lawfully elected to the clergy in Toulouse. He admits that Corro could claim mitigating circumstances, but adds: "mais elles [les excuses] ne contentent pas du tout." It does not appear that Merlin remained "neutral" as Hauben believes.

Hauben rarely makes full use of his sources. Bèze's long letter to Corro written in the 1560's discusses matters of great interest. Hauben mentions a minor aspect of this letter and fails, here and elsewhere, to substantiate his view sufficiently.

One of Hauben's major sources is an unpublished thesis on Corro of some five hundred pages. Hauben devotes eighty-one pages to him. Part II consists of fifty-six pages, including notes, on Reina, Valera, and Adrian Saravia, who is not Spanish and who is dealt with in an appendix. The bibliography and the index are incomplete, and numerous spelling, printing, and other errors seriously impede the reading.

Trenton State College ELISABETH FEIST HIRSCH

REFORMATSIONNOE DVIZHENIE I KLASSOVAIA BOR'BA V NIDERLANDAKH V PERVOI POLOVINE XVI VEKA [The Reformation Movement and the Class Struggle in the Netherlands in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century]. By *A. N. Chistozvonov.* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1964. Pp. 397.)

THE title of this book is misleading. It is a monograph that deals in meticulous fashion with the radical social and religious uprisings in the Netherlands connected with the Anabaptist movement and coinciding in time, and in concerted effort, Chistozvonov concludes, with the Anabaptist seizure of Münster in 1534 and 1535.

Since Engels' time, Marxian writers have referred fondly to the short-lived, militant Anabaptist groups of the 1530's in Münster and elsewhere as perhaps the earliest popular modern striving for a communistic social order. The author of this study has sought evidence to support this contention by poring through the abundant Dutch archival records of public acts and criminal sentences and using his findings in conjunction with the published literature on the early years of the Dutch Reformation in general and of the Anabaptists in particular. He has shown convincingly that social discord in sundry towns and villages reached mas-

sive proportions during the years in question. He makes a fairly strong case for the argument that depressed urban journeymen were the dominant element in the waves of unrest and that their wrath was directed against the burghers. He is less successful in weaving the several uprisings into a broad social pattern and purpose. He is hard put to find qualities of revolutionary leadership among the rather unsavory Anabaptist "prophets" who spurred their excitable brethren into violent action. Beyond the general outcry against ecclesiastical and secular authority and the occasional call for a sharing of goods, he unearths little to give credence to the Marxian notion that these zealots followed an instinctively communistic ideological bent; on the contrary, the book engenders the cumulative impression that aimless fanaticism prevailed. The net effect is one of brutal but spasmodic riot and ruin.

Before undertaking this study, Chistozvonov wrote several solid little articles on early sixteenth-century Dutch economic and social development. He knows his way with the Dutch language and with Dutch historical sources. It might be well for him in his future endeavors to focus upon problems that are susceptible to systematic treatment and to let the Anabaptists rest.

American Association of University Professors JORDAN E. KURLAND

JOHAN VAN OLDENBARNEVELT: BESCHEIDEN BETREFFENDE ZIJN STAATKUNDIG BELEID EN ZIJN FAMILIE. Volume III, 1614–1620. Edited by *A. J. Veenendaal.* [Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Large Series, Number 121.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1967. Pp. xiv, 714.)

WITH this volume Dr. Veenendaal completes the publication of the sources concerning the political activity and the personal life of Johan van Oldenbarneveldt, who, with William the Silent, founded the independent republic of the United Netherlands. Where the previous volumes by S. P. Haak and Veenendaal extended respectively to 1602 and 1613, the present volume, no less bulky, covers the eventful last four and one-half years of the life of the Advocate of Holland. A supplement includes material for the years from 1580 to 1613, which appeared after the publication of the second volume.

Again we have a masterful example of scholarly editing based on rich learning and yet directed only to utility, never to pedantic display. The documents printed include not only correspondence by and to Oldenbarneveldt, but also a varied assortment of papers connected with his life and death. Many have already been printed in various forms, but a not insignificant number are published for the first time. Although this volume appeared after the third volume of Jan den Tex' masterly biography (1966), it is used, in that work, presumably from proof sheets (Den Tex predates it to 1966). The condemned statesman's last two letters to his family, on the eve and on the morning of his execution, although printed many times before, become, if anything, more moving in this utterly unrhetorical context of a collection of documents.

An elaborate analysis of the contents of this volume would be beside the point here. It will suffice to let Oldenbarneveldt speak for himself in a brief sentence that illustrates the quality of his mind and style. Replying to a query from G. van Boetzelaer, newly named ambassador to France, asking for copies of some

earlier ambassadors' "best, most intelligent, wisest and well written" dispatches to serve as models, Oldenbarneveldt wrote: "Unnecessary; the truth about matters of importance, and in brief, will be accepted as good style." Had the work of the humanist *oratores* been for naught? Hardly, for Oldenbarneveldt's own crisp, precise prose derives from the best of their teaching and practice.

Rutgers University HERBERT H. ROWEN

GESCHIEDENIS VAN DE NEDERLANDSCHE BANK, BESCHREVEN IN OPDRACHT VAN DE DIRECTIE. By *A. M. de Jong.* Volume I, DE NEDERLANDSCHE BANK VAN 1814 TOT 1864. In two parts. With a foreword by *G. Vissering.* Reprint. Volumes II–IV, DE NEDERLANDSCHE BANK VAN 1864 TOT 1914. With a foreword by *M. W. Holtrop.* (Haarlem: Joh. Enschedé en Zonen for the Bank. 1967. Pp. xviii, 530; 536–1249; xv, 637; xiii, 765; xvi, 746.)

FEW have done fuller justice to their economic history than the Dutch. One thinks of that admirable series, the *Economisch-Historisch Jaarboek* and of that proud tradition of *Gedenkboeken* and *Gedenkschriften* in which the Dutch business houses have recorded their activities, often in models of beautiful bookmaking. Mr. de Jong's great work immediately takes its place in the forefront of such studies. It is notable for the solidity of its scholarship, for the wealth of its documentation (two fat volumes of basic records), and for the beauty of its typography.

This extensive study has had a troubled history. Planned but unwritten for the bank's centenary (1914), the work was later assigned to De Jong, a young law graduate of Leiden, who in 1921 joined the staff of the bank where he eventually became secretary and deputy governor. By 1930 he had completed the history to 1864, and it was printed as Volume I, in two parts. Since the work was not commercially published, few copies reached the United States, where it is virtually unknown. Over the years the scholar-banker has continued his researches and has now carried the story to 1914 in three added volumes. The two parts of 1930 have been reprinted without change save for the omission of some illustrations.

If the writing of its history has been troubled, so has the history of the bank itself. When the Dutch regained their freedom in 1813, their economy was in a parlous state. While Belgian industry had gained from widened French markets, Dutch commerce had nearly disappeared, the famous Bank of Amsterdam was collapsing, and Holland as the world's financial center was only a memory. But William of Orange, soon to be King William I, was strong willed and business minded. A strong bank was indispensable for the new kingdom. By decree in March 1814 he created a central joint stock bank with limited but important powers at Amsterdam. It could discount bills of exchange but not other commercial papers; make loans limited to three months on specified securities; control the metallic currency; receive payments from public authorities as the state's fiscal agent; and, alone in the Netherlands, it could issue bank notes. The fears reflected in the charter restrictions and in the choice of cautious management explain in part the slow pace of the bank's growth. Investors knew too well the record of paper money since the 1770's. They were skeptical of the new bank

notes, but conservative management gradually built confidence. The bank's refusal to make advances to the state seemed a guarantee against the fate of the Bank of France in 1814. Indeed, by mid-century the wind blew from another direction. Was not Dutch economic growth retarded by a management that was too cautious, too concerned with its own dividends, too heedless of Dutch business beyond the canals of Amsterdam? The sequel in 1863 was a thorough revamping of the charter, not by decree but by act of Parliament. The bank was now required to open a branch in Rotterdam and at least one agency in every Dutch province. Business boomed, profits were large, and in 1888 Parliament required the bank to make limited advances to the state when needed and to share with it its profits. The trend was unmistakable, the popular voice was sounding louder at the turn of the century, but 1948 was still far off.

Now we want the bank's history from 1914 at least to its nationalization. We can hope that the author will provide it for his knowledge is unequaled, and he can build on his other work, *De wetgeving nopens de Nederlandsche Bank 1814–1958* (1960).

University of Vermont PAUL D. EVANS

LA "FAMINE DU COTON," 1861–1865: EFFETS DE LA GUERRE DE SÉCESSION SUR L'INDUSTRIE COTONNIÈRE GANTOISE. By *Hubert Galle*. [Centre d'Histoire Économique et Sociale.] ([Brussels:] Université Libre de Bruxelles, Institut de Sociologie. 1967. Pp. 166. 300 fr. B.)

AT first glance this monograph appears so limited as to appeal only to highly specialized historians. Such an estimate would be incorrect, for this penetrating study takes on dimensions of greater scope than its title indicates.

After establishing that in the nineteenth century the cotton industry of Ghent was nearly synonymous with that of all Belgium, Galle describes the city's industry prior to the outbreak of the American Civil War. His analysis is based on the extensive use of municipal and national archives. A narrative synchronizes the episodes of the industrial crisis with the fluctuations of the Civil War; well-constructed tables and graphs in the text and appendixes demonstrate the effect of speculation regarding the war on the prices of raw and finished cotton.

It is to the problem of speculation that the greatest space is devoted. The author does not consider sufficient the traditional explanation of the cotton crisis: the lack of raw materials requiring an increase in prices that brought a decline in sales. If shortage of raw cotton initiated the crisis, it was speculation by the manufacturers that caused its intensity. There was considerable overproduction in 1859–1860 leading to a sales problem even before the American conflict could affect the European raw cotton market. During the first stages of the war, cotton buyers were slow to build stocks because they believed imminent southern victory would reopen the blockaded cotton ports. When factory owners did begin buying cotton, they continued to withhold their products, hoping to force the prices for finished goods still higher. Eventually some manufacturers found it necessary to sell just when prices, instead of rising, slid downward because of competition provided by woolens and linens.

Some marginal producers, especially those unable to sell at high prices stocks

of goods manufactured before the war, suffered severely, as did the unemployed. Yet Galle believes the "cotton famine" merely accelerated developments stemming from more basic causes than the American war. Indeed, the sharp increase in the practice of sales to arrive is the only durable result that he wishes to attribute to the crisis, a crisis his fine monograph indicates has hitherto been overrated.

Allegheny College JONATHAN E. HELMREICH

LATVIJAS VĒSTURE, 1914–1920. By *Edgar Anderson.* ([Stockholm:] Daugava. 1967. Pp. 754.)

IN this volume on the making of Latvia, 1914–1920, Edgar Anderson has placed the major emphasis on the political development and the foreign affairs of the Baltic area, but he has tried to give an integrated picture of these six years in an area and of a nationality that had to fight its way to existence. The first seven chapters deal with World War I to the outbreak of the March 1917 revolution in Russia; the next nine chapters bring the story to the outbreak of the German Revolution of November 1918. This is followed by a third section on the struggle for independence.

The first section contains several unusual items. The Russians are shown as taking drastic measures, soon after war broke out, against the Baltic Germans and the Jews. When the German advance broke into Courland and later into the Riga region, the wave of refugees from German rule had a very real effect on the situation in the rapidly growing Russian cities, especially in Moscow. The Russians sent the Latvian military formation to do duty in Russian cities, and in areas generally far from the fighting fronts. The beginnings of national awakening owed much to Latvians in America, and it also found a center from which to work in Switzerland.

In the second period, the new idea of independence was buffeted by a German effort to include the area in Germany or in its sphere of influence and by the attempt to maintain Russia with its prewar boundaries. Within Russia the Latvian military and political organizations were far to the Left, willing to back any movement that would erase the tsarist regime and break with Russification. This helped to explain the fact that the Lettish troops became shock formations for the Bolsheviki. The Soviet government of Latvia was driven out by the German advance in 1918, and yet the movement toward Latvian nationality grew. Allied interest and American intervention greatly influenced this.

Estonia and Lithuania preceded Latvia in proclaiming nationhood, but when Latvia acted it had to withstand three German attempts to continue control over the Baltic area. A Soviet invasion met with some success, then was shattered by a counterattack. Military cooperation with Poland and Lithuania finally gave Latvia boundaries that endured until 1940.

The author has assembled nearly all the material available about the Latvian side of this story, the discussion of Soviet Latvia is new and of the utmost value, and there is also much new material on the Lettish contribution to the Bolshevik revolution and Lenin's cause. He gives for perhaps the first time a connected story of the American, English, and French actions in the Baltic, and the

military reviews of the events in the struggle for independence break new ground in English. He tries to unravel and keep clear the threads of action as between the many groups in Latvia who, between Right and Left, tried to form parties, to organize forces, and to seize the reins of government. He gives a clear explanation of the government that finally emerged, and why it succeeded.

The tone is temperate, the accents historical. Even in the highly charged paragraphs that detail what Latvia suffered during and from the war, there is no anger. The print is clear, the organization logical, and the treatment follows a natural line of development. Looking for defects, one is led to cavil at the many details in some of the sketches. Also, a part of the story of the Latvian Soviets and the Lettish Bolsheviki in Russia cannot be told as the documents are unavailable.

Entire chapters of this work should be translated into a major language in order to add to our understanding of World War I and of the world it brought into being. This land has had brief joys and long sorrows, and the author has shown well how its short existence as an independent nation came about.

University of Southern California FRANCIS J. BOWMAN

REICH UND REFORMATION. By *Stephan Skalweit.* [Propyläen Bibliothek der Geschichte.] (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag. 1967. Pp. 457. DM 35.)

THIS work is essentially a history of Germany from Maximilian to the Peace of Augsburg, but only because the Holy Roman Empire was so largely German. As the title indicates, the theme is the interrelation of the Empire and the Reformation. The political and the religious events are so interwoven, often in alternating chapters, that the history of the Empire seems to have been introduced in order to explain how the Reformation could have happened and the history of the Reformation utilized to show what happened to the Empire. The interplay suggests a game of billiards—your shot, my shot—with every shot conditioned by the preceding and the game moving with dynamic velocity not to a conclusion but to the moment when the players are called away. This is a history written for the educated reader rather than the specialist. There is no documentation as to sources, though obviously the author has at any rate read all of the crucial documents. The views of modern authors are acknowledged by placing their names in parentheses after the references. The bibliography identifies the works in question. The author has acquainted himself with the best of modern scholarship and with the most recent. He refers, for example, to the contention lately advanced by Bizer that Luther's evangelical theology was not matured until 1518, a year after the composition of the ninety-five theses. Again there is mention of the claim of Iserloh that Luther mailed rather than nailed his theses to the door of the church, the point being that he was deferential to authority and sent his protest first to his superior rather than inviting public debate. On such points the author does not commit himself, but makes the reader aware of discussion in progress.

The finest quality of the work is a genuine appreciation of the power of religion in shaping events. The author is thoroughly familiar with the political, social, and economic forces of the age. He recognizes that motives are seldom un-

mixed, but he is also aware that men are willing to renounce power, status, and wealth for the sake of religious conviction. He understands the nature and the grounds of varying convictions: the Catholic orthodoxy of Charles V and Hadrian VI, the piety of Erasmus nurtured by the *Devotio Moderna* and humanism, the evangelical experience of Luther, the activist Biblicism of Zwingli, the Christian primitivism of the Anabaptists. My only complaint at this point is that the descriptions center too much on externals, more on how these people actually behaved, and not sufficiently on their theological and sometimes philosophical presuppositions.

On the political side the author is able to judge a particular enactment in terms of its times. Take, for example, the famous formulation *cuius regio eius religio,* which embodies the spirit of the Peace of Augsburg, though, as the author recognizes, the phrase is not to be found until the beginning of the next century. The expression is usually taken to mean that the ruler can determine what shall be the religion of his territory and then enforce his view upon his subjects. The author properly stresses that in the sixteenth century the principle enunciated was a device for avoiding massacres and mass expulsions. It gave to individuals the right to emigrate without confiscation of property to regions where their own confession was dominant. This was religious pluralism on a territorial basis. Unhappily it applied only to Catholics and Lutherans and did not allow pluralism within a given territory. But at the time this was a marked improvement over the extermination of minorities.

There are minor points at which I might cavil, but that is true of any work. By and large this is an admirable and exciting introduction to one of the great formative periods in the history of the Western world.

Yale University ROLAND H. BAINTON

DIE ARBEITERBEWEGUNG IN DER NATIONALEN BEWEGUNG: DIE DEUTSCHE SOZIALDEMOKRATIE VOR, WÄHREND UND NACH DER REICHSGRÜNDUNG. By *Werner Conze* and *Dieter Groh.* [Industrielle Welt: Schriftenreihe des Arbeitskreises für moderne Sozialgeschichte, Number 6.] (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag. 1966. Pp. 132.)

THIS slim volume has emanated from the Heidelberg Institute for Social and Economic History, a product of Conze's long-standing interest in nationality questions and Groh's concern to back up chronologically his larger study of the German socialists and World War I. It is chiefly a work of synthesis rather than new primary research and makes excellent use of the wealth of monographs on German socialism that have appeared in the last decade.

The authors seek to combat the view that the workers' movement was composed of "vaterlandslosen Gesellen" whose international class loyalties precluded any attachment to the nation. Prior to 1871, they argue, German socialists cooperated with other groups aimed at national unification and constituted an "integral part of the national movement." This held for the earliest journeymen's organizations in the 1830's, through the Revolution of 1848, and down to the Lassalleans and Eisenachers. There was no apparent conflict between international class loyalty and the ardent desire for German nationhood. Most socialists

favored a unification by popular revolution whereby both Prussia and Austria would disappear, their German-speaking parts merged with the rest of the fatherland to form a unitary democratic republic. The creation of Bismarck's *Reich* in 1871 destroyed this vision and divided social democracy profoundly from most of the national movement. The socialists could not embrace a unification that seemed to serve Prussian dynastic interests rather than national-democratic ones, which forcibly included French Alsace-Lorraine while it forcibly excluded German Austria. Germany was indeed united, but it was not *their* Germany. With some justice Bismarck characterized the socialists as *reichsfeindlich*, but *nationsfeindlich* they were not and had never been. The distinction is not generally drawn, but it helps considerably, as the authors conclude, to explain Social Democratic behavior in World War I.

This book is perhaps the most discriminating that has been written on the subject of socialism and nationalism in Germany. One may be amused by the authors' seeming desire to reassure their countrymen that social democracy does indeed belong to the nation. Non-Germans, of course, have known this for a long time. But non-Germans have too often been unable to distinguish the nationalism of Liebknecht and Bebel from that of Treitschke or Ludendorff. By emphasizing that socialist nationalism was distinctive and incompatible with the Bismarckian *Reich*, Conze and Groh have performed a needful service.

University of Pittsburgh RICHARD N. HUNT

GERMANY WITHOUT BISMARCK: THE CRISIS OF GOVERNMENT IN THE SECOND REICH, 1890–1900. By *J. C. G. Röhl*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. 304. $9.00.)

THE constitutional patchwork on which the German Empire was built remained disguised during the first twenty years of its existence. Only after 1890 did the division and irresponsibility of power in the state become apparent. The confusion of incompatible authorities and functions looked like a system of government as long as Bismarck directed the mechanism of government. Once he fell, a vacuum was created that established legal procedure could not fill. The result was a decade of Byzantine machinations between Emperor and ministry, while the nation could only guess that behind the scenes a struggle involving its vital interests was in progress. The intrigues of some twenty men in high position determined the destiny of the most powerful country in Europe. By saving the monarchy from the danger of parliamentary control, Bismarck had established an authoritarian regime that overthrew him and then led crown and people to disaster. The victor in the contest for political control after the dismissal of the Iron Chancellor was the neurotic and calamitous Wilhelm II. The fate of the state came to depend on a man whom Friedrich von Holstein described as "this impulsive and unhappily completely superficial ruler [without] the slightest idea of constitutional law, of political events, of diplomatic history and—of how to deal with people."

J. C. G. Röhl describes this struggle vividly in his scholarly and painstaking monograph. He focuses his attention on the test of strength within the government. What interests him is not public opinion as expressed in newspapers, legis-

latures, and parties, but the secret conflict of a small group of influential men vying for control of the state. He demonstrates, based on extensive archival research, that by the end of the 1890's the Emperor's authority had become unchallengeable and that this authority was used to direct the conduct of government far more than most scholars have believed. Here was a decisive turning point in the history of the German Empire, he feels, for a victory of the ministers might gradually have led to parliamentary rule. Perhaps so. Yet, in the contest of imperial against ministerial authority, the latter could prevail only by enlisting the aid of the political parties. And this it refused to do because the bureaucracy was as opposed to democratic government as the crown. The disastrous reign of Wilhelm II was the nemesis of a philosophy of state that exalted authority over responsibility.

University of Wisconsin THEODORE S. HAMEROW

THE STORY OF FRITZ HABER. By *Morris Goran.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 212. $4.95.)

As the scientist who did more than any other to lead Germany in exploiting its chemical superiority during World War I, Fritz Haber well deserves a book-length biography. His Nobel Prize-winning ammonia synthesis had been perfected after 1906 for peaceful purposes, but before it could make much fertilizer it was turned to the making of explosives. Without it, the Allied blockade barring further imports of Chilean nitrates would have forced the Germans to their knees by mid-1915. Haber's zeal as a research director and later head of the Chemical Warfare Service also helped Germany beat the Allies to the use of poison gas. For Haber this identification with gas warfare proved upsetting. His wife committed suicide when her humanitarian pleas failed to stop him from doing his patriotic duty, and Allied propagandists, by associating poison gas with his name, ruined his postwar reputation. Still, in the 1920's, he was able to continue directing the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physical and Electro-Chemistry, once more pouring out his talents and prestige to help Germany reassert its prewar leadership in chemical teaching, research, and industry. A baptized Jew, Haber was ever driven to demonstrate his primary and complete loyalty to Germany. When the Nazis undercut his assimilationist persuasion and patriotism, he turned Zionist, but died in Switzerland in 1934 before he could reach the Promised Land.

An assertive, multiply creative figure moving among the leading scientific personages of his generation during the most dramatic period of modern German history, Haber provides the biographer with a splendid opportunity for intellectual portraiture and illumination of the contemporary scene. Unfortunately, Professor Goran does neither. Researched with diligence, the book fails as a character study and as a historical synthesis. It is not even a solid, pedestrian chronicle. Haber's scientific contributions are lightly treated and in a near vacuum. The claim that he was "the greatest authority in the world on the relations between scientific research and industry" is not sustained. The opportunity to explore the relationships between German scientists, industry, and government before, during, and after the war is not seized. Goran tries hardest to evoke the

academic and Jewish middle-class milieu that produced Haber, and in places he succeeds, but the over-all effect is one of successive, often pointless, and digressive episodes strung end to end. Poor writing mars the book in numerous spots, and its fine bibliography does not compensate for the lack of footnotes. Despite all this, Goran makes a scholarly contribution. He calls attention to a great biographical opportunity and provides those who would seize it with valuable raw materials.

University of Delaware JOHN J. BEER

WAR, MUTINY AND REVOLUTION IN THE GERMAN NAVY: THE WORLD WAR I DIARY OF SEAMAN RICHARD STUMPF. Edited, translated and with an introduction by *Daniel Horn*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1967. Pp. vi, 442. $10.00.)

MR. Horn has presented a fascinating diary kept by a perceptive and well-read German sailor from July 1914 through November 1918. From Stumpf's vantage point on the battleship *Helgoland* during most of the war, he recorded his impressions of navy life: the toil of keeping ships in a constant state of alert, growing dislike for "gentlemen" officers, speculation about when and against what forces they would sail, and the change from anticipation to listlessness to a breakdown of morale as a result of prolonged inactivity. He followed and recorded German successes and failures in all areas of conflict—the western front, German East Africa, Tsingtao. He pondered the attitudes of various statesmen and was particularly apprehensive of President Wilson's notes. And he noted the increasing hardship that war placed upon German civilians as he traveled several times to visit his native Bavaria.

Here, then, is a comprehensive contemporary account written with such insight that, when the *Reichstag* Investigating Committee on the Causes of the German Collapse examined Stumpf's diary in 1926, the author was invited to testify before the committee. Soon abridged and unabridged editions of the diary were published in German. The committee was impressed by the diary, as is the modern reader, in large part because Stumpf saw the problems of the naval revolts from a different perspective than that held in self-justifying memoirs of Scheer, Tirpitz, Ludendorff, and other leaders. Stumpf's perspective was novel. The diary was a document that doctoral students of Professor Fritz Kern often cited during the early 1930's in their dissertations on the naval revolts, Heinrich Neu and Hans Kutscher, for example.

Horn has made a valuable contribution to historical scholarship by editing and translating with skill and imagination. His introduction properly sets the stage for Stumpf's own words. His frequent explanatory footnotes are for the most part helpful, although some are unnecessarily long and detailed. In a few instances documentation for Horn's own interpretations within long footnotes would have been welcome. Yet these are minor criticisms of what is a first-rate piece of editorial scholarship that causes me to anticipate Horn's forthcoming book on the German naval mutinies of World War I.

University of California, Davis CARL BOYD

DER KAPP-LÜTTWITZ-PUTSCH: EIN BEITRAG ZUR DEUTSCHEN INNENPOLITIK 1919/20. By *Johannes Erger*. [Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, Number 35.] (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1967. Pp. 365.)

THIS complete and well-documented study of the March 1920 revolt illustrates well the complex difficulties facing the Weimar Republic during its first year of existence. The purposes and fears of the principal actors and groups are so varied that it is impossible to draw a simplistic picture of Germany divided into two camps of those either supporting or rejecting the republic.

The author shows that this is true even with respect to the attitudes of Kapp and Lüttwitz themselves. Despite the fact that Kapp and his supporters had been preparing for the overthrow of the republic for almost a year, they were not prepared for and did not really approve of the *Putsch*, which was actually begun by Lüttwitz on March 13. The general, on the other hand, did not fully agree with the political goals of the Kapp group. Matters were further complicated because Kapp's party, the DNVP, lent only passive support to the movement while the core of Lüttwitz' force, the Ehrhardt Brigade, was suspected of harboring anything but conservative sympathies. In fact, the almost complete lack of planning and the unrealistic expectations of the putschists are amazing even when measured by the yardstick of other planless and unrealistic revolts of those early years of the Weimar Republic.

The role of the *Reichswehr* is well presented, and it becomes obvious that, although the actions of Seeckt in Berlin are open to the most serious question, the army in many other parts of the country did support the legal government though often the officers held little love for the Constitution. It is the author's contention that, while the failure of the army to act decisively permitted the revolt to begin, it was also the army that finally forced Lüttwitz into submission.

Erger also shows that the general strike that contributed so much to frustrating the revolt was viewed most uneasily not only by the officers and conservative politicians but also by the leaders of the parties supporting the government. The fear of Bolshevism was real, and it may well be that the republic was saved not by love but from fear of something worse.

One may doubt the conclusion that the Kapp *Putsch* really decided the fate of the republic, and one may regret the fact that the principals remain here scarcely more than names, but this does not detract much from the general excellence of this study.

Purdue University JAMES H. MCRANDLE

DIETRICH BONHOEFFER: THEOLOGE; CHRIST; ZEITGENOSSE. By *Eberhard Bethge*. (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag. 1967. Pp. 1128. Cloth DM 46, paper DM 42.)

PROFESSOR Helmut Gollwitzer, the noted Berlin theologian who, like Bonhoeffer, suffered under Hitler for his convictions, has called this book one of the great and lasting biographies of our century. It would be hard to disagree with Goll-

witzer after having followed the author through 1,100 pages with increasing admiration. Eberhard Bethge, pupil and closest friend of the martyred Dietrich Bonhoeffer, has given thoughtful readers a literary and spiritual treasure rare in our times. He has assembled and organized an enormous amount of largely unknown important information to which he alone had full access, for he was not only Dietrich's most trusted confidant but he also married into his family. He shows Bonhoeffer's life and his religious thinking in new perspective. While Gerhard Ritter, also one of Hitler's prisoners, brilliantly assessed in his work *Carl Goerdeler und die deutsche Widerstandsbewegung* (1954) the political side of the ill-fated German resistance movement, Bethge has many surprising, and not always cheering, observations on the role of the Confessing Church and its prominent leaders in those crucial years.

What a high-minded family the Bonhoeffers were! Karl Bonhoeffer, the father, was one of Germany's leading psychiatrists. He and his wife Paula, unostentatious in their style of life, rather reticent in expressing sentiments about religion, and genuine liberals in their political convictions, provided for their eight children a home untouched by any profane or mercenary thought; it remained their refuge in troubled times. Dietrich felt the call to enter the field of theology. He gained his first laurels at the University of Berlin under the guidance of Adolf von Harnack. Having sat at this master's feet, I can attest to the excellence of the portrait Bethge presents of him. In 1931, however, Bonhoeffer turned to Karl Barth, the great adversary of liberal Protestantism, after an intimate exchange of views, and henceforth remained close to many of his teachings. Extensive travels abroad, partly in the service of the ecumenical movement, took Bonhoeffer frequently to England, where he enjoyed the confidence and friendship of Bishop George Bell of Chichester. Twice he came to America; he held a fellowship at Union Theological Seminary in 1930–1931 and served there as a guest lecturer in the summer of 1939. During a lonely walk on Times Square one evening in June he made the fateful decision to return to Hitler's Germany rather than to stay permanently in the USA. During the war, he became involved in contemporary politics partly through his brother-in-law, *Reichsgerichtsrat* Hans von Dohnanyi, one of the brains behind the attempts at overthrowing Hitler. Arrested in April 1943 under the suspicion of illegal acts, Dietrich was imprisoned for about two years. He was executed on April 9, 1945, three weeks before Hitler's death. Hitler himself ordered this act of revenge against the resistance. Bonhoeffer died on a gallows of the concentration camp at Flossenbürg; his body was cremated, the ashes destroyed. The camp physician later testified that in a half century of practice he had seen hardly anyone die so resigned to God's will.

Bonhoeffer's spirit has lived on. Today, twenty-three years after his execution, his writings have become a vital force among intellectuals of many countries who are searching for a new answer to their religious questions. Admirers and critics alike will be forever indebted to Bethge for this *monumentum aere perennius*. American scholars whose knowledge of German is limited should read the Bonhoeffer issue of the *Union Seminary Quarterly Review*, XXIII (Fall 1967), as an introduction. It not only contains a deeply moving tribute of his fiancée Maria von Wedemeyer-Weller, who quotes from some of his unpublished letters to her,

but also some excellent essays by Bethge and Bonhoeffer's long-time American friend Professor Paul L. Lehmann. Perhaps Lehmann sums up the extraordinary merit of this biography best: "This is Dietrich Bonhoeffer as I never knew him before. This is Dietrich Bonhoeffer as I always knew him."

Trenton State College FELIX E. HIRSCH

DIE STAATS- UND WIRTSCHAFTSKRISE DES DEUTSCHEN REICHS 1929/33: SECHS BEITRÄGE. By *Hans Raupach et al.* Edited by *Werner Conze* and *Hans Raupach.* [Industrielle Welt: Schriftenreihe des Arbeitskreises für moderne Sozialgeschichte, Number 8.] (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag. 1967. Pp. 255. DM 24.)

THE six essays in this small, weighty volume were derived from papers presented to the *Arbeitskreis für moderne Sozialgeschichte,* and they concern largely the interrelations of economic, social, and political forces in Germany during the depression. It is astounding to read here that this most obvious approach has been slighted in the mass of studies on the end of the Weimar Republic.

Four essays stress economic aspects. Hans Raupach considers the general problem of the poor German East versus the richer West, pointing, as Max Weber did over a half century ago, to the peculiarly fragile German position in the East in relation to an expanding Polish population, and arguing the superior efficiency of large estate operation and the ineffectiveness of attempts at small holder settlement in the East. Dietmar Keese gives a highly interesting analysis of the catastrophic effect of the government's deflationary policy. He maintains that the flight of German capital was as important as the withdrawal of foreign loans and that the effort to keep Germany economically afloat through an export surplus was foredoomed.

Wilhelm Treue discusses sympathetically the various attitudes of German entrepreneurs, their initial leaning toward Brüning, followed by the shift of many of them toward the Nazis. He notes that many also approved Papen and feared Schleicher's course, and he plays down somewhat the significance of big business' financial support for Hitler. Ursula Hüllbüsch treats in detail the background of the cabinet crisis of March 1930 and pursues the tale as the Free Unions and the Social Democratic party, faced with the Nazi landslide and Communist gains in September 1930, moved reluctantly from opposition to tacit support of Brüning, the last bulwark against dictatorship.

The papers of Rudolf Viehaus and Werner Conze present more familiar themes, but still provide stimulating material. The former tries a historical-psychological aproach to the multitude of crises around 1930 and discusses the growth of fear in the middle class and then among the farmers, the disintegration of will and hope among the unemployed, and the appeal of the Nazis' promised new deal to these depressed people. Conze notes at length the course of politics, 1930–1933, emphasizing that Hindenburg's position in March 1930 and afterward meant that Brüning had no real chance of an opening toward the Social Democrats. The most he could achieve, since he could not surrender Hindenburg's support and still remain Chancellor, was *Tolerierungspolitik.* The back-

ground of Brüning's fall is well presented, with evidence of Hindenburg's mounting distrust even before the famous retreat to Neudeck in May 1932.

The contributors are generally rather favorable to Brüning politically, however much they may criticize his economic policy. The gap that his own memoirs would fill for this period is still, sadly, unfilled.

Harvard University REGINALD H. PHELPS

L'HITLÉRISME ET LE SYSTÈME CONCENTRATIONNAIRE. By *Joseph Billig.* Foreword by *I. Schneersohn.* Preface by *Henri Michel.* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1967. Pp. xix, 321. 28 fr.)

Books on Hitler's *Reich* fall loosely into two categories: those that remind us of the horror and others that try to explain it. Although M. Billig has long been associated with the Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation and dedicated this to his mother, "deported to the East in 1943," he neither strongly reminds nor clearly explains.

His theme is that the "concentration system" evolved logically from Hitler's early ideas, which consistently motivated him, not from assumed cynical opportunism. His was not a backward-looking adoration of "Germanism" but an intuitive-pragmatic opposition to both Marxism and capitalism in response to which he "discovered" that industrial society could be held together only by Rosenberg's "racial myth." Hitler identified this superior race with engineer-industrialists, not the *petite bourgeoisie,* and, therefore, allied with "Industry" in his 1932 Düsseldorf speech. In this industrial racialism Billig finds the necessary cause for the SS and their concentration work camps. These embodied the unchanging ideal: the racially superior idealist efficiently organizing the inferior in patriotic industry.

The book's strength is its tracing the rise of the work camps and the incidental sketch of conflict within the party and between party and state; Billig describes the Gestapo as not so much the ally but the rival of the SS. In the more valuable second half, the last chapter is impressive on SS industrialism as the conscious embodiment of Hitlerism and the plan to continue it after victory.

So imaginative a thesis deserves better documentation. The author limited himself to secondary sources: Buchheim mostly, with rare reference to recent international literature. Research on Hitler infrequently goes beyond *Mein Kampf;* for Himmler it relies on a few speeches. Further documentation is limited to the Nuremburg Trial Papers, now nearly archaic when considered with the materials available in German archives. The weakest link is the assumed early alliance with "Industry," where either Hallgarten or the "Frick trials" could have supported a claim Billig rests almost exclusively on the 1932 speech.

It is dubious technique to ignore chronology, to use quotations without analysis of their origins or timing, to explain an event in 1944 by an isolated statement in 1925. It is merely strange that the subject could be discussed without such statistics as the number of SS factories and their productivity. Unexplained is the tragic irony that work camps, supposedly Hitlerism's natural goal, were so overshadowed by extermination camps. Better-documented research can be expected,

probably not for the theme that Hitler had planned it all along but rather that he reacted to a "problem" with a pseudopragmatic decision and created ever-greater problems and ever-greater horrors.

Wisconsin State University, River Falls E. N. PETERSON

WEST GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1949–1963: INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE AND DOMESTIC RESPONSE. By *Wolfram F. Hanrieder.* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1967. Pp. 275. $7.50.)

IN this age of ecumenical and interdisciplinary reconciliation, historians are bound to wonder when and if their own discipline and that of political science will once more be joined in their traditional and mutually stimulating relationship.

If the work of Professor Hanrieder, who teaches political science at the University of California, Santa Barbara, is any indication, however, there will be a long and rocky road before that much-desired goal is reached. There is no question of course that his subject is of first-rate importance, especially since most writing on postwar Germany, on both sides of the Atlantic, has been of so little value or permanent merit. On the other hand, Hanrieder's book is also, to say the least, undistinguished.

Beginning with the correct assumption that "the main aspirations of West German foreign policy"—security, recovery, and reunification—"remained essentially the same even though their specific content changed as they met with success or failure," Hanrieder's account, based largely on secondary works, with no significant new evidence of his own, amounts to little more than a turgid recitation of some of the principal issues in West German politics since the end of the Second World War. The inner history, both ideological and structural, of West German politics and the West German party system over those years is almost wholly ignored, with the result that, although it may be a harsh thing to say, anyone who has followed West German affairs over the past twenty years in, say, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* or *Die Zeit* will find little that is new or significant in these pages.

It should be added that, as is rather fashionable these days, Hanrieder's book is generally critical of the late Konrad Adenauer's foreign policy. But he adds nothing new on the origins and purpose of the quixotic Franco-German treaty, and he agrees that there is "little reason to think the Eastern bloc would consent to unification on terms acceptable to Bonn and the West"; and he admits, furthermore, that the Socialists' attitude toward foreign affairs during the postwar period was "probably sustained more by wishful thinking than by a realistic assessment of the Cold War." Fashionable, also, is Hanrieder's assertion that the Kennedy administration "was determined to regain for America the ability to exploit the changing conditions of the Cold War," a policy that presumably included Mr. Kennedy's maladroit meeting with Khrushchev in Vienna and his dispatching of Vice-President Johnson to Berlin as a face-saving public relations gesture.

Finally, Hanrieder's publishers state that his book employs a method de-

scribed as "systems analysis." If so, said method can be confidently reported to be not only invisible but completely harmless.

Rice University FRANCIS L. LOEWENHEIM

GENEVA AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE FRENCH PROTESTANT MOVEMENT, 1564–1572: A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF CONGREGATIONALISM, PRESBYTERIANISM, AND CALVINIST RESISTANCE THEORY. By *Robert M. Kingdon.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1967. Pp. 241. $8.00.)

THAT the spread of Calvinism was promoted and in many ways directed from its international headquarters in Geneva and that the institutional structure of the Reformed Church in that godly city furnished a model for imitation are well enough known. Mr. Kingdon has, however, added considerably to our knowledge of the precise ways in which Geneva, particularly as represented by Theodore Beza, influenced the formation of the Reformed Church in France during the crucial years between the death of Calvin and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Most unfamiliar, even to specialists in the field, will be the blow-by-blow account of the quarrel that threatened to disrupt the Huguenot church during these years, a quarrel between those who favored a democratic, congregational form of church government and the Genevans, led by the indomitable Beza, who wished to impose the rigid discipline and coherent organization that characterized the Genevan church. For local church discipline the Genevan consistory, in which the pastors had a predominant voice, could serve as a model, but, for the government of a national church, new institutions were needed. What Beza and his Genevan brethren fought for was what might be called a Presbyterian form of church government with authority vested in regional and national synods in ascending order. The quarrel was a bitter one, exacerbated by personal antagonisms, and, by the time Beza and his followers achieved final victory, policy had hardened into dogma. Although the controversy was fought out in France, Kingdon argues that it had much wider repercussions. "The result . . . was that the entire Calvinist movement became increasingly, even irretrievably, committed to synodical polity and consistorial discipline. It became far more committed than it ever had been in Calvin's own day. To institutions and practices which he had improvised quite casually to meet the needs of the moment were now ascribed the character of institutions and practices willed by God."

The second problem to which Kingdon devotes his attention, that of the influence of the Genevan pastors on the Wars of Religion, seems to arrive at no such decisive solution. Here, as in the preceding account of the controversy over church organization and discipline, Kingdon relies heavily upon material drawn from the unpublished records of the Geneva Company of Pastors. He has unearthed interesting evidence of Beza's participation in an abortive attempt to enroll Swiss mercenaries for service in the Huguenot army, although not until after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew was Beza prepared to state clearly the doctrine that resistance to established authority is permissible if undertaken in the name of true religion.

University of Western Ontario WALLACE K. FERGUSON

DAS ENDE DES FREISTAATES DER DREI BÜNDE: ERZÄHLT IN AUFSÄTZEN ÜBER DEN ZEITRAUM VON 1763–1803. By *Alfred Rufer.* (Chur: Calven-Verlag. 1965. Pp. 281.)

JOHANN BAPTISTA VON TSCHARNER, 1751–1835: EINE BIOGRAPHIE IM RAHMEN DER ZEITGESCHICHTE. By *Alfred Rufer.* (Chur: Verlag Bischofberger & Co. 1963. Pp. xi, 602.)

When Robert R. Palmer and Jacques Godechot consider the relations of the French Revolution to Switzerland, they justifiably emphasize the western and central cantons and such historical personages as Peter Ochs of Basel and F. C. La Harpe of the Vaud. As they realize, however, the revolutionary events in the eastern part of Switzerland that was then called the *Drei Bünde* illustrate their themes nearly as well. In this rural district of goatherders, farmers, and country townsmen, there were a few families who were wealthier than others. These "aristocrats" dominated the local society and politics; indeed, they monopolized the political offices among themselves. However, even in the 1780's, there were native reformers who were stirred by discontent with local aristocratic domination and by Enlightenment reading to demand an opening of offices to a wider selection of people. These "patriots" welcomed the beginning of the French Revolution and French intervention, while the aristocrats relied on Austrian aid. With French support the patriots enacted measures establishing legal equality, civil liberties, and representative assemblies, only to discover that the aristocrats were able to utilize the new institutions to return to power.

One of the patriots was Johann Baptista von Tscharner. Born in 1751, he entered the politics of the *Drei Bünde* early. Step by step he mounted through the local offices until, in 1793, he was burgomaster of the town of Chur and, in 1795, president of the *Drei Bünde.* A deist in religion and a progressive in politics, he believed in a small farm-small town democracy that would have internal free trade, legal equality, civil liberties, constitutional government by law rather than by the whim of men, representative assemblies, and secular state education. His four great political battles were to dispossess the leading aristocratic family (the Salis) from office, to hang on to the subject lands of the Valtelline, to enact progressive reforms, and to join the *Drei Bünde* to the Helvetic Republic. With the exception of the loss of the Valtelline to the Cisalpine Republic, he largely succeeded in his political enterprises, only to be dismayed by the return of the aristocrats to office after 1800.

Albert Rufer, former archivist of the Swiss Confederation at Bern and dean of Swiss historians, has constructed from the papers of the Tscharner family and from public archival material a life-and-times biography of monumental erudition. In another work he has also reprinted a series of scholarly and readable essays on the end of the *Drei Bünde.* Together the two books constitute a valuable addition to the history of Switzerland and of the revolution of the West.

Duke University Harold T. Parker

ISAAK ISELIN UND DIE SPÄTAUFKLÄRUNG. By *Ulrich Im Hof.* (Bern: Francke Verlag. 1967. Pp. 372. 40 fr. S.)

Isaak Iselin was perhaps the most articulate spokesman in the German-speaking cultural realm for the rationalistic and humanitarian ideals of the Enlightenment.

Three decades before Condorcet he undertook to write the history of mankind as the progressive triumph of human reason over ignorance and irrationality, a process in which industry and trade would eliminate poverty, crime, and war. Utilizing then existing anthropological evidence, Iselin refuted Rousseau's idealized conception of a state of nature. Through books, pamphlets, an important periodical, and an extensive correspondence with major German thinkers of his time, Iselin propagated the economic doctrines of the physiocrats, called for religious toleration and Jewish emancipation, opposed religious orthodoxy without accepting the antiliberal aspects of Josephine anticlericalism, proposed modernization and humanization of education, penal reform, and a more broadly representative government in his native Basel, and became an early critic of colonialism.

Despite the attention that Iselin enjoyed in his lifetime, he is now barely mentioned in histories of historiography or of literature. German thought in the 1770's and 1780's turned in very different directions, and Möser and Herder, not Iselin, became thinkers representative of the new orientation. Im Hof's book is thus the first comprehensive study of Iselin's thought. It is not intended as a continuation of Im Hof's earlier biography of the young Iselin, but combines a brief biography with a systematic presentation of Iselin's ideas in different areas of thought. Im Hof has made good use of Iselin's extensive diaries and correspondence. The book seeks at length to relate Iselin to the thought and political currents of the time and to investigate Iselin's contacts with his contemporaries. It does this unfortunately often at the expense of a thorough analysis of Iselin's ideas. Im Hof thus devotes only six pages to an analysis of Iselin's most important work, *The History of Mankind* (1764), but sixteen pages to its place in eighteenth-century philosophy of history.

The bibliography unfortunately reflects the remnants of a self-imposed iron curtain that still pervades contemporary scholarship. Recent years have seen a renewed interest in the German Enlightenment among East German scholars who have sought alternate national traditions including Werner Krauss's *Die französische Aufklärung im Spiegel der deutschen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts* (1963) and Joachim Streisand's *Geschichtliches Denken von der deutschen Frühaufklärung bis zur Klassik* (1964), which includes a chapter on Iselin. Although these works were not essential for Im Hof's study, which is based almost entirely on primary sources, they should have been included in a bibliography of secondary literature on the German Enlightenment that claims to be complete for the years since 1947.

State University of New York, Buffalo GEORG G. IGGERS

COLUMBUS: THE STORY OF DON CRISTÓBAL COLÓN, ADMIRAL OF THE OCEAN, AND HIS FOUR VOYAGES WESTWARD TO THE INDIES, ACCORDING TO CONTEMPORARY SOURCES. By *Björn Landström*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. 207. $14.95.)

HANDSOMELY bound, with nearly every page profusely illustrated in color, this book is designed as an *objet d'art*. Its distinctive maps and excellent drawings cannot fail to arrest the attention of any person giving this book even the most

cursory perusal. If the work deserves review here, however, it is not because of its artistic appeal. Despite the fact that it is intended for a popular market, it avoids eulogy and follows the tradition of Samuel Eliot Morison in presenting an appreciative but sane appraisal of Columbus' abilities, thoughts, theories, and deeds.

Landström raises most of the traditional questions about place of birth, genealogy, pre-Columbian voyages, first landfall, and so forth, and he accepts conclusions that generally agree with those of Morison. He is, however, less impressed than Morison with Columbus' dependence upon dead reckoning navigation and more impressed than Morison with Columbus' ability to use navigational instruments. He ventures the opinion that Columbus had correctly guessed the Atlantic wind patterns before the first voyage and argues the probability that this "secret" was important in Columbus' negotiation with the Spanish monarchs. He attributes Columbus' motivation more to a crusading zeal against the Muslim than to a personal desire for power or wealth. Landström does not base Columbus' greatness upon his motives, however, but rather upon his comprehension of the problem of sailing west, his pertinacity, his courage, and his very good (though not exceptional) navigational ability. Columbus' major flaw is seen as a weakness in leadership and command, a flaw that became clearly evident in 1498 with the open rebellion of his subordinates.

It must be said that the text suffers from excessively long quotations which, although part of the initial plan of the volume, slow the tempo of the narrative. The lavish illustrative materials further distract the reader from the text. Despite these limitations, this effort to restore Columbus to a place of respect in the popular mind is historically acceptable.

Virginia Military Institute HENRY S. BAUSUM

LA RIVOLTA ANTISPAGNOLA A NAPOLI: LE ORIGINI (1585–1647). By *Rosario Villari.* [Biblioteca di cultura moderna, Number 635.] (Bari: Editori Laterza. 1967. Pp. viii, 305. L. 3,000.)

SOME books should be read for the subject they treat. This book brings together three subjects that have recently aroused considerable interest among historians: the kingdom of Naples, the Spanish Empire, and the economic and social conditions of the seventeenth century. It succeeds in explaining, therefore, what hitherto has remained unclear, even after the studies of G. Galasso and C. Coniglio. It explains why Naples did not go the way of Catalonia in seeking independence from Madrid and why its internal development changed so abruptly, in the years after 1600, from the pattern followed by most of the other states of Europe. Fiscal maladministration, it points out, compounded the effects of economic depression by throwing the tax burden on what was left of the productive sectors of the economy. The reduction of Naples to the role of supplier for the Spanish armies drained it of its wealth and forced the viceroy to alienate most of his sources of revenue. The intervention of financial wizards like Bartolomeo d'Aquino had an effect opposite from that caused by the intervention of John Law a century later: their paper empires eventually fell not to new men but to the feudal barons. The barons were, therefore, the greatest beneficiaries of the

collapse of central authority. And instead of being civilized by residence in the capital, like their peers in France, they turned their huge palaces into dens of thieves. At the same time, the forensic and mercantile bourgeoisie came to regard the crown not as an ally, but as the despoiler of its privileges. The bandits turned from supporting the peasants against the nobles, as they had in the days of that Neapolitan Robin Hood, Marco Sciarra, to helping the nobles, who could guarantee them immunity from state officials, against the peasants. Thus law gave way to violence, taxation to legalized robbery, justice to assassination. And the lower classes, abandoned by viceroy, nobles, and merchants, fell prey to the wildest sort of messianic promises, as Tommaso Campanella discovered to his surprise in 1599. The subject, in other words, is important. It is also timely, at least for an American who has lived through the summers of 1966 and 1967. For it shows how, in a different historical setting, the petrification of an "establishment," the destruction of a "consensus" among the various elements of society, and the overcommitment to unpopular military adventures abroad led inevitably to a cataclysm.

Some books, on the other hand, should be read for the way in which they are written. This masterpiece of historical writing is based on extensive researches in the archives of Naples, Rome, and Simancas. It benefits from the author's technical training in economic history (he can read contemporary account books!) and from his skill as a philologian (he has traced the original manuscript of the *Monarchia di Spagna* in order to clear up his doubts about the printed text). It combines many different aspects of human life—social, economic, and intellectual. It only leaves out speculative philosophy, the plastic arts, and music, because Neapolitans did not, apparently, become particularly active in these fields until the later decades of the century. Finally, it alternates admirably between concise analysis and exciting narrative. Whenever the material becomes too complex for the lay reader, it is put in the form of graphs. The accounts of the rape of Anna Acquaviva and of the plot of Medina and Carrafa are equal to some of the best passages in Guicciardini. And even those chapters that first appeared as separate articles in *Studi storici* fit perfectly into the vigorous organization of the book as a whole. Thus, Villari has turned the historical science he learned from F. Braudel, E. J. Hobsbawm, and F. Chabod into literature. His tragedy now lacks nothing but the final act. And having left his reader in breathless suspense at the eve of the Masaniello uprising, he has a moral obligation to come forth as soon as possible with the sequel promised in the subtitle.

University of Chicago ERIC COCHRANE

L'AGRICOLTURA NEGLI STATI PARMENSI DAL 1750 AL 1859. By *Pier Luigi Spaggiari.* [Studi e ricerche di storia economica italiana nell'età del Risorgimento.] (Milan: Banca Commerciale Italiana. 1966. Pp. 190.)

SPAGGIARI's work is largely monographic and analytical. His thorough investigation of the agricultural economy in the Parmesan territories presents both a graphic picture of agrarian conditions—the nature of the soil, the distribution of crops, agricultural techniques—and a close examination of the various factors that resulted in the general backwardness of agriculture in the "Parmigiano."

The inertness and suspicion of the vast majority of landholders toward progressive reform and the consuming ignorance of the peasantry (attempts to found agricultural societies failed in 1762, 1805, and 1817) represented two major elements in this picture of stagnation. The cultivation of wheat, the chief money crop, also produced several damaging results. The great domestic and foreign demand for wheat led, eventually, to an uneconomic use of the soil and to a marked withdrawal of land previously devoted to growth of fodder, thus deterring a desirable increase in the number of cattle and farm animals. Such externally caused changes in the agricultural sector in the nineteenth century as a price rise and increased production simply concealed the basic and growing weaknesses. During the first half of the nineteenth century there was practically no domestic agricultural reform to counter retrogressive tendencies.

It is in his suggestion and tentative interpretation of basic reasons for the lack of progressive reform that Spaggiari is most interesting. The Parmesan territories failed to enjoy the advantages of a possible agricultural revolution in the post-Napoleonic period because of a lack of innovation directly attributable to the landholding system. Most of the old, established landowning families were indeed conservative, but the great obstacle to progress came from the growing number of "new" landholders. Middle-class investment in land rose dramatically in the nineteenth century. The Napoleonic reforms had encouraged this trend in that great tracts of land were transferred from the Church to the state, which then leased the land through public contracts. The paramount concern of these new landholders was for short-run profits; they waited for the harvests as others waited for their interest coupons. Such landholders were entirely unqualified to play any significant progressive role in the agricultural economy.

On the whole, Spaggiari's analysis is cogent and revealing. His work is supported by intensive archival research, extensive use of published sources, and the usual collection of statistics and tables judiciously evaluated. In illustrating the lack of parallelism between developments in Lombardy and Parma, and even between those in Parma and Piacenza, Spaggiari exposes and avoids the pitfalls of the analogical approach.

This book should not only serve as a basic reference volume; it should also stimulate new, more interpretive work on Parmesan agrarian economy.

Stevens Institute of Technology SILVIO R. LACCETTI

NATURALISTI-ESPLORATORI DELL'OTTOCENTO ITALIANO: ANTOLOGIA SCIENTIFICA E LETTERARIA. By *Francesco Rodolico.* (Florence: Felice Le Monnier. [1967.] Pp. vii, 367. L. 6,000.)

IN his brief but suggestive introduction to this anthology, Francesco Rodolico notes that Italian naturalists in the nineteenth century reflected the intellectual currents of Darwin's century and of an Italy renewed by political unification. The excitement of travel and the conquest of new knowledge offered a glory both personal and national. Rodolico has selected passages from the printed reports of twenty men, most of them scholars though a few were amateurs. Nearly all were among the founders of various clubs and societies, including the Italian Geographical Society, dedicated to adventure and to science. A few of these ac-

counts appeared in the 1850's, but most were first published in the 1880's and 1890's. They tell of unusual animals, startling terrains, and strange peoples, of personal hardship, and of scientific evidence important to geology and botany. Sensitive to the economic potential of exotic regions, these accounts hint at the optimism of imperialism, and it may be significant that more of these Italian explorers went to Ethiopia and other parts of Africa north of the Congo than to any other part of the world. Still, an attractive enthusiasm and innocence enliven all the accounts, whether of adventures in the Alps, Siberia, New Guinea, Japan, Latin America, or among the Omaha Indians.

The anthology includes sixteen plates taken from the original publications, illustrations as evocative as those in the Just So Stories. One can sense here a scientific tradition being born—in botany, geology, and anthropology—and a new nation anxiously trying to catch up with the science of its northern neighbors. Perhaps historians are particularly susceptible to the charm of men who found the world fresh to the scientific eye, who thought that their awe before the wonders of nature was matter of fact, and whose condescension toward primitive people was curious and kind. As documents, these short, prosaic selections (there are often several from a single author) contain little that is more substantial. An anthology requires some specific justification, but in this case there is only the pleasantness of our own kindly condescension toward the naturalists of the nineteenth century.

University of Michigan RAYMOND GREW

THE FALL AND RISE OF MODERN ITALY. By *Serge Hughes*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. xiv, 322. $6.95.)

AFTER puzzling some time over Serge Hughes's book, I remain bewildered as to why he bothered to write it at all. It purports to be a general history of Italy from 1890 to the present, and hence it is apparently intended to fill a gap in the existing literature. Although it is true that no one-volume history in English covers precisely Hughes's time span, there is no lack of competent, reliable works that together present the same sequence of events. For the period down to the march on Rome, Denis Mack Smith is an obvious first choice, while Cecil Sprigge's elegant, compact account deserves republication. For the subsequent era, one can turn to the studies of Chabod, Kogan, Mammarella, and myself. To justify its existence, Hughes's new book has to offer something that these do not.

What, then, are its special features? A sprightly style; the situation of literature and political thought in the foreground, with the career of Benedetto Croce serving as counterpoint to the general story; a de-emphasis on the Fascist era; finally, the conviction—advanced by the author with a disarming ingenuousness—that a new periodization of modern Italian history should replace the conventional pre-Fascist, Fascist, and post-Fascist sequence, a periodization that puts into one era everything preceding the "opening to the Left" in 1963 and begins a new phase at this climactic point.

While I yield to no one in my enthusiasm, now somewhat tarnished by disappointment, for the governmental formula inaugurated five years ago, I submit that this kind of time delimitation is a rather odd procedure for a historian to

follow. One phase consists of three-quarters of a century packed with economic and ideological transformation; the second is at best a half decade of hope. So eccentric a presentation is both less novel than Hughes imagines and of little aid to comprehension. And the same is true of his other special features. His style is frequently so contrived as to make it impossible for the uninstructed reader to know what actually occurred. His Crocean counterpoint is more irritating than informative, interrupting the flow of the narrative with philosophical digressions whose relevance is only marginal. His telescoped treatment of Fascism leads him into a number of misinterpretations, as when he presents the chronology of the crucial years 1922–1924 in a thoroughly confused fashion or suggests that in the early 1930's "the old Socialist in Mussolini was very much alive, very much in command."

If one further notes that the text is strewn with minor errors of fact—Hughes has an annoying habit of citing dates exactly one year off, including the birth year of Croce himself—and that the organization of the individual chapters is invertebrate, while the emphases within them are erratic, one is obliged to conclude that far from adding to what is already available on modern Italy, Hughes has actually succeeded in subtracting from our understanding. In his introduction he pleads for his reader's indulgence on the grounds that "a historian can tranquilly savor a certain amount of disorder, consoled by the certainty that something worth doing is worth doing badly." I need say no more.

Harvard University H. Stuart Hughes

THE BATTLE FOR ITALY. By *W. G. F. Jackson*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1967. Pp. 372. $8.50.)

In a characteristically disarming foreword to this book, Field Marshal Lord Alexander expresses hope that this first strategic history of the Italian theater in World War II will rekindle interest in the controversial campaign he once commanded. Notwithstanding the thorough research and painstaking analysis undertaken by Major General Jackson in this important study, it is doubtful whether he will achieve Alexander's aim. Not merely is he too kind to the Americans, including such ruthless egos as Generals George Patton and Mark Clark, but, almost unique among the British, he treats the American arguments on behalf of an invasion of southern France with a fairness and understanding that they rarely receive. In short, this able staff officer has written the stuff of history, complete with detailed supporting appendixes, but hardly that of sales, despite the many and superb photographs.

In fact, Jackson manages to render justice to the subtle stratagems of Alexander's planners, to the resilient German armies of Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, and to the relative failure of Allied interdiction bombing of the German supply lines. Only the Italians and the political side of the war are noticeably neglected, and there are good reasons for not attempting to cover such complex and confusing issues in a campaign history of reasonable length.

Jackson may have overdone his case in universal charity with his justification of the Anzio episode. Here he appears too evasive regarding Churchill's political pressures for Rome or regarding Alexander's tendency to avoid clear-cut

orders to his American subordinates, in part, perhaps, because Jackson does not seem to have consulted the war diary of Lieutenant General John Lucas. Jackson might also have cited Lord Alanbrooke and Sir John Kennedy on the hopeless logistics of crossing the Alps in the disappointing autumn of 1944 since the Americans were obviously against doing so in any event.

Jackson's final conclusion on the campaign suffers from ambiguity. He maintains that, if Sir Harold Alexander fulfilled his strategic mission in holding the Germans down in the Mediterranean, there is "less certainty about the correctness of that mission." Jackson winds up, in fact, with the conventional evasion that the Americans were "too rigid" in their strategic thought and the British "too pragmatic." The issue still remains, nonetheless, one of for what ends were the strategic means of the British and Americans too pragmatic or too rigid. In practice the strategy of each Ally was perfectly valid as a method of executing its different policies. Consequently, the gist of the Italian campaign poses a problem that Jackson does not ultimately face in his otherwise superb campaign history: namely, what were the actual Anglo-American policies in Italy during the Second World War that necessarily evoked such conflicting strategies in Italy and elsewhere?

Drexel Institute TRUMBULL HIGGINS

A SHORT HISTORY OF MALTA. By *Brian Blouet.* [Praeger Short Histories.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. 253. $6.00.)

MALTA'S ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE. By *Edith Dobie.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 286. $5.95.)

DR. Blouet's study of Maltese history encompasses developments on the island from Neolithic man to self-government and independence in 1964. Yet it is more than a survey. In particular the chapters on the government of the Order of St. John are based on research in the archives of the order in the Royal Malta Library at Valletta and in the Valletta law courts, and the notarial archives and documents in the *Curia.* Besides discussing the quality of the administration of the order, Blouet adds new information on the growth of population and of towns and villages during this period. He is concerned not only with relating the heroic defense of the island against Suleiman and the Turks, but, throughout the book, he also assesses the participation of the Maltese people and the extent to which their lives were affected by the stream of history that centered on the island.

The chapters on Malta and Britain are based mainly on secondary sources, and, though Blouet deals with the material in perspective, he is led into two inaccuracies. In December 1800 directions were given by Abercrombie to Major General Pigot, in command at Malta, that Britain take the Maltese nation under its protection, but no formal protectorate was declared in London. And he is misled into stating "but from 1840 the islands were redeveloped, militarily, on a vast scale as Malta became a key position in an extensive maritime empire." Malta was of vital strategic significance to Britain during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but reliance on the fleet was held to be more important than expenditure on the fortifications of the island, though new works were

commenced after the Crimean War. But these reservations do not materially detract from what is essentially a sound and eminently readable study of Malta.

Professor Edith Dobie's researches have been in the Colonial Office Records in the Public Record Office, London, Parliamentary papers, and the reports of parliamentary debates in the House of Commons and the House of Lords, Command Papers; and, in Malta, the debates of the Council of Government and of the Legislative Assembly. For the twentieth century she also makes full use of the newspapers in Malta and Britain. Dobie has produced the first specialized analysis of the constitutional developments in Malta from 1800 to 1964. She emphasizes, in discussing the origins of constitutional endeavor on the part of the Maltese, their claim for a *Consiglio Popolare* and the particular conditions by which the Maltese placed themselves under the British government. The religious issue, the language question, education and finance, the origins of successive constitutions, and the reasons for rescinding them are all dealt with in scholarly terms. There is an important account of Strickland's struggle with the Church and its re-enactment in more extreme measures by Mintoff. The origins of the Maltese political parties and their electoral programs are discussed with valid conclusions concerning the tensions and antagonisms among the several leaders. The discussion of the development of the Labour party and trade-unionism in Malta is particularly useful. The several missions of political and economic advisers from Britain are given sympathetic treatment despite understanding of the pressure for independence by a growing number of the Maltese electorate. The final referendum is carefully analyzed, and the several factors in the formulation of the grant of independence are lucidly presented.

London School of Economics HILDA LEE

ACTA MVSEI NAPOCENSIS. Volume III. Edited by *C. Daicoviciu et al.* (Cluj: Comitetul de Stat pentru Cultură şi Artă, Muzeul de Istorie. 1966. Pp. viii, 566. Lei 15.)

DURING the last ten years a number of new publications have appeared in Rumania that have given scholars a better opportunity to make the results of their research known to their colleagues at home and abroad. A valuable addition to this body of literature, especially for those who are interested in Transylvania, is *Acta Musei Napocensis,* which has been published annually since 1964 under the sponsorship of the Museum of History in Cluj.

The present volume contains forty-one articles, all of which deal with the history or prehistory of Transylvania except for a brief article by B. Daicoviciu treating the unlawful freeing of slaves among the Salian Franks and one by Al. Savu on the activities of progressive intellectuals in Rumania, generally in 1944–1945.

Six studies present the results of recent archaeological investigations of cultures dating from the early Neolithic Age to the second century B.C. They have made the chronology of the period and the relations between the peoples on the territory of modern Rumania and those to the east and south more precise. N. Vlassa describes in detail the so-called Criş culture, the oldest Neolithic culture of the Transylvanian Plateau; Şt. Ferenczi analyzes a Scythian grave site of

the fifth or sixth century B.C. in Ciumbrud, and V. Vasiliev does the same for a Scythian grave of the sixth century discovered in Reghin in 1964; Iudita Winkler describes the minor coinage of the peoples north of the Danube in the second century B.C.; I. H. Crişan's study of a sanctuary of the second century B.C. near the commune of Pecica offers new information on Dacian religious practices; Sigismund Jakó provides a thorough and interesting account of the most significant archaeological work done on the Dacian fortresses in southern Transylvania until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Two major studies, by M. Macrea and C. Daicoviciu, are based upon the exhaustive use of printed sources and secondary works and treat the period of Roman rule in Dacia. The footnotes accompanying both articles are veritable bibliographies of the subjects treated.

The period of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance is represented by S. Dragomir and S. Belu in a study of the petty Rumanian nobility in western Transylvania in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; by Fr. Pap and Winkler in an analysis of numerous hoards of Polish coins uncovered in Transylvania from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century and their significance for the history of trade relations between the two countries; by I. Bitay whose interesting discussion of the penetration of the literature, history, and philosophy of the ancient world, influenced by humanism and the Protestant Reformation, into Transylvania in the second half of the sixteenth century is an original contribution to the study of the migration of ideas from west to east; and by I. I. Russu in a portrait of the Transylvanian humanist Stephanus Zamosius (1565–1612) and an evaluation of his contributions to the epigraphy of Roman Dacia.

Two illustrated studies provide some idea of the rich holdings of the Museum of History in Cluj: Magdalena Bunta's work on the seals used by Transylvanian guilds from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century and Anamaria Ardos' and Ştefan Lakatos' investigation of musical instruments of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Mircea Ţoca describes the beautiful details of late baroque façades, especially of the Bánffy Palace, in Cluj.

Many contributions are concerned with the period of the development of the modern Rumanian national movement in Transylvania between the latter decades of the eighteenth century and the end of the First World War. Some of these deal primarily with economic matters: M. Ştirban describes the restlessness in the villages prior to the large-scale peasant uprising led by Hora in 1784–1785; Liviu Botezan and Maria Roşca-Rosen study the functioning of the *loca curialia* on landed estates between 1785 and 1820; L. Vajda and M. Mirel trace the vicissitudes of the salt mining industry in Transylvania between 1848 and 1867; Bujor Surdu describes the establishment of the first Rumanian credit institution in Transylvania; N. Cordoş and I. Kovács survey the newspapers, handbooks, and other writings of Rumanian agronomists in Transylvania after the abolition of serfdom in 1848; Vasile Vesa explains how the Rumanians of Transylvania benefited from the fairs and cultural exhibitions that they organized in the second half of the nineteenth century. On Rumanian political and cultural life in Transylvania there are short contributions by Nicolae Edroiu appraising the first account of Hora's uprising in a general world history, and by L. Ursuţiu who discusses opposition to the proposals of 1879 to make the study of Magyar obliga-

tory in all elementary schools. Pompiliu Teodor describes in detail the contributions of George Barițiu to the publication and circulation of *Magazin Istoric pentru Dacia.*

Finally, four articles deal with various political and economic problems in the period 1944–1947. Although they draw upon a variety of published and unpublished sources and contain useful information on subjects until now generally neglected, they suffer from one-sided political interpretations.

This collection of articles, with the exception just noted, maintains a consistently high level of scholarship. The majority represent new and original contributions to their respective fields and merit the attention even of scholars who are not specialists in Rumanian history. They provide specialist and nonspecialist alike with insight into the directions that contemporary Rumanian historiography is taking.

University of Illinois KEITH HITCHINS

LA VIE QUOTIDIENNE EN SERBIE AU SEUIL DE L'INDÉPENDANCE, 1815–1839. By *Georges Castellan.* [La vie quotidienne.] ([Paris:] Hachette. [1967.] Pp. 331. 15 fr.)

LA CULTURE SERBE AU SEUIL DE L'INDÉPENDANCE (1800–1840): ESSAI D'ANALYSE PSYCHOLOGIQUE D'UNE CULTURE À DISTANCE TEMPORELLE. By *Yvonne Castellan.* [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Poitiers, Number 4.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1967. Pp. 166. 20 fr.)

CONCERNED with the same culture area—Serbia or, in Turkish idiom, the "land of pigs"—and covering approximately the same period—the early decades of the nineteenth century—the Castellan books embrace similar problems: the struggle for national liberation; the rural family and the village; territorial, administrative, representative, and economic institutions; crime and punishment; brigands and heroes; abduction and other rites of passage; food, housing, and dress; witchcraft and superstition; and art, religion, and literature. They differ, however, in methodology and emphasis.

Georges Castellan performs primarily as a social historian. As such, he focuses on the problem of change, which at this time took the form of social differentiation, Europeanization, and modernization, including the introduction among such "elite" elements as Prince Miloš's family, Greeks and Tsintsars, merchants and bureaucrats, and "Swabian" Serbs, of zinc dishes, silver knives and forks, crystal glasses, "Hungarian" architecture, European games of chance, "western" fashions, French and Hungarian cuisine, and a printing press. Castellan thus devotes considerable attention to schools, towns and crafts, *cafés* and inns, fairs and markets, money and prices, merchants and monopolists, and the organization of a health service and quarantine and postal systems. Other aspects of his emphasis on modernity include a discussion of land reclamation and, in a chapter on demography, of Serbia as a region of "new colonization."

In a final chapter, however, he turns from the newest, most fragile, most foreign, and least rural manifestations of culture to Serbia's folk culture—the center of Mme. Castellan's concerns—and he reaches the same general conclu-

sion: Serbia was then a superficially patriarchal society with a fundamentally matriarchal culture. Mme. Castellan is a psychologist. As such, she projects an ethnopsychological analysis of the "basic personality" structure of a "whole culture," that of Serbia, studied "at a distance" in time as well as in space. Her time perspective (1800–1840) is horizontal and a homogeneous unit, rather than vertical, but her book should greatly interest historians.

After a discussion of methodology and of various problems of Serbian folk culture and psychology, she draws several significant conclusions. Noting the existence of a plurality of father figures (uncles, elders, and godfathers) instead of a single paternal authority and the Serbian stress on sibling relationships, she characterizes Serbian culture, despite its patriarchal official religion, as a "matriarchal" culture founded on the principle of equality between brothers. She further identifies it as an oral rather than an anal culture, inclined to minimize the importance of cleanliness, precision, continuity of thought and effort, and material goods. In its self-image and world view, moreover, Serbian folk culture carefully distinguished between the group (Serbians and other Orthodox southern Slavs) and the antigroup (Muslims and Turks) and learned to function efficiently by emphasizing such forms of production and consumption as maize, the vine, and pigs, which the dominant antigroup most heartily disdained. The one large sector of Serbian society that was exhibitionist, valued material possessions, and engaged in an exploration of the "world" was the society of brigands and heroes, to which would be added after 1830 those cultural deviators who receive M. Castellan's special attention.

The studies of Mme. and M. Castellan provide a valuable introduction to the Serbian culture of 150 years ago. They may also make an understanding of the Serbian and Yugoslav cultures of today easier.

Rutgers University TRAIAN STOIANOVICH

DOCUMENTE PRIVIND ISTORIA ROMÂNIEI: COLECŢIA EUDOXIU DE HURMUZAKI (SERIE NOUĂ) [Documents Pertaining to the History of Rumania: The Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki Collection (New Series)]. Volume III, SOLIDARITATEA ROMÂNILOR DIN TRANSILVANIA CU MIŞCAREA LUI TUDOR VLADIMIRESCU [Solidarity of Rumanians from Transylvania with the Movement of Tudor Vladimirescu]. Documents collected and published by *A. Oţetea.* [Academia Republicii Socialiste România, Institutul de Istorie "N. Iorga."] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România. 1967. Pp. 684. Lei 43.)

IN 1945 Andrei Oţetea published one of the most distinguished contributions to the history of Rumania on the Tudor Vladimirescu revolt of 1821. In 1959 he directed the publication of a multivolume collection of documents related to that revolt, and in 1967 he compiled and edited this volume.

Oţetea won acclaim for his study of 1945 because he characterized Vladimirescu's uprising as a "social" rather than "national" movement. The documents published in 1959 were selected to emphasize the elements of social revolution in 1821, with exaggerated stress on the participation of the masses in the uprising. The latest compilation, reflecting the current political attitudes of the

Rumanian regime, reverts to pre-1945 interpretations of the events of 1821 according to which Vladimirescu was the leader of a nationalist movement directed against the enemies of the Rumanian nation.

Oţetea is too scrupulous and too able a historian to abandon the fundamental thesis expounded in 1945. He therefore evolves a theory of "national" identification between the Rumanian masses of Transylvania and those of Wallachia and Moldavia based on common opposition to socioeconomic oppression. The 525 documents selected from the Hungarian State Archives in Budapest to illustrate this theory are persuasive. A somewhat different case could have been made, however, by using other sources contained in the same archives.

It is undeniable that the imperial authorities and the Magyar landowners in Transylvania were alarmed by the uprising of 1821 and that at least some Transylvanian peasants were aware of the actions of their "brethren." But the concept of "national" identification as expounded by Oţetea remains questionable, at least until the entire body of evidence is made available. It would be most interesting to establish the existence of mass nationalism among Rumanians from as early as 1821, and we are awaiting incontrovertible proof from Oţetea and other distinguished students of Rumanian history to that effect.

University of Colorado STEPHEN FISCHER-GALATI

SOZIALDEMOKRATIE IN UNGARN: ZUR ROLLE DER INTELLIGENZ IN DER ARBEITERBEWEGUNG 1899–1910. By *Tibor Süle*. [Beiträge zur Geschichte Osteuropas, Number 6.] (Köln Graz: Böhlau Verlag. 1967. Pp. x, 243. DM 38.)

THE purpose of this highly absorbing chapter in the history of the socialist movement is to show how the Hungarian Social Democratic party responded to the problems inherent in its growth from a small artisans' group in 1890 to a mass party ten years later. The author presents both challenge and response as intimately bound with the peculiar conditions of Hungary. The working-class leaders of the party completely espoused the German, or orthodox Marxist, program for achieving socialism through the gradual expansion of democratic institutions by "majority vote" in a country where all political life was in the hands of the nobility. In an attempt to build a mass movement for universal suffrage and legal working-class institutions, with a semiliterate rank and file and no influence in the countryside, the leadership turned to the radical Hungarian intelligentsia. Intellectuals such as Oszkár Jászi, most of whom were of bourgeois origin, were already disillusioned with the liberal gentry who had long abandoned any serious aims of social regeneration in Hungary for nationalist disputation with the Habsburg monarchy. Through the influence of the ideas of Positivism and Herbert Spencer and the subsequent preoccupation with sociology, these intellectuals looked, by the turn of the century, to the socialist movement as the only force for such regeneration. They entered the service of Hungarian social democracy as leading popularizers of Marxism and socialism. University students such as Ervin Szabó joined the party to become teachers, agitators, editors, and theoreticians. But this worker-intellectual alliance did not flourish, and its demise determined the party's development between 1899 and 1910. The in-

tellectuals, on different theoretical grounds, began to oppose the orthodoxy of the leadership. Whether revisionist, syndicalist, or Left-orthodox, the intellectuals called for actions they felt to be more appropriate to Hungarian conditions, such as extraparliamentary action and, above all, the organization of agrarian workers. But neither the long debates, nor the Emperor-King's new compromise with the Hungarian nobility in 1907, nor the ensuing militant mood of the workers in city and countryside could convince the party majority to give up its exclusive concern with suffrage. The intellectuals drifted away: Jászi and his group turned to the radical republicanism of the French model; others simply withdrew from politics. The result, according to Mr. Süle, was a party less capable of responding to the particular needs of the movement in Hungary.

Although more socioeconomic indexes and a more critical analysis of the Hungarian Social Democrats' lack of concern with the nationalities question would have been helpful, this cannot detract from an account uniquely valuable not only for its contribution to the background of the Hungarian Revolution of 1918–1919 but to Hungarian intellectual history as well.

Columbia University ISTVAN DEAK

EREIGNISSE IN DER UKRAINE, 1914–1922: DEREN BEDEUTUNG UND HISTORISCHE HINTERGRÜNDE. Volume II, DER BRESTER FRIEDENSVERTRAG MIT DER UKRAINE—(PROTOKOLLE—BEDEUTUNG FÜR DIE UKRAINISCHE EIGENSTAATLICHKEIT—AUSWIRKUNGEN IN RUSSLAND UND IN POLEN)—AUFFINDUNG VON RELIQUIEN DES HEILIGEN JOSAPHAT—TÄTIGKEIT DES UKRAINISCHEN GRIECHISCH-KATHOLISCHEN METROPOLITEN, GRAFEN ANDREAS SZEPTYCKYJ, IN DER UKRAINE UND IN RUSSLAND FÜR DIE KIRCHLICHE UNION MIT ROM. By *Theophil Hornykiewicz*. [Publications of the W. K. Lypynsky East European Research Institute, Series I–IV, Volume II.] (Philadelphia: [the Institute.] 1967. Pp. xlviii, 484. $14.00.)

THIS second work in a projected four-volume series deserves the attention of scholars as much as the first one (*AHR*, LXXII [July 1967], 1445) did. The book contains a wealth of original and important documents, most of which have not been available to the historian of East Central Europe previously. This observation is particularly true of those documents related to the histories of Austria-Hungary, the Ukraine, and Poland. Also included are documents concerning the activities of the Ukrainian Uniate Church in the territories occupied by Austrian troops, especially Cholmland, and involving the person of the metropolitan, Count Andreas Sheptycky. The biographer of this uncrowned prince of the Ukrainian people will find highly interesting material in notes exchanged between Vienna and Rome that mention him as a potential candidate for cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church. Count Sheptycky's missionary effort to bring the Orthodox Church into union with Rome is the subject of many of the documents.

From a large array of political documents, 169 of them deal with the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty with the Ukraine of February 9, 1918, while 93 of them actually cover the controversial issue of Cholmland, where Polish and Ukrainian

interests clashed. Thus, with this volume available and with the already known documents of the German Foreign Office from German archives, which were partly revealed in an excellent study by W. Baumgart (*Deutsche Ostpolitik 1918: Von Brest-Litowsk bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges* [1966]), it is now possible to examine in depth German-Austro-Hungarian-Ukrainian relations of 1917–1918. In view of the importance of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty to the young Ukrainian state, Dr. Hornykiewicz' second volume's complete listing of the Austrian Staatsarchiv documents will be essential to the examination of the modern history of this nation by future scholars. Several documents also illuminate the activities of the Polish Regency Council during 1917–1918.

This collection of documents features an extensive introduction in which the author provides the historical milieu that gave rise to these documents and comments on the importance of some of them. The appended index of persons and subjects, as well as a list of places, adds to the usefulness of this work.

The merits of this publication are many, and a quotation from the reviewer of the first volume best expresses my feelings: "Professor Hornykiewicz deserves gratitude for a task well done."

Eastern Illinois University STEPHEN M. HORAK

KOŁO POLSKIE W ROSYJSKIEJ DUMIE PAŃSTWOWEJ W LATACH 1906–1909 [The Polish Circle in the Russian State Duma, 1906–1909]. By *Zygmunt Łukawski*. [Polska Akademia Nauk, Oddział w Krakowie. Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych, Number 17.] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1967. Pp. 185. Zł. 35.)

It is gratifying to note the appearance of studies on the neglected subject of the Polish Circle in the Russian Dumas. Mr. Łukawski's short monograph covers the period 1906–1909, that is, the First and Second Dumas and the first years of the Third. Mirosław Wierzchowski has published a longer work on the Polish question in the Third and Fourth Dumas (*Sprawy Polskie w III i IV Dumie Państwowej* [1966]).

Łukawski traces the changing program of the dominant party, the National Democrats, from a platform of political autonomy, to provincial autonomy, and finally to a resignation from any kind of autonomy and a demand merely for municipal self-government, Polish schools, Polish judges, and the jury system. He traces this de-escalation against the background of the electoral reform of 1907 and the strength of the tsarist government, supported as it was by considerable Western loans in 1906–1907. He also discusses Dmowski's efforts to obtain concessions for Poland within the framework of the Neo-Slavic movement in 1909. The study ends with the introduction of the government resolution for the separation of the Chełm district from the kingdom of Poland.

The author's judgment on the Polish Circle is that its efforts achieved no positive results, although he admits that, given the political circumstances, it would have been extremely difficult to obtain any important concessions. He concludes, nevertheless, that the circle's loyalist support of key government resolutions alienated Russian progressive opinion, the natural ally of the Poles. Wier-

zchowski's more detailed study ends on the same note, though with more attention to the writings of Lenin.

From the perspective of sixty years it is possible to reflect that the Polish Circle in the Russian Dumas was doomed to failure, just as was the Polish Circle in Berlin since both faced strong nationalistic governments that did not consider Polish wishes sufficiently important to warrant any significant concessions. It is also ironic that while public opinion in Russian Poland favored compromise within the boundaries of the Russian Empire, the government and the extreme Right-wing parties persisted in seeing the Poles as unregenerate rebels. In view of the circumstances of the time, the circle's conservative politics and alienation of Russian Socialist opinion are irrelevant to its failure. Its experience did demonstrate, however, that there was little hope for achieving even the most moderate demands through parliamentary means.

This study is an interesting contribution to the history of the Polish question in Russia. More useful results could have been obtained if the author had worked in cooperation with Wierzchowski and had written a more detailed study of the Polish Circle in the First and Second Dumas.

University of Kansas ANNA M. CIENCIALA

ISTORIIA SSSR: S DREVNEISHIKH VREMEN DO NASHIKH DNEI [History of the USSR: From Earliest Times to Our Days]. First Series, S DREVNEISHIKH VREMEN DO VELIKOI OKTIABR'SKOI SOTSIALISTICHESKOI REVOLIUTSII [From Earliest Times to the Great October Socialist Revolution]. Volume I, PERVOBYTNO OBSHCHINNYI STROI; DREVNEISHIE GOSUDARSTVA ZAKAVKAZ'IA I SREDNEI AZII; DREVNIAIA RUS' (DO NACHALA XIII V.) [The System of Primitive Communism; The Earliest States of Transcaucasia and Middle Asia; Ancient Rus' (To the Beginning of the 13th Century)]. Edited by *S. A. Pletneva* and *B. A. Rybakov*. [Institut Arkheologii.] Volume II, BOR'BA NARODOV NASHEI STRANY ZA NEZAVISIMOST' V XIII–XVII VV.; OBRAZOVANIE EDINOGO RUSSKOGO GOSUDARSTVA [The Struggle of the Peoples of Our Country for Independence in the 13th-17th Century; The Formation of a Unified Russian State]. Edited by *M. N. Tikhomirov et al.* [Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1966. Pp. xxxi; 718; 630.)

THESE two volumes represent the first installment of a fresh, ambitious effort to harness the best of Soviet historical scholarship in the service of the struggle of the Soviet people "for Peace, Labor, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and the Happiness of all mankind," equated to "the struggle for the building of communism." An earlier attempt to compress the whole history of all the peoples currently embraced in the Soviet Union produced the nine-volume *Ocherki Istorii SSSR* [Outlines of the History of the USSR] (1953–57) before it bogged down at the threshold of the nineteenth century.

It may be interesting to compare the initial fruits of these two efforts. In both cases the writing is collegial, though, especially in the earlier work, the authors of individual sections are identified. Both draw heavily on archaeology and re-

lated sciences, and both frankly confess that particular topics have not yet been adequately explored. The earlier one emphasized the "economic base," while the present one subordinates economics to politics and even to "accidental factors." The earlier volumes were far larger, with room for far more detail and a greater number of illustrations, with space for extended, and often repetitious, theoretical commentaries on the significance, within the framework of Marxist-Leninist ideology, of the facts recorded. The present volumes, individually much smaller, attempt to cover a period to which almost six of the earlier volumes were devoted. Much of the detail that made the earlier work valuable for reference has had to be sacrificed; fortunately, the interpretive comment has, save for the foreword, almost completely vanished, leaving the narrative to tell the same Marxist tale, with little benefit from the prophets to fill gaps in the knowledgeability of the historians. The present volumes dispense with the helpful footnotes citing sources of information on particular points, but they add a bibliography classified by chapters. A significant proportion of the titles, especially collections of sources, bear prerevolutionary dates.

In general the interpretation is closely similar to that in the earlier works. Rybakov's blast at "Normanists" is virtually intact, but Pokrovskii is no longer a mere vulgarizer, and the treatment of Ivan IV has again become more assured. In Pokrovskii's initial attempt, before World War I, to write a Marxist history of Russia, Ivan was a grotesque monster, though his reign had great "progressive" significance in promoting the transition from "feudalism" to the reign of "commercial capital." In Stalin's time, Zipper transmuted Ivan into a heroic figure who, obviously paralleling Stalin, had struck down the mighty to make Russia a happier place for the lowly. In the *Ocherki* published after Stalin's death but before Khrushchev's "secret speech," the writers were evidently cautious, content to record established facts, essentially without interpretation or even personal characterization. This work returns to an interpretation implicitly suggestive of Stalin's regime: that Ivan's reign had great "progressive" value in that it centralized the state as a prerequisite to significant economic advance, though by bizarre, almost insane, methods that subjected not only the boyars but the mass of the people to incredible suffering.

Brooklyn College JESSE D. CLARKSON

PRINCE MAZEPA, HETMAN OF UKRAINE, IN CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH PUBLICATIONS, 1687–1709. By *Theodore Mackiw.* (Chicago: Ukrainian Research and Information Institute. 1967. Pp. 126. $3.00.)

DR. Mackiw modestly represents this book as a study of the items about Hetman Mazepa that appeared in English publications, 1687–1709. The work is far more than that. A more pretentious title would not have been suitable either, however. The book is not a full-fledged anything except, possibly, a "Mazepa Miscellany." It does discuss, with many digressions, those usually very brief items about Mazepa that appeared in English print, but this is thin material and of little value either for understanding Mazepa or for a history of the English press and memoirs. Far more interesting are Mackiw's much more extensive presentations of non-English materials from scores of often obscure continental sources.

Although it does not add up to a biography, loving attention to biobibliographical detail is evident, and, in spite of minor errors that should have been caught in the editing, Mazepa scholars will find much of value in the collection.

Mackiw's personal scholarly judgments on several disputed facets of Mazepa's life come through strongly and often clearly influence the presentation of the source material. This is particularly true in connection with the question of Mazepa's "treason." The hetman threw in his lot with Charles XII, we are told, because he wished to keep war away from the Ukraine. Mackiw is anxious to show that Mazepa, therefore, was not a traitor and that contemporaries either did not regard him as such or were influenced by Peter the Great. The analysis is interesting. At best, however, we come away with the impression that there is obviously more to be said on the subject. Analysis of greater portions of the unpublished archival records would seem to be a logical next step.

California Institute of Technology HEINZ E. ELLERSIECK

RUSSIAN ECONOMIC POLICY UNDER NICHOLAS I. By *Walter McKenzie Pintner*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 291. $8.75.)

THIS monograph is another of the much-needed studies filling in the background of Russian history of the nineteenth century. In itself a work without startling conclusions, it adds significant detail about the period of the gendarme of Europe.

What seems to be emerging is a new concept of Nicholas I. Far from being the all-powerful tyrant that British liberals and Karl Marx saw, he is revealed by Dr. Pintner as a monarch faced with such a host of economic problems that he lapsed into what might be termed the timidity of poverty. Certainly Kankrin, on whom the Tsar chiefly relied, always avoided constructive efforts, especially after the bureaucracy's fiasco with the liquor problem. The high tariff was to protect existing interests, not to encourage new ones, and when the beet sugar industry and the production of cotton thread unexpectedly developed, these were unsought by-products of the fiscal system. Only by cautious aid to technical education and by an attempt to give higher prestige to businessmen did Kankrin seek to promote industrial development, with trifling results. Resolutely against efforts to reform the landlord-serf relationship, he devoted much of Russia's available capital to useless loans to the nobility (why "gentrymen"?), which he realized were wasted. Kankrin was a stubborn foe of railroad building, which he believed would be expensive, risky, and of little value. He even trifled with the problem of currency reform long after its necessity was obvious.

Eventually the cautious Tsar felt it necessary to turn from Kankrin's timidity to a more positive policy. Kiselev's efforts to reform the status of the state peasants and the Tsar's sponsorship of the first rail lines illustrate the new trend. But again the results were slight. Pintner makes it clear that Nicholas remained loyal to Kankrin's system, and his departures from it were neither effective nor consistent. The new tariff in 1850 was framed to bring in more revenue and gave little support to industrial development. Apparently the monarch's belief in upholding the nobility at all costs and maintaining a big army prevented effective measures to build up the country's productive forces. The author points out that

while both Kankrin and the Tsar wanted larger cities to consume more farm products, they were fearful that urban growth would bring concentrations of troublesome, even dangerous, commoners. Thus, during this period, Russia steadily fell further and further behind the advancing nations of the West. Pintner has helped to show why this happened.

Duke University JOHN S. CURTISS

THE CRISIS OF RUSSIAN POPULISM. By *Richard Wortman*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 211. $7.50.)

IN this admirable study, Professor Wortman projects a penetrating shaft of light upon a critical phase in the history of the Russian revolutionary movement. The first part of the book persuasively relates the rise of Populist values in the 1860's and 1870's to the changing character of Russian society, showing how the peasantry filled a psychological void and not just a political need for a generation that rejected its whole background and heritage. The crisis of the book's title arose around the end of the 1870's from the confrontation of the idealized Populist image with the discovered realities of peasant life. The emphasis here is not, however, upon the failures of the successive Populist revolutionary organizations, which is the familiar approach. Instead, the confrontation is explored in chapters on three important writers on peasant life—Engel'gardt, Uspenskii, and Zlatovratskii—in shorter excursions into the *Narodnik* economic writings of Daniel'son and Vorontsov, and in still briefer examinations of a few lesser figures.

A student of Professor Haimson, the author is particularly concerned with the complexities of the changing relationship between the intelligentsia and the peasantry. He relies heavily upon, while managing to avoid the pitfalls of, the relatively untried and hazardous techniques of psychological analysis. This methodology is brought into play particularly with respect to the personal crises experienced by his witnesses of rural life, whose psychological order and world outlook had been grounded upon their image of the peasantry. Wortman taps a rich store of material in the stories, publicistic writings, letters, and autobiographical fragments of his three chief figures. He exploits this material with a rare sensitivity, portraying concretely and movingly the dramatic wreck of Populist illusions and the varied efforts to salvage from the wreckage a viable position. In the face of a repugnant reality one protagonist retreats into scientific studies, another loses his mental balance, a third takes refuge in flights of fantasy, while the economic analysts comfort themselves with conclusions at odds with their data. Still, the revival of Populism in a "refurbished" form in the 1890's suggests that the earlier rout may not have been as total as Wortman indicates.

Imaginatively conceived, lucidly organized, and gracefully written, this slim volume decidedly clarifies the disintegration of Populism; it also contributes to our understanding of the rise of Russian Marxism. More than that, the insights it provides may encourage other scholars to focus upon Russian history, as Wortman has, some of the fruitful concepts and techniques of the social sciences.

University of California, San Diego SAMUEL H. BARON

RÉFORME ET RÉVOLUTION CHEZ LES MUSULMANS DE L'EMPIRE RUSSE: BUKHARA 1867–1924. By *Hélène Carrère d'Encausse*. Preface by *Maxime Rodinson*. [Cahiers de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Number 141.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1966. Pp. 311.)

To write a history of reform and revolution among the Muslims of the Russian Empire is no easy task. The Tatars of the Volga and the Crimea, the tribes of the Caucasus, the Azerbaijanis, the Turkish and Iranian peoples of Central Asia represent such a variety of languages, cultural levels, traditions, and styles of life that they cannot usefully be covered even by the broad term Muslim any more than the English, the Spaniards, the Austrians, and the Russians can be subsumed under the term Christian. Mme. d'Encausse tries to avoid the difficulty inherent in the title of her book by subtitling it *Bukhara 1867–1924*. She fails, however, to limit herself to the emirate and deals with many matters involving all of Central Asia.

The first of the nine chapters comprising this book describes Bukhara on the eve of its conquest by Russia. The system of landholding, the economy, the social structure, the state, and religion are examined in short subchapters, each reminiscent of a brief encyclopedia article. There follow similarly patterned chapters on the conquest, the background of reformist thought, national awakening, the fall of the Russian Empire, the October Revolution, and the People's Republic of Bukhara. Each is based on extensive reading and crammed with facts, and all but the last suffer from the defects of the first chapter: an overabundance of material that simply cannot be handled in 281 pages.

The story itself is worth telling. Bukhara occupied an anomalous position within the Russian Empire, a kind of backward Asiatic Finland. The emirate's standing in Muslim eyes, as well as its proximity to Afghanistan and India, endowed it with an importance unwarranted by its strength, resources, or culture. Unfortunately, the author pays almost no attention to the broad issues of Russian foreign policy in Asia and does not examine their influence on the development of relations between Russia and its Bukharan protectorate. The rise of the Jadíd movement, a native response to the challenge of the West, and the reliance of the Jadíd Westernizers on Russian elements from Cadets to Bolsheviks have parallels in other colonial areas.

The last chapter is the best. The author gives a coherent narrative of the dramatic years during which a small portion of a backward people tried to emancipate Bukhara from colonial rule and find a native way to modernization. The Bukhara Jadíds failed essentially for the same reason as the Azerbaijanis, or even the highly advanced Georgians—the overwhelming weight of Russia.

In spite of its many shortcomings, this well-documented study makes a contribution to the growing literature on the non-Russian portions of the Russian Empire. It also provides a timely reminder on the fiftieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution that the latter precipitated the first large-scale anti-imperialist movement of the century, a movement whose failure does not diminish its significance.

Yale University FIRUZ KAZEMZADEH

DVIZHENIE REVOLIUTSIONNOGO NARODNICHESTVA: NARODNICHESKIE KRUZHKI I "KHOZHDENIE V NAROD" V 70-KH GODAKH XIX V. [The Revolutionary Narodnik Movement: Narodnik Societies and "Going to the People" in the 1870's]. By *B. S. Itenberg*. [Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1965. Pp. 442.)

NARODNAIA VOLIA, 1879–1882 ["The Will of the People," 1879–1882]. By *S. S. Volk*. [Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Leningradskoe Otdelenie Instituta Istorii.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1966. Pp. 490.)

These two books, both based on great quantities of archival material and displaying a very high order of scholarship, are quite complementary. Itenberg's volume deals with the Populist movement of the 1870's, particularly with the climactic "going to the people" of 1873–1875; Volk, in effect, picks up the story as it continued with the party of the "People's Freedom" (*Narodnaia Volia*), the assassination of Alexander III on March 1, 1881, and the virtual destruction of the party.

The ideological premises of Populism are well known, though Itenberg reexamines them in great detail. In essence they amounted to a belief in the socialist nature of peasant character and of the inherent peasant social structure; hence, in brief, the actions of the Populists were directed to evoking a peasant socialist revolution. Considering its great significance for the Russian intelligentsia's thought, the "going to the people" was very brief—1873–1874—and involved comparatively few people. The explanation for this seeming paradox may lie in the social structure of the Narodniks.

On this, Itenberg has assembled some interesting data: Of the 1735 Populists whose social origin was determined when they were prosecuted by the government, 491 (28.2 per cent) were of gentry origin; 233 came from low military ranks, and 288 from families of priests (established as a distinct legal-social group). Of the 1703 whose occupations were known to the police, 296 were students in universities and institutes; 165 came from high schools of various types; 274 were urban workers; 134 were teachers. The largest single group from higher education, supplied by the Medico-Surgical Academy, contained 142 men. Finally, the age distribution of 1,665 of the Populists showed that 87.2 per cent were under 30; of these, 458 were under 21, and 640 were between 21 and 25 years of age. This was then, with all the modern analogies one may wish to draw, the flower of the Russian intelligentsia's youth.

As it happened, the Populists went to the people with revolutionary political slogans and encountered a peasantry whose interests were practical and limited (largely to problems of land). The outcome was, in this case, truly predictable, providing us with the statistical information gathered by the police.

The next stage, vividly described by Volk, was set by the smashing up of the "going to the people": on the one hand, the ideology remained largely the same—totally revolutionary—while on the other hand, the small number of Populists who survived the roundups of the 1870's had neither the organization nor the resources to raise the masses. In consequence, *Narodnaia Volia* turned to terror, which allowed for a revolutionary ideology and a revolutionary program while requiring a very small number of participants. But even within the terrorist con-

text the resources were too small, and in the years 1879–1881 everything was sacrificed to the hunt mounted against the person of the Tsar. With the success of March 1, 1881, the party had neither a program to go on with nor anyone left to carry it out.

The conclusions that can be drawn from both these studies seem self-evident: The Populist movement felt, correctly, the general unrest in the country, but it contributed an ideology of political revolution that meant little to the peasants. The movement lacked proper revolutionary organization, and it lacked a mass base. In fact it appears as a heroic effort of Russian youth who managed to disregard virtually all the preconditions for revolution worked out by Marx.

University of Rochester MICHAEL CHERNIAVSKY

THE BRIDGE AND THE ABYSS: THE TROUBLED FRIENDSHIP OF MAXIM GORKY AND V. I. LENIN. By *Bertram D. Wolfe.* [Published for the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. x, 180. $5.95.)

LENIN: THE MAN, THE THEORIST, THE LEADER. A REAPPRAISAL. Editors: *Leonard Schapiro* and *Peter Reddaway.* Assistant Editor: *Paul Rosta.* [Published in association with the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. x, 317. $7.50.)

GORKY alone among the titans of Russian letters made the transition from the "Lower Depths" of tsarist Russia, which he knew so well at firsthand, to the incredible depths to which revolutionary Russia descended through Lenin to Stalin. In Wolfe's story, the Gorky-Lenin relationship in its prerevolutionary phase was a debate between a God-seeking humanitarian and the angry atheist whom he so admired. After the Revolution their mutual affection turned into a *danse macabre* performed on a stage heaped high with the victims of civil war and famine, Cheka inquisitions and random murder.

The author pays reverential tribute to the gallant and tubercular writer whose astonishing capacity for self-sacrifice enabled him to preserve Russian culture at a time when an intellectual's life was valued far below that of a goat. Gorky, like most of the great literary figures, had resisted tsarist tyranny, and he resisted that of Lenin with equal tenacity. But Lenin is done no injustice in this book. Irritated by Gorky's endless pleas on behalf of starving, freezing, or arrested poets, physicists, and scholars, he would shout, "Do you know what a revolution is?" Then, after much table banging, with the faces of both men flushed, Lenin would give in. Wolfe's book, dealing with events of a half century ago, is as fresh as today's paper (January 9, 1968) that tells of the current writers' trial in Moscow. The epic drama of Gorky and Lenin foreshadowed the tragic destiny of the Bolshevik-directed Russian Revolution to date: the demolition, in the name of "scientific" economics, of the magnificent advances of the human spirit that helped crush tsarism and that gave the Revolution birth. Wolfe's occasional didactic asides on the evils of Communism, the meaning of Russian words, and other things are annoying. This is, nevertheless, one of the most exciting reading experiences in the chronicling of the Russian Revolution.

The book edited by Professors Schapiro and Reddaway assembles a highly literate troop of English, Scottish, and Canadian scholars in a generally successful effort to render the enigmatic Lenin more intelligible by analyzing as separate topics many of the segments of his thought and politics. Readers are hereby warned to familiarize themselves with Lenin's career as a whole before attempting to participate in the authors' frequently intricate cerebral calisthenics. Deserving of special praise among the essays are Bohdan R. Bociurkiw's "Lenin and Religion," a gem of economy in scholarly writing, and John Erickson's "Lenin as Civil War Leader," that in twenty scintillant pages illumines both Lenin and the Civil War. Not as spectacular, but likely to become extremely serviceable as university teaching aids, are Ivo Lapenna's "Lenin, Law and Legality," John Keep's "Lenin as Tactician," and Victor S. Frank's "Lenin and the Russian Intelligentsia." Other knowledgeable essays are provided by the two editors, by Alec Nove, George Katkov, and Harry Willetts. The material taken up in "Lenin and Marxism" and "Lenin and the Nationalities Question," by J. C. Rees and Mary Holdsworth, respectively, is dealt with extensively in books and articles that the two authors would have been wise to consult.

City University of New York STANLEY W. PAGE

MARTOV: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY OF A RUSSIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRAT. By *Israel Getzler*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 246. $12.50.)

Martov is a chronicle of high-minded failure. It is the first book-length study of the great idealist of the Russian Revolution, the leader of the Left Wing of the Menshevik party who struggled to defend the ideal of democratic socialism equally against compromise on the Right and totalitarianism on the Left.

Now lecturer in history at the University of Adelaide in Australia, Mr. Getzler began his study of Martov as a doctoral dissertation at the London School of Economics. On the basis of thorough research in the published sources, the materials of the Columbia University Menshevik Project, the papers of the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, and interviews with Martov's sister Lydia Dan, Getzler has produced a careful and useful biography of the great Social Democrat. He is particularly interesting on the little-known struggle of the Mensheviks to keep their opposition alive during the early years of the Soviet regime.

As he recounts Martov's life of political struggles in Russia, in exile, and in Russia again in the years of revolution, Getzler underscores the tragic paradox that the people with the ideals, the opportunity, and the popular support to create a new democratic and just Russia failed really to try when the time came and abdicated to the extremists. "Martov failed," Getzler writes, in summing up his contemporaries' opinions, because "he was too intellectual, lacked the will to action and power, had too many scruples, and was too doctrinaire." In other words, Martov was the perfect stereotype of the eternal intellectual. Getzler himself prefers to stress the purely theoretical inhibitions that made Martov reject power in 1917: conditions were not ripe à la Marx for proletarian rule.

Getzler's interpretation of Martov is cast entirely in ideological terms; he

makes it clear in his preface that he will not "pry into the intimacies of Martov's personal life," if indeed he had any. But with all that modern psychology has offered to the historical profession for the deepening of its insights, it is impossible to dismiss this dimension of inquiry in trying to explain Martov's baffling behavior at the decisive moments of his career. The spiritual scars and vacillating character, described for example by Leopold Haimson in *The Russian Marxists and the Origins of Bolshevism*, go much further toward an explanation of Martov's failure of 1917 than his Menshevik philosophizing, which is easy to recognize as the rationalization of a loss of nerve.

University of Vermont ROBERT V. DANIELS

THE FATE OF THE REVOLUTION: INTERPRETATIONS OF SOVIET HISTORY. By *Walter Laqueur*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. viii, 216. $5.95.)

AMID the flood of books and articles in observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution, there is of necessity much threshing of old straw. A fresh and illuminating approach is attempted by Walter Laqueur. His earlier writings are well and favorably known among students of Soviet affairs. His most recent work is a critical and well-written commentary on changing interpretations of the USSR by sundry Western and a few Soviet historians. He has succeeded admirably in his task and made another genuine contribution to knowledge.

No two scholars familiar with the vast literature in this field agree on what should be included or omitted in a selective survey. Laqueur comments in his preface: "If I were to rewrite this book now, perhaps I would exclude some writers and schools of thought and include others, but there is no ideal solution to satisfy everyone; a work many times this size would be needed, which would defeat its purpose." Here we have nine chapters, beginning with "Russia and the West" and "The Growth of Soviet Studies," followed by "1917," "Lenin: For and Against," "Stalin: For and Against," "E. H. Carr," and "Soviet Historiography," and concluding with "Interpretations of Soviet History" and "Lessons of Five Decades?"

I would question devoting whole sections to Henri Barbusse, Trotsky on Stalin, and Boris Souvarine. Conversely, Isaac Deutscher and Sir Bernard Pares are worthy of a section, and Carr is assuredly worthy of a whole chapter. Laqueur offers helpful biographical sketches and summations of published works. Of particular interest are Western evaluations of Lenin. The author does well to omit altogether the best seller of Robert Payne, which is a travesty; he is insufficiently critical of the books by Louis Fischer and S. Possony, both of which display evidence of racial prejudice.

Laqueur sagely observes: "Whether historians are superior to other observers in judging current political situations is open to doubt. The Russian experts, almost without exception, underrated the importance of the revolutionary movement. After the revolution their difficulties increased." His conclusion is that the historians, while striving for integrity, objectivity, and truth, should be modest

and content themselves with providing "a better understanding of probabilities." This work deserves the careful attention of historians and nonhistorians alike.

Williams College FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

L'OPPOSITION EN U.R.S.S., 1917–1967. By *Roland Gaucher.* [Histoire du xx^e siècle.] (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1967. Pp. 430. 27 fr.)

THIS is more a study of the Soviet state's policies with regard to those reluctant to support the system, or critical of it, than it is of the various forms of opposition to Communist rule.

Gaucher is a French journalist who has written a successful popular volume on Russian terrorists. This volume, which is one of a semisensational series, "Histoire du xx^e siècle," is a light, colorful book prepared for the general public. It is based on studies and memoirs published within the last ten years, mostly in French but on occasion in English, as well as news summaries from the Soviet press and Soviet journals. The four parts, of roughly equal length, deal with the period 1917–1927, when Trotsky was exiled; the 1930's, especially the purge of the party; the Second World War; and the period since the war. Gaucher is not systematic, and colorful figures and occurrences are allowed to overshadow more fundamental incidents and issues. Trotsky and the purges of the party in 1936–1938 are therefore given considerable space, as is the Kronstadt revolt. The issues at the source of the conflict are, generally, neither described nor analyzed, and Gaucher simply ascribes responsibility for disaffection to the nature of the Soviet system itself. The author's central theme is the crushing or overwhelming of the opposition, and he does succeed in describing well Stalin's genius in outmaneuvering and then destroying his opponents or rivals within the party. But even the most careful reader would not be able to ascertain the issue behind the actions.

Gaucher accepts the view widely held that Stalin was either poisoned or was allowed to die without adequate medical attention. He is also confident that the "land, language, and faith" will ultimately prevail and that the Communists will not succeed in creating a Communist society.

Indiana University ROBERT F. BYRNES

DOKUMENTY VNESHNEI POLITIKI SSSR [Documents on the Foreign Policy of the USSR]. Volume XII, 1 IANVARIA–31 DEKABRIA 1929 G. [January 1–December 31, 1929]. Edited by *I. I. Agaiants et al.* [Ministerstvo Inostrannykh Del SSSR, Komissiia po Izdaniiu Diplomaticheskikh Dokumentov pri MID SSSR.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi Literatury. 1967. Pp. 815.)

FOR the past decade the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been publishing selected documents on Soviet foreign policy, with the present volume bringing the record to December 1929. Critical opinion has held that the volumes are generally useful, reasonably reliable, highly eclectic, and hold few major surprises. The present volume does nothing to disturb earlier opinions.

Many of the 401 documents in this volume have always been available to those

who cared to take the trouble to find them. A healthy portion of them were printed in *Izvestiia* during the year 1929 or in various collections of laws and treaties. The archival materials, presumably published for the first time, do not go far beyond the earlier published materials. Indeed there is nothing in the volume that will launch a revisionist approach to the diplomatic history of the era; the documents serve to fill in some of the details, offer some indirect insights into Soviet motives and thought, and little more. Perhaps the most useful items are the memorandums of Soviet officials summing up their conversations with various foreign diplomats, particularly with the new German ambassador to Moscow, Herbert von Dirksen. It is also of interest to note the almost disproportionate involvement in diplomatic affairs of men such as Karakhan, Stomoniakov, and Krestinskii, all of whom were to be liquidated in a few years, historically as well as physically.

There are two obvious omissions from the documents: Stalin and Trotsky. The former, by 1929, had so consolidated his victory that he was making the major decisions in foreign policy, as well as in other areas, and surely must have had some direct correspondence with Soviet diplomats, but none of it is recorded here. The expulsion of Trotsky from the Soviet Union in January 1929 and his exile to Turkey, after Germany, and presumably other countries, refused him an entry permit, must have generated some diplomatic correspondence; if so, this volume is not the place to look for it as the episode is ignored entirely.

The editorial remarks in the foreword and the "analytical" supplement may be fruitfully ignored, save for the statistics. The annotation, however, is quite useful and serves to clarify where needed.

Duke University WARREN LERNER

Near East

OMAN SINCE 1856: DISRUPTIVE MODERNIZATION IN A TRADITIONAL ARAB SOCIETY. By *Robert Geran Landen.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 488. $12.50.)

PROFESSOR Landen in a thorough, scholarly, well-documented, and interesting volume opens the story of Oman and the problems of the Persian Gulf with a fine review of their medieval and early modern developments. He rightly attacks those who assert that there were no change and little history during those years by demonstrating that the shifting tides of Ottoman, Iranian, Portuguese, French, and British maritime power involved inexorably the local rulers and their regimes. After he sets the stage, the author describes the social, economic, and political forces in the area during the nineteenth century and illustrates and analyzes the poignant effects of the steamboat, the inexpensive products of European machines, the suppression of the slave trade to placate British and European liberals, and the curtailment of the illicit French arms traffic to Afghanistan in order to ease the pacification of the Indian frontiers.

Early in the nineteenth century maritime disorder in the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman, resulting from rivalries among Iranians and the sultans and

sheiks along the Arab coast from Kuwait to Oman, turned the entire area into a dangerous "war zone." British and other foreign ships entering the gulf were frequently seized. Their captains, of course, not appreciating the fact that they were in a "war zone," regarded such acts as piracy. Fearing that the pirates would be encouraged to interfere with the Indian trade, Britain acted with force and skillful diplomacy to control the coastal regions, capping its actions in 1853 by inducing the sheiks to sign a Perpetual Maritime Truce. Since Kuwait and Oman did not sign, the area in between came to be designated as the Trucial Coast. British sea power ruled the two gulfs thereafter, keeping the Russians and the Germans out of Kuwait by special treaty with the sheik in 1899 and forcing the Sultan of Oman to cancel a favorable concession to the French the same year. Apparently the British believed it necessary to police and control the region as part of the defense ring around India.

Part III, "The Consolidation of British Political Paramountcy in Oman and the Persian Gulf," reads like any episode in European diplomacy and imperialism. In the period 1862–1903 British rule had its ups and downs, especially when Calcutta was in control and the whole area was an Indian dependency. In the end, however, Landen clearly shows that imperial success was largely due to the skill and persistence of civil administrators like Bartle Frere, Lewis Pelly, Edward Ross, Major Percy Cox, and Lord Curzon, and that failure was always imminent under such heavy-handed agents as Major Fagan.

For students of the development of new states the final three chapters have special meaning for the quarrels between conservative-reactionary forces and moderate-liberals, stemming from the intrusion of an outside society, are shown to have involved religion, political structures, taxation and finance, trade, and every facet of human existence. Certainly a new era will quickly emerge if the British withdraw by 1971.

Ohio State University SYDNEY NETTLETON FISHER

THE DAY OF MAYSALŪN: A PAGE FROM THE MODERN HISTORY OF THE ARABS. With an introduction relating the struggle of the powers for the Arab lands and an appendix of documents. By *Abū Khaldūn Sāṭi' al-Ḥuṣrī*. Translated from the Arabic by *Sidney Glazer*. (Washington, D. C.: Middle East Institute. 1966. Pp. 187. Cloth $4.25, paper $2.75.)

Sāṭi' al-Ḥuṣrī, who spans the ravine between the Ottoman bureaucracy and the "June War," is an important figure in the Arab "renaissance." His contributions are threefold: as an important member of the short-lived Syrian government that yielded to the French in 1920; as the coherent ideologue of old-fashioned, liberal, language-based Arab nationalism; and as the fashioner of Iraq's educational system. In later life, whether directing the Arab League's Institute for Advanced Arab Studies in Cairo or summering in Lebanon, he continues to personify the potential of the Arab one world he advocates.

This translation of a work that appeared in Arabic in 1947 is a worthwhile addition to the English library of modern Arab history, for it constitutes an important source on the collapse of the Syrian government before invading French troops at Khān Maysalūn in 1920. The present translation, originally pre-

pared for the Near Eastern Translation Program of the American Council of Learned Societies, has regrettably lain fallow for fifteen years following collapse of the publication phase of that program. The Middle East Institute deserves congratulations for finally publishing it.

The work is bare. Although the author has written a preface for the English version, there is no translator's introduction nor any *apparatus criticus*. It would have gained from some. Note, for instance, the references to "Professor Bonfanti"; the reader will never learn that these allude to Pietro Bonfante (who died about 1935), distinguished professor of Roman law at the University of Rome and vice-president of the *Accademia dei Lincei*. The translation proper is for the most part workmanlike, but there are caveats. Page forty-seven (pp. 75–76 of the Arabic), for example, fails to observe the author's subdividing; omits one phrase; makes a simplifying (?) but modifying substitution of "in the western zone" for "in the area she had occupied in this way"; and contains one misprint. Again, on page eighty-five (p. 160 of the original), paragraph four omits one sentence and one clause, and a one-sentence paragraph is omitted immediately thereafter. Finally, one notes that the photographs and facsimiles of the original are not included.

New York University R. Bayly Winder

Africa

RECONSTRUCTING AFRICAN CULTURE HISTORY. Edited by *Creighton Gabel* and *Norman R. Bennett*. (Boston: Boston University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 246. $7.00.)

This book consists of ten papers, nine of which were originally prepared for a symposium held at Northwestern University in 1962. Since the papers were circulated in advance, it is difficult to understand why the published account should have taken five years to appear. Since most of the papers are concerned with theoretical approaches to the reconstruction of African culture history from different disciplinary bases rather than with attempts to assess results, the book has not suffered from the delay, although the first paper, by Desmond Clark, on early agriculture and metallurgy from archaeological sources, could now support some of its inferences with more recently established facts. In particular, though we still have insufficient radiocarbon dates from Africa as a whole, there has been a striking increase over the last three years in the numbers available, especially from West Africa. The second paper, by Herbert Lewis, on ethnology, is especially important, for this study has been badly neglected in Africa for several decades, and as a result inadequately supported theories of diffusion loom far too large in current historical interpretations. This chapter should be required reading for all historians of Africa. In a similar vein, Roger Wescott warns against the "implicit identification of language with race or culture" and goes on to discuss linguistic evidence of culture contact. Jan Vansina contributes an excellent essay in which he assesses the fields in which oral tradition may be considered useful and where it is unlikely to contribute. Alan Merriam writes a

valuable critical survey of attempts to use music as historical evidence and suggests as a research tool a method of comparison between musical styles that can be expressed in numerical terms. Roy Seiber discusses the contribution of African art and shows the importance of the data obtained by archaeology.

A series of more technical papers follows. Frank B. Livingstone discusses the origin of the sickle-cell gene; Edgar Anderson writes on botanical evidence, especially of cultivated plants, while Jack Harlan describes the biosystematic study of cultivated plants, a paper that brings out strongly the interrelationship of man and his crops. Marvin P. Miracle criticizes Murdock's maps of the distribution of staple crops, which do not claim to be a historical study, but he goes on to describe changes in diet in Ruanda-Urundi and in Uganda during the last hundred years or less. A final coda is supplied by Creighton Gabel, summarizing the discussions of the symposium and concluding that "no single culture-historical question . . . can be fully answered solely within the perimeters of one disciplinary approach."

Northwestern University FRANK WILLETT

DIE FRANZÖSISCHE ALGERIENPOLITIK VON 1919–1939. By *Wolfgang Ohneck*. [Beiträge zur Kolonial- und Überseegeschichte, Number 2.] (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag. 1967. Pp. 195. DM 22.)

THIS detailed, technical history of administrative reform in Algeria during the interwar period thoroughly examines French and Algerian attitudes from the time of the law of 1919 sponsored by Clemenceau through the abortive Blum-Viollette reforms of the mid-1930's. Ohneck shows that the French policy of assimilation was ineffective even before World War I. Although government in the nineteenth century had vacillated between civil and military control, neither agency had seriously attempted assimilation of the Muslim majority. What was most important, however, was the introduction in the late nineteenth century of increasing numbers of European *colons* into Algeria and their control of the economic resources, which created an environment hostile to assimilation. Allegiance to Islam, the theoretical block to granting citizenship to an Algerian subject, was less important than the *colons'* drive to maintain economic and political control. The Clemenceau reforms extended French citizenship as a reward to only a few of the thousands of Algerians who had served France in the war. Even this palliative measure was fiercely resented by the spokesmen of *colon* interests.

In the interwar years many Algerian nationalist movements such as the *Ulema* led by Ben Badis and the *Étoile* of Messali Hadj also opposed assimilation. Any effective program aimed at equalizing native Algerian and *colon* rights would have blocked their separatist goals. Only the Algerian middle class was in favor of assimilation. The Paris government, urged on by concerned politicians, confronted the failure of associating significant numbers of Algerians with France and introduced in 1936 the Blum-Viollette reforms to the Chamber. These would have given 21,000 Muslims full French citizenship without forcing them to abandon their Muslim civil status. In future years the numbers thus to receive citizenship were to be increased. Reflecting *colon* hostility, 298 mayors in Algeria

threatened to suspend local government, and the Senate voted down the bill in 1938. The rejection further expedited the estrangement of the Algerian intellectuals from France.

The book's organization is at first confusing and detracts from its effect; the author tends to introduce material that, while pertinent, seems out of place. For example, the discussion of the imperialist philosophers Girault, Harmand, and Vignon is important, but this segment should have been placed before the section on French reforms through 1919. Such criticisms are minor and do not affect the study's value in highlighting the Algerian issues before World War II.

San Jose State College HARRY A. GAILEY

MAURITANIA. By *Alfred G. Gerteiny*. [Praeger Library of African Affairs.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. x, 243. $6.00.)

GERTEINY's book is the first survey of Mauritania to be published anywhere. It contains much useful information on geography, peoples, Moorish society and culture, political evolution in the past two decades, economic and industrial development since independence (1961), and relations with other African states (including the dispute with Morocco). These sections demonstrate the use of published materials in French as well as the author's researches in Mauritania in 1963–1964, where he enjoyed the cooperation of the government of President Moktar Ould Daddah. In presenting his data in a generally readable fashion, Gerteiny has performed a real service to the student of contemporary African affairs.

It is the student of Mauritania's history who is less well served by this book. Gerteiny presents comprehensive chapters only for those periods which French scholars have already carefully researched. Thus there is an excellent summary of the origins and development of Moorish society. There are good accounts of early European contacts, French penetration in the nineteenth century and conquest in the twentieth. But one learns almost nothing about the period 1912–1946, for which Gerteiny gives but a few paragraphs.

For the period 1946–1961 the author discusses only the political evolution, treating it within a narrowly territorial context that largely neglects the influences arising from Mauritania's inclusion in the Fourth French Republic and the federation of French West Africa. Gerteiny's bibliography omits the French literature on these subjects and the important works on the federation by the Adloffs (1957) and Schachter-Morgenthau (1964). His unfamiliarity with these aspects of Mauritania's political evolution is also revealed by his errors. For example, the statement that after the Second World War, "Mauritanians and other Federation nationals were French subjects" shows Gerteiny's ignorance concerning the reforms of 1946 that made all Africans within the federation citizens of the French Republic. Equally revealing but less serious are errors that call the leader of the *Union Démocratique et Sociale de la Résistance* "Charles" Mitterand and the *Union Africaine et Malgache* a body of "twelve French Community states."

Thus the history of Mauritania has still largely to be written. One may hope that Gerteiny, with his considerable knowledge of that country and his training in Arabic, will apply himself to this task.

Marquette University DAVID E. GARDINIER

REVOLT IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA, 1896–97: A STUDY IN AFRICAN RESISTANCE. By *T. O. Ranger.* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 403. $12.50.)

PROFESSOR Ranger, in his much-awaited book, presents one of the most intelligent analyses yet produced on African responses to European interruption and overlordship. He stresses and amply demonstrates that the primary resistance of the Ndebele and Shona to white economic, military, and administrative policies must be viewed as part of a "stream of development beginning before and running through the colonial period." His framework allows him to show the continuity and strength of religious- and leadership-centered institutions within societies that were viewed by the European as too divided and too prostrate from earlier fighting to resist colonization and European rule. Both the initial success of the rebellions and their long-term significance were due to the mass commitment of peoples, institutions, and ideas. This commitment was produced by a traditional charismatic leadership working within two societies whose cultural bases emphasized political centralization and historical identities. It is the scale of the uprisings that Ranger sees and explains so well that distinguishes these revolts and gives them especial importance in Rhodesian and African history. Although he keeps his subject within an African context, his concluding chapter on the relationship of the risings to other protest movements in Africa and to the development of African nationalism in Rhodesia may well provide a structure in which to assess the initial attempts of other societies to resist European contact and control. Indeed, in providing an engrossing and meaningful study of the nature of the Shona and Ndebele fight against the rule of the British South Africa Company, Ranger develops an abundance of ideas that could be applied elsewhere.

As impressive as the author's presentation are the type and quality of source materials on which this study is based. The core of the work is developed from manuscript sources housed in the National Archives, Salisbury. In addition to interpreting this material to gain insight into African society and the character of the revolts, Ranger adds to the portrait of Rhodes and the company. Some oral evidence was collected; this strengthens the author's findings from his written sources. His consultation with other African scholars and his careful use of secondary literature are evident throughout; in presenting an original study he has synthesized much that has been written about Shona and Ndebele life in recent times.

Mount Holyoke College LESLIE CLEMENT DULY

EUROPEAN POWERS AND SOUTH-EAST AFRICA: A STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ON THE SOUTH-EAST COAST OF AFRICA, 1796–1856. By *Mabel V. Jackson Haight.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. xv, 368. $9.50.)

THE first edition of this book (1942) belonged clearly to the school of strategic-diplomatic history. Southeastern Africa was then neglected by historians of international affairs, and the use of Portuguese as well as British archives represented a step forward. In the intervening quarter century Mabel Jackson Haight

has added a few files to her list of primary sources and made an effort with uneven success to keep up with new secondary works. The neglect of French archives is regrettable.

This book, packed with facts, introduces the rich complex of Western and Eastern commercial interest, but seems to have no prominent thesis to guide its internal development. Perhaps the author, a South African, regarded the history of Mozambique prior to 1856 in the same way that an American historian might look at Mexican history before frontiers were defined. Many attitudes toward missionaries, "the Bantu," and British motives reflect South African historiography. Haight might now wish to escape from her South African premises, as is suggested by her appreciation of the work of E. A. Alpers, who uses Portuguese sources to illuminate the same region in an earlier period. Yet the new brand of African and Indian Ocean history does not marry well with the old preoccupation with official policy.

The history of Portuguese East Africa and the coast northward toward Zanzibar is indeed fascinating. Arabs and "Banian" Indians persisted as traders and creditors despite Portuguese attempts after the fifteenth century to establish monopolies. By the late eighteenth century, the real powerlessness of the Portuguese governors to prohibit illicit trade was partly acknowledged in arrangements to permit Frenchmen to export slaves to the island plantations at Mauritius. No sooner were the Portuguese officials allowed to legalize this trade than the British, now in control at the Cape, began taking a closer interest in the East Coast and placed metropolitan authorities under pressure to abolish the slave trade. The central triangle of French, Portuguese, and British relations ought to be the major theme of the book. But in addition, we have Americans, Arabs unclearly distinguished between Muscat and Zanzibar, Indians sailing under a variety of flags, "prazeros" or Africanized Portuguese landlords fighting it out in the interior, and finally the Boer factor, all ill-assimilated into the central narrative.

This new edition is timely, however, for Indian Ocean and Mozambique history is coming into well-deserved prominence, and Haight provides clues to a range of subjects that will bear monographic treatment.

Columbia University MARCIA WRIGHT

THE CAPE PARLIAMENT, 1854–1910. By *J. L. McCracken*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. 156. $4.50.)

PROFESSOR McCracken has organized his work topically rather than chronologically—establishment and growth, elections, members, Parliament and the non-Europeans, the Europeans and the franchise, parties, Parliament, and federation. Much material has been collected, analyzed, and presented in tabular form. The chapter on members, in particular, has interesting implications: it shows how the proportion of Afrikaans-speaking members increased suddenly in the eighties with the rise of national consciousness and the related development of constituency and party organization. In a colony of large area and dispersed population it was difficult to persuade leading men, particularly Englishmen, to stand for Parliament, especially after the mineral discoveries. Furthermore, carpetbaggers were rare. Both factors probably played a part in delaying the appearance of organizations based on English-speaking groups.

The author has, unfortunately, limited his treatment of the subject by length of text, emphasis, and choice of sources. The topics chosen could hardly be dealt with adequately except in a book at least twice as long. Secondly, this study falls between a monograph on a legislature and a study of an institution in a certain political context. If it were to be the latter, there should have been greater attention to such issues as urban and rural representation, important both in the nineties and in the drafting of the South Africa Bill in 1908 and 1909. If it were to be strictly a history of a chamber, there should have been some discussion of such topics as the speakership, the development of procedure, and the cabinet. Finally the author, without explanation, has limited himself to manuscript sources in Johannesburg and England, thereby omitting material in the magnificent collections in Cape Town.

McCracken completes his work on the nostalgic note frequently used by those who regard the Cape Parliament as a magnificent achievement, part of a fine liberal tradition before the dreary retreat to discrimination in the twentieth century. The achievement was undoubtedly great: the Cape Parliament conducted its proceedings with dignity and efficiency, contrasting favorably with at least one other colonial legislature, that of New Zealand. But the author does not deal sufficiently with one of the major questions, the origin and nature of Cape liberalism, and its partial erosion before the discussion of a new constitution after 1907. A closer study of the conduct of members in the Assembly might show us the social origins of the pressures to restrict the franchise, and the divisions, among Afrikaans-, as well as among English-speaking members, both on questions of native policy and on language rights and electoral distribution. Greater attention to the effect on Parliament of the rise in the proportion of Afrikaans-speaking members and to the debate on the Parliamentary Voters Registration Bill of 1887 might also reveal what was happening before the polarizing series of events that began with the Jameson Raid.

Within the regrettably narrow limits he has set himself, the author has written clearly and informatively, although the topical treatment has led him to some repetition and to allusions that those unfamiliar with South African history will find difficult to understand. Could McCracken not now give himself more room to move in and answer at length some of the questions his work raises?

Wesleyan University JEFFREY BUTLER

Asia and the East

LAW IN IMPERIAL CHINA: EXEMPLIFIED BY 190 CH'ING DYNASTY CASES. (Translated from the *Hsing-an hui-lan.*) With historical, social, and juridical commentaries by *Derk Bodde* and *Clarence Morris.* [Harvard Studies in East Asian Law, Number 1.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 615. $17.50.)

WE fortunately now have in English a competent study of Chinese legal history to the end of the last dynasty. The work began as a seminar at the University of

Pennsylvania, conducted by Professor Bodde of the Chinese department and Professor Morris of the department of law. In 1938 Bodde produced a book on Li Ssu, a legalist of the third century B.C. Now he and Morris have annotated 190 actual law cases of the Ch'ing period taken from a much larger compilation covering the years 1736–1885. Bodde brought to bear his competence in the written language and in the difficult nomenclature of the law. Morris adapted the concepts, where necessary, to Western legal thinking. The cases here translated are specimens only of a vast legal literature whose earliest code goes back to the third century B.C.

Prior to the twentieth century Chinese written law developed independently of the West and had, moreover, the characteristic of being overwhelmingly penal in emphasis. The local magistrate, together with his legal secretary, tried cases in the first instance, though public opinion, molded by local Confucian scholars, had a place. The system allowed for no private lawyers, and death sentences were normally referred to the judiciary board in Peking. The translated cases, though restricted in scope, present much information on Chinese society: family relationships, the view of the universe, the all-powerful ethical norms. Violations were not regarded as personal only, but as infractions of the cosmic order. It goes without saying that the emphasis was on obligations more than on rights.

"In some respects," says Bodde, "the law of Imperial China was more humane and intelligent than its Western counterpart." According to the dominant view of life, ordinary disputes should be settled out of court, in the broad domain of manners or li. For settling such conflicts, li had the advantage of being preventive rather than punitive. The common man, and even illiterates, learned its ramifications from observation, conversation, proverbs, and plays and invoked it effectively in hours of extremity. Li allowed for differences of application, according to age, education, usage, and status in society. Perhaps no writer in the West has expounded the range of this great social imperative better than John Fletcher Moulton, a former Lord Chief Justice of England, in a memorable essay, "Law and Manners" (*Atlantic,* CXXXIV [July 1924]). When li with all its persuasive powers failed, punishment was swift and radical, as some English observers noted a century ago in a period of political upheaval.

Washington, D. C. ARTHUR W. HUMMEL

APPROACHES TO MODERN CHINESE HISTORY. Edited by *Albert Feuerwerker et al.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. 356. $7.50.)

IN this *Festschrift* honoring the sixtieth birthday of their former mentor, Professor John K. Fairbank, twelve scholars have written research studies or essays on aspects of late Ch'ing and transitionally modern Chinese history. There are four motifs: five pieces relate to internal political-institutional history, three to the texture of intellectual life, two to facets of the traditional and modernizing economy, and two to foreign relations.

Another pattern of grouping—the one that was editorially decisive—began with two studies on topics pertaining to the Ch'ing period (the education of the Ch'ien Lung Emperor and institutional aspects of premodern mining); followed

by four pieces on aspects of Chinese modernization in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Li Hung-chang's policies and activities in Chihli Province, 1870–1875, Manchu China's failure to coordinate effectively naval squadrons and their administration during the late 1870's and 1880's, attitudes held and reforms advocated by a Western-influenced Chinese journalist at approximately the same time, and an essay on Japanese views of conditions in China and Korea during the Meiji era); then four interpretations of early twentieth-century nationalist and reformist groups and leaders and their ideas and attitudes (themes from Chinese nationalist student journalism in Japan especially during 1903–1908, the emergence of public opinion in China during 1901–1908, the reformist ideas and dual plots of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, and an experimental essay interpreting the transition from Confucian thought, values, and institutions to those of nationalism); and a dual coda composed of Professor John Israel's history of Kuomintang policies and student politics, 1927–1937, and Professor Feuerwerker's rather factual history of a major and successful cement company that had a continuous record from 1906 to 1908 into the Communist period.

In my opinion the most brilliant and stimulating study in this medley is Professor Marius Jansen's on "Japanese Views of China during the Meiji Period." It interprets an earlier development of a problem that increasingly plagues international relations in our time: the growing gap between societies responding disparately to the tasks and opportunities of modernization.

The only rather disappointing essay in this collection is "The Province, the Nation, and the World: The Problem of Chinese Identity."

Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy ALLAN B. COLE

ENEMIES AND FRIENDS: THE UNITED FRONT IN CHINESE COMMUNIST HISTORY. By *Lyman P. Van Slyke*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 330. $8.50.)

THAT ancient rule of power politics, to win over allies and isolate enemies, bulks large in Chinese tradition. In the form of the united front under Mao, it has "grown from tactic to strategy to ideology" until today the self-image of the Chinese Communist party (CCP) as leader of people and nation is intertwined with its achievements through the united front. The clarity and sophistication of Professor Van Slyke's study testify both to his own capacities and to the notable growth of American research on CCP history. He passes quickly over the early era: from 1923 CCP members entered the Kuomintang as individuals to form a "bloc within"; after the disastrous split of 1927, they eventually sought a "united front from below," discussed in China as early as November 1930, but the resulting putschism failed. The CCP was saved by Japan's aggression. Van Slyke traces the complex gestation of the united front policy both at the European and Comintern ends from early 1934 and at the Chinese end during the Long March. After the Seventh Comintern Congress of July–August 1935, the CCP really began to apply the new policy only at the end of the year. Mao made his own independent decision for it in response to Chinese conditions. It was "not a doctrine simply in obedience to Stalin's orders." A masterly chapter on the Sian incident of December 1936 analyzes the difficulties inhibiting the young marshal, Chang

Hsueh-liang, and the CCP. The latter "worked for Chiang's release" both to avoid civil war and to prevent "the possibility of a Nanking-Japanese coalition against the CCP."

During the war years, the united front was combined with armed struggle and party building. The united front sought allies and defined and isolated enemies. Armed struggle sought to destroy them. Party building, including the party reform or *cheng-feng* movement, kept the party healthily disciplined, for "the CCP wanted to take no chances of ending like the Manchus, submerged in what they were supposed to lead." Under the United Front Work Departments of CCP-dominated local regimes, nonparty cadres were trained and used. United front cadres of the CCP were, meanwhile, infiltrated to work as "liberals" in KMT areas, and others were set to infiltrating and winning over "friendly armies." This covert growth of a "united front from below" was combined with the overt collaboration of the CCP with central government and provincial authorities in a "united front from above." The gradual Communist take-over of Shansi serves as a case study. Another masterly chapter, on the postwar negotiations and civil war, indicates how the liberal-oriented Democratic League became the chief focus of united front strategy, which then carried over into the polity constructed after 1949.

Though Van Slyke does not go into it, the CCP's united front strategy succeeded within the distinctively Chinese political culture, where legitimation is through personal devotion to a moral orthodoxy, since law is not supreme; recruits are from the great middle group, since man is perfectible and can be taught; and their political organization is in large part by conspiracy, since power holders cannot tolerate genuine opposition. The present volume points the way toward this broader kind of study.

Harvard University J. K. Fairbank

LITERARY DISSENT IN COMMUNIST CHINA. By *Merle Goldman.* [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 29.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 343. $7.95.)

In tracing the development of literary dissent in mainland China during the 1940's and 1950's, Merle Goldman concentrates, throughout her book, on the conflict between the Communist literary bureaucrats and the so-called revolutionary writers. To prepare the reader for a better understanding of her main theme, she at first provides a chapter of relevant background information about the ideological and factional aspects of the conflict. Then she depicts in a lucid and forceful style the successive scenes of this historical drama of conflict, ranging from Mao Tse-tung's "Talks on Art and Literature," through the subsequent thought-remolding campaigns along with intervals of relaxation, to the Great Leap Forward in literature. And finally she gives a penetrating and unbiased evaluation of the significance of literary opposition in the light of both the past ideological reform drives and the current cultural revolution. Guided by the author's main emphasis or focal point, the reader is in no danger of getting lost in a host of extremely complicated historical episodes and situations.

The fact that Goldman limits her discussions mainly to the ideological and

factional clash between the literary bureaucrats and a handful of nonconforming writers is no doubt a great strength of her book, but at the same time it is also a weakness. Her definition of the term "revolutionary writers" seems broad enough to encompass both Communist and non-Communist writers who have rebelled against the party's, or rather Mao Tse-tung's, orthodox views on literature. In the final analysis, what the reader actually sees is not too much more than a seesaw battle of words between the authoritarian Chou Yang group and the late Lu Hsün's close associates and followers: Feng Hsüeh-feng, Hu Feng, Ting Ling, and Hsiao Chün. With the exception of Ai-ch'ing, Wang Shih-wei, Lo Feng, and Ho Ch'i-fang, particularly the last one to whose differing views on poetry a whole chapter is devoted, other Communist dissenters are either mentioned in passing or not given as much attention as they deserve. The non-Communist dissenters, except for Yü P'ing-po and a few others, are not given a hearing at all. As a consequence, the reader does not obtain quite the total picture of literary opposition in Communist China.

The Chinese sources pertaining to the literary bureaucrats and rebellious writers are indeed numerous, as can be seen in the bibliography of this book. It is clear that the author has well digested them, judging by her statements and conclusions based on these materials. Writings in Western languages are missing in this bibliography; scanty as they are, they should also be listed for the benefit of the reader.

Despite its limitations, this book has made a significant contribution to the intellectual and literary history of Communist China and will no doubt be valued by scholars for many years to come. After having read this scholarly work, I cannot but express the hope that the author will soon undertake her next project: a study of "the dramatic happenings of the sixties."

Yale University TIEN-YI LI

IMPERIAL JAPAN'S HIGHER CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS. By *Robert M. Spaulding, Jr.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 416. $10.00.)

MANY of the newer nations are struggling to establish viable governmental structures that are appropriate to the modern age. Historical experience to date suggests that there are several routes to political modernization—military oligarchies, personal despotisms, mobilization systems based on mass parties, and so forth—but we can be reasonably certain that whatever the route chosen, unless these countries are able to train and recruit competent and honest administrators, political stability is not likely to result. This is because the bureaucracy forms the core of modern government.

Students of modernization are increasingly turning to the Japanese historical experience for new insights. Somehow the Japanese managed to enter the modern world without being torn apart in the process, and one of the reasons was that Japan was able to create a competent bureaucracy that guided the nation along new paths. *Imperial Japan's Higher Civil Service Examinations* is a careful and detailed treatment of one important aspect of the building of the bureaucracy. The author traces step by step the decision to employ an examination system in

the latter part of the nineteenth century, weighs the influence of the German model, tells us who the examiners were and what the examinations were about, and considers the effects of the system on the recruitment of talent. The book is a product of careful scholarship and is likely to remain the standard work on the subject for a long time to come.

Because of space limitations only the most important of his findings will be discussed here. First, the examinations for the higher civil service posts became closely linked with higher education. The curriculum of the faculty of law of Tokyo Imperial University, the most important single road to the civil service, stressed those subjects which were useful for passing the examinations, and the examinations in turn were affected by the curriculum. The net effect was to give much weight to a rather narrow legal training. How could such a system adapt itself to social and technological change? Mr. Spaulding believes that the answer is to be found in the existence of alternative avenues of recruitment whereby technical specialists—engineers, statisticians, agronomists, public health officials, and so on—were brought in through "screening" and "free appointment"; he states that "without these alternative systems the concept of an inner elite trained in law would quickly have become untenable."

Second, the rate of failure in the examinations was high, running over 80 per cent. Only a few made it, and presumably they were the most talented and best trained because the author found few examples of fraud. Spaulding concludes that "it can hardly be doubted that the examination-centered bureaucracy of Imperial Japan comprised an effective government. The fact that it fell short of optimum efficiency in structure, in procedure, or in use of manpower did not prevent its being the equal of any contemporary government in the ability to make decisions and carry them out."

Stanford University NOBUTAKA IKE

THE JAPANESE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, 1920–1966. By *Robert A. Scalapino*. [Publications of the Center for Japanese and Korean Studies.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 412. $6.50.)

HISTORIANS interested in modern Japan and political scientists concerned with comparative politics recently have been supplied a rich and thorough documentation on what has been called Japan's "Left Cultural Front." George Totten's study of prewar Socialism (*The Social Democratic Movement in Prewar Japan* [1966]), a collaborative work on postwar Socialism (Cole *et al., Socialist Parties in Postwar Japan* [1966]), and Professor Scalapino's analysis of Japanese Communism have appeared almost in succession.

All of these studies, but most explicitly the last, attempt to come to grips with an interesting paradox. Japan has nurtured one of the strongest Socialist movements and one of the first Communist parties to be established in Asia. Already by 1920 the Japanese had achieved mass literacy; thus a people with a homogeneous culture, a modern political framework, and high political consciousness acquired the means to articulate its views. Industrialization supplied millions of new workers, the classic proletariat for the party. Furthermore, Marxism provided a new faith, combining "truth" and "science," and has appealed strongly to

Japanese intellectuals. And Marxism still serves as a sharp weapon of social criticism in Japan. Finally, the Japanese peasant was less backward than in most Asian countries. Despite these seeming advantages, Communism has not flourished in Japan.

Scalapino analyzes the reasons for the inability of the Japanese Communist party (JCP) to attract and hold a mass following. On the origins of the JCP, prior to 1945, he marshals the overwhelming evidence that the party was at first a creature of the Comintern and hence of the Soviet Union. Ever since, it has faced the necessity of adjusting overseas and domestic needs. The Communists (like the Socialists, studied in the parallel volumes mentioned above) have, moreover, been victims of the Japanese political penchant for factionalism, of fragmentation arising from "small-group" organization, and even of traditional Japanese leader-follower characteristics. Added to these disadvantages was the fact that prewar Communism was always harried by the forces of nationalism; the party had to operate as an illegal, underground organization.

The major portion of this study, however, deals with the even greater opportunities offered by the years since 1945. Emerging as an open part of post-surrender political life, the JCP was at first successful in "making communism lovable" (Chapter II). Such gains were blown apart by direct Soviet intervention and criticism. A sharp shift to the Left (Chapter III) coincided precisely with that great expansion of the Japanese economy and appearance of an affluent society, which seemed to render dogmas of "class struggle" meaningless. There has been unrest in contemporary Japan, of course, but dissent has flowed through other channels of Socialist-led opposition. A return to legalism and attempts to create a united front on the Left (Chapter IV) have been hindered by a tactical dilemma: on the one hand, the JCP has been committed to a united front; on the other, it has never been able to resist vicious assaults on the very elements with which it was supposed to cooperate.

In his summing up of its current status (Chapter VII) and in a perceptive survey of prospects and problems (Chapter VIII), Scalapino touches on two recent, significant developments. ". . . Japanese society has changed at an incredible rate, posing a vast array of new opportunities and problems, neither of which can be met by simplistic, antiquated formulae." Tempestuous storms within the international Communist system have buffeted the JCP first toward "neutralism," then toward Peking, and finally toward "autonomy and independence."

Rutgers University ARDATH W. BURKS

KOREA IN WORLD POLITICS, 1940–1950: AN EVALUATION OF AMERICAN RESPONSIBILITY. By *Soon Sung Cho.* [Published under the auspices of the Center for Japanese and Korean Studies, University of California, Berkeley.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. x, 338. $7.00.)

SINCE the publication of George M. McCune's study, *Korea Today,* in 1950 (see *AHR,* LVI [Jan. 1951], 355), there have appeared many books and articles on the Korean War and its aftermath, many of them polemical, but not since McCune has there been a serious attempt at a dispassionate analysis of the conditions

antecedent to the war. In *Korea in World Politics, 1940–1950,* Professor Cho, of International Christian University (Tokyo) and the University of Washington, goes into all the matters treated by McCune in greater depth, with fuller documentation, and with the benefit of seventeen years of hindsight. Writing "as a Korean," he admits that "it is too much to hope that I have achieved complete objectivity," but it is clear that he has not only tried hard, but succeeded admirably in minimizing the intensity of emotional feeling that the tragedies of modern Korean history naturally produce.

His general conclusion is that American policy, though well intentioned, blundered at a number of crucial points to make matters worse for Korea. Some of the evidence he adduces is the following: FDR had an exaggerated idea of the length of time needed to educate Korea for self-government, thirty or forty years, and while generating the trusteeship idea generally at Cairo and Yalta he never formulated it precisely; instead military considerations prevailed, and the US War Department invented the thirty-eighth parallel division, unnecessarily, Cho feels, because the Russians had not demanded it. Then General Hodge and his men went into Korea, with no clear instructions, and missed the opportunity to play a constructive role in the creation of an all-Korea government. This, Cho says, might have been possible if Hodge had supported the Korean Provisional Government as a coalition partner with Lyuh's People's Republic, a novel and interesting idea. It is based on the assumption that Russia had already accepted the latter, for which good but not conclusive evidence is given.

After the Moscow Conference Cho finds little hope for a united Korea, but he argues that the United States could and should have done much more than it did to strengthen South Korea and that it was "highly questionable that the transfer of the Korean issue at this time [September 1947] to the United Nations was especially apt," since it was like "giving the United Nations a hot potato . . . which the United States was unwilling to carry."

Cho's presentation is measured, precise, and persuasive, but it seems to me that he may be somewhat overindulgent of Syngman Rhee and the forces he led. Certainly their intransigence at almost every critical juncture, the Lyuh negotiations, the trusteeship discussions, and the efforts of Kimm Kiu-sic and Kim Koo to keep lines of communication to North Korea open made the potato hotter than it otherwise might have been. Also Americans who have seen the results of not bringing the Vietnam problem to the UN may question the conclusion that it was unwise to do so in the Korean case. These are, of course, debatable matters, and until Soviet documentation becomes available there can be no certainty as to what would or would not have produced happier results. Meanwhile Cho deserves congratulations for a careful and valuable study.

University of Pennsylvania HILARY CONROY

SIR ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM AND THE BEGINNING OF INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY. By *Abu Imam.* [Asiatic Society of Pakistan Publication Number 19.] (Dacca: the Society. 1966. Pp. xiii, 276. $6.00.)

THE story of the men who pioneered the study of ancient Indian civilization is sometimes as dramatic and remarkable as the civilization itself. It is frequently

not realized that about one hundred years ago we knew incredibly little about ancient India. It was not until the late 1800's, for example, that Indologists began to understand how great an impact Buddhism had in ancient India. Before that time even reputable scholars had identified Buddha with Woden or believed the Buddhists to be followers of Jina, unsure of whether Buddha was an Egyptian or an Ethiopian. Struggling against the obstacles of pitifully inadequate funds, the widespread conviction that "Asiaticks are born to be slaves," uncertainties as to the location of many great ancient cities of India, undeciphered scripts, a rudimentary knowledge of archaeological techniques, numerous health hazards, and a host of other problems, a handful of dedicated scholars gave us much of what we know today.

This volume describes and analyzes some of those discoveries and the toil and brilliance and luck that made them possible. Cunningham occupies the central position, as he should, although the work of many other scholars is also discussed. This study is a first-rate piece of scholarship, well documented and organized. Weaknesses appear from time to time where Dr. Imam lapses into a rather dry cataloguing of some of Cunningham's expeditions. But the flavor of the book as a whole is one of excitement and discovery as new and important historical data are literally unearthed. Photographs and especially maps would have much enhanced the value of this work.

Sometimes the unsung heroes are not the petty government officials whose names we just miss but the historians and other scholars who uncover or rediscover the past so that all who wish may add that heritage to their own present, thus expanding into new horizons. The scholar whose work is not a job or a career but a dedication sometimes bordering on madness is, I trust, with us still, and it is well that we pause from time to time to pay our respects and draw inspiration from him. Sir Alexander Cunningham and the work he did in the field of Indology were worthy of that pause. For his critical and excellent survey, of which a review of this length is inadequate, Imam has our gratitude.

University of Windsor JOHN W. SPELLMAN

REVENUE SYSTEM IN POST-MAURYA AND GUPTA TIMES. By *Dwijendra Narayan Jha.* (Calcutta: Punthi Pustak. 1967. Pp. xv, 234. Rs. 25.)

SINCE 1929 when U. N. Ghoshal published his work on the Hindu revenue system, over thirty books dealing primarily or in part with aspects of the economic history of ancient India have appeared. In the past three years alone four different titles dealing with the general area have been published; Mr. Jha's is the latest addition to the literature on the subject.

The work covers an eight-hundred-year period. The topics discussed are land-rights and taxes, commercial levies, income from state monopolies, forced labor, fines and tributes, and the structure and functions of the taxgathering bureaucracy. The author's general conclusion that there was a considerable hiatus between the theoretical injunctions and actual incidence of taxation is unexceptionable.

The author, for the most part, plows through much-furrowed soil. He interprets his literary, epigraphic, and numismatic material in a competent manner for most of the period. There is limit, however, to what new or fresh material may be

squeezed out of the tendentious sentiments of the *smritikāras,* involved inscriptions, laconic coins, and ambiguous statements of Chinese travelers worked almost to exhaustion by three generations of Indologists. Still, something meaningful in depth and new in perception may be achieved if the right questions are asked and a well-defined and narrow segment of time is selected for analysis. It is here that the work seems blasé. The author's examination of his literary sources is too cursory to inspire much confidence. The *Arthasastra* is used profusely throughout the work though there is scarcely any discussion on its chronology. The *Jatakas* are dogmatically accepted as a product of the post-Maurya times with a postscript that the political events mentioned by them may be pre-Maurya. He does not let us know how he proposes the precise chronological separation of the contents of the verse and prose parts of the *Jatakas.* He has largely neglected to use the Pali commentaries such as the *Sumangalavilāsī* and the *Papañcasūndanī,* though he has included the *Dhammapadaaṭṭhakathā* and the *Atthasālinī* (two of the few commentaries translated into English). His definition of terms such as revenue officer and feudalism is none too rigorous with the result that the entire range of the Gupta administration is brought into review because of connection of one kind or another between the officials and the task of revenue collection or disbursement.

But Jha has assiduously collected a large quantity of material, clarified a number of obscure points in the inscriptional evidence, and related scattered facts to several thematic categories. The work is a useful compendium of information on revenue matters pertaining to the period covered.

Wake Forest University B. G. Gokhale

THE REBELLIOUS RANI. By *Sir John Smyth.* (New York: Hillary House. 1966. Pp. 223. $6.50.)

Though from its title one might expect this book to be a biography of the Rani of Jhansi, or at least a history of her last years of conflict during the War of 1857–1858, it is neither. The Rani herself, in fact, plays a minor role in Brigadier Smyth's blow-by-blow account of the military efforts of Sir Hugh Rose and his men in Central India. The author "commanded a brigade at Dunkirk and a division against the Japanese in Burma" and has in this book sought to reconstruct the battle plans involving Jhansi, Kunch, Kalpi, and Gwalior during what he invariably calls "the Mutiny."

The narrative is replete with archaic clichés: "Whole races, such as the martial Sikhs and Gurkhas, stayed absolutely true to the British and rendered inestimable service"; "the infamous Nana Sahib"; "The mutineers . . . engaged in an orgy of loot and plunder . . . only a few of the Native servants remaining with their European masters"; "The massacre would have occurred with or without the approval of the Rani. Had she tried to oppose it she would have been a dead duck." There are also remarkable errors of fact, as on page sixty-one where the author states that the Peshwa's "sovereign rights passed into British hands" following the "Mahratta War of 1807." Smyth is most vitally interested in the details of battle and the composition of military units, to which he devotes the greatest care and attention, informing us, for example, that "The 25th Regiment

Native Infantry [afterwards the 125th Napier's Rifles] were formed under this nomenclature on 16th September, 1826, with 23 British officers, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Taylor. The Regiment had a major as second-in-command, five captains, ten lieutenants and six ensigns." This book is filled with such illuminating insights.

University of California, Los Angeles STANLEY WOLPERT

ISLAMIC MODERNISM IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN, 1857–1964. By *Aziz Ahmad.* [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 294. $6.75.)

PAKISTAN is a nation that, like Israel, professes to be a religious state. Like Israel, too (and like other nations that do not make this claim), Pakistan is divided by the advocates of two strong, competing religious positions: the orthodox (or fundamentalists, or traditionalists) and the modernists. To understand either country one must know something about these religious positions; politics, or economics, like patriotism, is not enough.

Aziz Ahmad, whose *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment* is still the finest study of its kind, has addressed himself to the problem of describing the intellectual and theological trends that have marked Islamic modernism in the subcontinent since 1857. Although his study is necessarily selective, it seems unfortunate that the Ahmadiya are discussed only in relation to the 1953 disturbances, on the ground that sufficient material has already been written about them, and that their modernist posture is little different from that of any other modernist group. No one can contest the validity of this reasoning, but neither can he ignore the gap left by the omission of one of the most controversial groups within Pakistan today.

Aziz Ahmad has intended his book as an introduction. Nevertheless, he has surely succeeded in his purposes, although one wonders if he has not assumed a greater knowledge and understanding of Islam than exists among all but a very few advanced Western students.

Aziz Ahmad, who is professor of Islamic studies at the University of Toronto, begins his book with an excellent chapter summarizing the contacts of Indian Muslims with the West from the time of Akbar to that of the Mutiny. The volume then discusses the thought of Sayyid Ahmad Khan and the Aligarh movement, Iqbal and Abul Kalam Azad, as well as lesser figures and movements that surround these undoubted landmarks of modern Muslim thought. About a quarter of the book is devoted to present-day Pakistan Muslim thought, specifically that of Maudoodi and Parwez, with due attention to religious repercussions in political affairs.

A glossary lists some sixty Urdu words frequently used throughout the text. This is a valuable volume that gathers together a mass of material, much of which is nowhere conveniently accessible in English, and which provides an essential insight into any understanding of the modern nation of Pakistan, or of the Muslim minority in India.

Tufts University FREELAND ABBOTT

FRIENDS NOT MASTERS: A POLITICAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By *Mohammad Ayub Khan.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 275. $7.50.)

It would be easier to discuss this book properly if one knew exactly how it was compiled. President Ayub Khan tells us: "This is essentially a spoken book. After I had defined the broad scope and outlines of the book I asked some friends to prepare questions on the theme of different chapters. The question and answer sessions began in June 1964 and continued to the end of the year. . . ." It has been suggested that the two chapters on foreign policy derive largely from the former Foreign Minister, Z. A. Bhutto. Other chapters may represent the contribution of other persons close to the President. But we are given no clues in the text, and we must assume that the whole work is attributable to the President; the greater part does, obviously, bear the stamp of his personality. There emerges a portrait of a lonely man, occupied with his own thoughts and giving his friendship to few if any of his colleagues, military or civil. The title is not intended to refer to internal relations in Pakistan but to the approach that Ayub expects from the Great Powers in their international dealings with his country.

The President devotes only seventy pages to events in his life before his assumption of power in 1958. We learn that he found little true comradeship in his years as an officer in the British-Indian Army, while the first decade of independence (when the politicians were in power) was seen as a time of waste and inertia. Apart from a tribute to Jinnah, the references to the politicians and administrators are uniformly chilling. A clear impression emerges from the narrative that Ayub Khan as the commander in chief who became chief martial law administrator and then President in 1958 was no simple soldier, propelled against his inclination into the leadership of his country. Already he possessed a clear plan of action. He reproduces the "Short Appreciation of Present and Future Problems of Pakistan" which he wrote by himself in 1954, and this presages to a considerable extent the reforms that he implemented in the first years of martial law, leading up to the 1962 Constitution. It becomes evident that Ayub is determined to maintain this Constitution. He states: "I have had to work against very heavy odds and I will not see this system trifled with." Like every other leader of opinion in Pakistan, Ayub has had to grapple with the question of the role of Islam in the nation. His approach shows him at his best. He insists that Islam is not synonymous with bigotry and theocracy; it can be defined in "simple but modern terms" and become a "code of guidance" to ordinary people. On page 197 he reproduces his own outline of a "code of guidance," which is impressively enlightened. Ayub's Constitution and his system of Basic Democracy, together with the measures to modernize Islamic law in relation to the family, represent an attempt to mobilize the masses of ordinary folk. Despite some success, there has not really been a revolution in Pakistan. The country's rule is today as authoritarian as ever it was under the imperial power. In part, the failure to achieve a break-through was affected by the limitations of Pakistan's situation within the international system. Irretrievably involved with India in mutual deadlock over Kashmir, Pakistan has had to seek allies in the contest with big brother. First in the Commonwealth, then in the United States, and now in

Communist China, Pakistan has sought to discover "Friends not Masters." It has been a frustrating experience. Ayub chooses to end his book with the triumph of the presidential election of January 1965. Since that triumph, the President has had to tread a weary path. It is not clear where it will finally lead.

University of London HUGH TINKER

REVOLUTION IN PAKISTAN: A STUDY OF THE MARTIAL LAW ADMINISTRATION. By *Herbert Feldman.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 242. $6.50.)

THIS is one of a spate of excellent studies that have been produced in 1967 touching on developments in Pakistan. Our knowledge and understanding of the peoples, problems, and leaders of that nation have been significantly increased as a result. In a sense Mr. Feldman's contribution to this new literature is his book's most thorough and useful discussion of political change because it is the most intimate. This is a study of the forty-four months of martial law administration beginning in October 1958 and ending in June 1962 when a new constitution was promulgated. After the first three chapters which describe the circumstances surrounding the military take-over, the author devotes the next seven chapters, or most of the book, to a detailed examination of the reforms that the regime introduced in land, agriculture, and the public services as well as in the political, economic, social, and religious life of the nation. One chapter takes up the touchy subject of relations between the eastern and western wings of Pakistan, two chapters examine foreign policy and relations with India, and the concluding two chapters discuss the 1962 Constitution and attempt to identify historical precedents for the events of the martial law period. Ayub and the generals who assumed power in 1958 emphasized the stabilizing, liberating aspects of the regime, its sharp break from the corruption, intrigue, and incompetence of the past, while they played down the concept of an imposed martial law. The overriding power of the military remained predominant, to be sure, but the *coup* was bloodless, and, Feldman argues, the revolution never lost sight of the democratic idea. Indeed, the author faults the military administrators for being too mild, overly conciliatory in the application of reform. He wonders whether adequate economic and social reform could, under the circumstances, be effectively implemented through a system of "painless dosage." Feldman sees in this moderation a reversion to the paternalism of the post-1857 variety, which is an interesting if unimportant parallel, as the author himself points out. Carrying the historical analogy further, he asserts unequivocally that Pakistan's political future will follow the same course of change seen in British India from the council acts to responsible government. In Pakistan there will be universal adult suffrage, broadly elected assemblies, responsible cabinet ministers, and so forth. Feldman's optimism is encouraging.

Feldman was in Pakistan during most of the martial law period, and his assessment undoubtedly benefits greatly from this firsthand observation. Most points are made, however, on the basis of thorough documentation from official publications and the press. A bibliography listing the major sources would have

been useful. The book does contain nine valuable appendixes including relevant documents beginning with Ayub's initial proclamation of October 7, 1958.

University of Virginia WALTER HAUSER

A HUNDRED YEARS OF CEYLON TEA, 1867–1967. By *D. M. Forrest.* (New York: Hillary House. 1967. Pp. xiv, 15–320. $7.00.)

READERS with infinite patience may succeed in mining some useful information from the turgid pages of this book, but it remains a matter for amazement that a reputable publisher should be offering such a volume to an unwary public. It is true that the author warns us in his preface that the book was commissioned by the Ceylon Tea Propaganda Board. Alas, the result is not even a good piece of propaganda, much less a satisfactory work of economic history. What it is instead is a tangled jungle of meandering prose, salted with an abundance of contemporary quotations and peppered with innumerable names of men who were associated in one way or another with the tea industry of Ceylon.

The rise of tea as a large-scale plantation crop in Ceylon came in the wake of a blight that virtually destroyed the coffee industry in the 1870's. From that time to the present tea has played a crucial role in the economy of the island. Enough is said in this book to make it clear that there is an important story to be told here. But it is not a task for the amateur historian, particularly one addicted to an anecdotal style and of an antiquarian bent.

Sir George Williams University MARTIN DEMING LEWIS

DIE PHILIPPINEN—GESTERN UND HEUTE. By *G. I. Levinson.* German edition prepared by *Hans Piazza.* Translation by *Willy Steltner.* [Studien zur Geschichte Asiens, Afrikas und Lateinamerikas, Number 14/15.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1966. Pp. 373. DM 35.)

THIS is essentially a translation, executed under the auspices of the Institute of Modern General History of the Karl Marx University of Leipzig, of the major substance of two volumes by the Russian specialist on Southeast Asia, Georgi Ilyitch Levinson, which originally were published in Moscow in 1958 and 1959. In this German edition, however, two concluding chapters, as well as an epilogue on "most recent Philippine history," carry the narrative forward until about the beginning of 1965. Levinson conceived of this volume, addressed to the general reader, as a contribution to an understanding of the sources of the "spiritual force" with which "the impoverished rice farmers of Luzon and the harbor-workers of Manila, the peons of the sugar plantations and the mountain people of the gold mines have already for many years been fighting a dramatic struggle for their national and social liberation." And, indeed, throughout these pages there is no relief from a rigid Marxist perspective, culminating in a predictable conclusion: the Philippine Communist party lives and struggles on, "and notwithstanding terrible persecution and terror," intensive "thought control," and "anti-Communist hysteria," and despite the arrests of "well-known leaders of the national liberation movement" like Casto Alejandrino and Alfredo Saulo (recent

Huk chieftains) popular interest, especially among youth, in Marxism is "notably increasing."

When Levinson puts ideologizing aside, his insights, in the introductory chapter, into the historic one-sided pattern of American investments in the Philippines, the rigidities of rural social relationships on Luzon, and the enduring obstacles to meaningful land reform programs are often astute, although his statistics here are often dated. The heart of his book, however, is Philippine political history, from just before the outbreak of World War II through the collapse of the "liberation fight" of the Hukbalahap by 1953. Levinson sees the whole of this history as basically an incessant struggle against the exploitative economic and political domination of the US, and from this vantage point "American monopoly" interests are as much the villains as Paul V. McNutt ("the sworn enemy of the independence of the Philippine people"), or Ramon Magsaysay, seen as the stooge of Philippine landlords and US militarists. President Ferdinand Marcos' administration is described as exhibiting a suspicious ambivalence toward the "patriotic and democratic" forces in his country that originally had helped him to come to power, considering his compliance with American pressure to send Philippine forces to Vietnam. It is surprising, in view of the author's ideological proclivities, that his account of the Philippine Communist party, its leaders and fronts, and of the present Huk resurgence, is sketchy and spasmodic. It is clearly Levinson's attempt to submerge the Philippine Communists into the mainstream of nationalism, to make Communism merely a particularly strong variant of nationalism, so to speak. Hence nuances and distinctions in the Communist program are as little in evidence as an understanding of the Mafia-like criminality of much of the Huk organization today, or the Maoist appeals among Philippine student radicals in front groups like the *Kabataang Makabayan.*

University of Bridgeport JUSTUS M. VAN DER KROEF

Americas

ARCHIVES & THE PUBLIC INTEREST: SELECTED ESSAYS. By *Ernst Posner.* Edited by *Ken Munden.* Introduction by *Paul Lewinson.* (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1967. Pp. 204. $6.00.)

WHEN the Society of American Archivists decided to honor its distinguished former president Ernst Posner on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday, it chose to publish these essays dealing with a variety of archival problems. Unlike the more usual *Festschrift* that often bestows students' esteem without focusing on the honoree's major contributions, this book admirably represents Posner's thinking. And in a country where the archival profession is yet comparatively young and the field of archival theorists uncrowded, Posner's contribution stands as a significant achievement.

The articles dealing with archival training in Europe and the United States demonstrate the considerable differences in archival practice and theory in the two areas. In Europe the training has been far more specific and intensive, as at *L'École des Chartes* in Paris and at the Dahlem institute in Germany. Training at

the latter has been closely connected with the Prussian State Archives. The first formal academic training in archives in this country dates only from 1938, four years after the establishment of the National Archives. Soon after Columbia University inaugurated this course, it decided to drop it. Thereupon, its teacher, Solon J. Buck, transferred it to American University, located conveniently near the National Archives in Washington. When Buck was appointed Archivist of the United States in 1941, Posner assumed responsibility for the course and taught it until his retirement twenty years later. During these two decades, Posner largely determined the shape and dimension of archival training in this country.

Perhaps the most impressive aspect of this book is Posner's grasp of the problems that have faced and still face the National Archives. In "The National Archives and the Archival Theorist" he deals with the achievements and unsolved challenges of the National Archives. He admires the development of the organizational scheme of the record group, "a pragmatic and hence enormously useful refinement of the French concept of the *fonds*." He applauds, moreover, the sensible policy of microfilming entire series of archival records, "a final break with the archivist's proprietary attitude toward his records. . . ." On the debit side, Posner laments the lack of scholarly professionalism among the National Archives staff. Unlike their European counterparts who function as active scholars in addition to performing archival tasks, the staff of the National Archives has rarely engaged in scholarly writing because of the strict barrier between official work and research, despite the fact that many staff members have had the academic requisites for scholarly publication. The historical community would profit greatly if this barrier were breached, and concerned historians should follow Posner's lead in expressing dissatisfaction with a condition that impedes the effectiveness of the professional staff at this splendid repository.

University of Oklahoma WALTER RUNDELL, JR.

FREEDOM AND REFORM: ESSAYS IN HONOR OF HENRY STEELE COMMAGER. By *Richard B. Morris et al.* Edited by *Harold M. Hyman* and *Leonard W. Levy*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1967. Pp. xi, 400. $6.95.)

FOR nearly twenty years Henry Steele Commager has devoted much of his time and an incredible amount of energy, first to the struggle for freedom of speech and opinion, and subsequently for a foreign policy that would refrain from interfering with the liberty of other nations to adopt their own forms of government. Responding courageously to the challenge of McCarthyism, he spoke and wrote for many of his colleagues who lacked his ability to influence public opinion. A decade later the war in Vietnam led to his eloquent and persuasive protests against American interference. These public causes, however, have been but chapters in a career devoted to the scholarly interpretation of constitutional liberties and the promotion of progressive reform.

The contributors to this volume, published in honor of Commager's sixty-fifth birthday, reflect his broad scholarly interests rather than merely the activities of his former graduate students. Throughout his life Commager has been a reader with catholic tastes and a phenomenal memory. No doubt he is at home in the

field of each of these essays, which range over eight hundred years of history from English legal institutions to the United States Supreme Court and the New Deal, and from law and medicine to ethnic groups and reformers. Two of the essays are personal appreciations by his former Columbia colleagues (he now teaches at Amherst), Richard B. Morris and Allan Nevins; two are on medieval English and colonial legal processes; two are on early nineteenth-century religious history; and the remaining seven range over diverse topics from the Civil War period to the New Deal.

In the fields of American history with which I am familiar the essays present some interesting new interpretations. For example, John D. Wright, Jr., shows the destructive force of sectarianism in early western college education; Harold M. Hyman argues for the undesirability of any available compromise in 1860; and William Leuchtenburg shows more strongly than before the partisanship of the conservative justices of the Supreme Court in 1935. Perhaps only Commager himself could expertly appreciate all of this book, but other American historians should find something valuable, and much that is interesting, in these substantial essays.

University of Pennsylvania THOMAS C. COCHRAN

THE ORIGINS OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY: THE INTERNATIONAL HISTORY OF ANGLOAMERICA, 1492–1763. By *Max Savelle*. With the assistance of *Margaret Anne Fisher*. [American Diplomatic History Series.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. xiii, 624. $12.95.)

The Origins of American Diplomacy will doubtless be held the most important of the contributions that Professor Max Savelle has made over the years to illuminate American colonial history. Because "Angloamerica" is stressed in the title to this impressive volume, it does not mean that non-Anglo-American developments are ignored; they merely occupy a subordinate place in favor of those that are Anglo-American. In fact this is the only book that one can point to concerned with American diplomacy that covers its history systematically from the discovery of America to the Peace of Paris that terminated Britain's war for the Empire. It should therefore take its place as one of the essential books for students of American colonial history.

In the writing of such a book one has a choice of moving along upon a broad chronological front or of modifying this approach by use of the topical method. Savelle chose the latter, and I think wisely. This means, however, that to make sure that each topic is rounded out there is inevitable repetition of certain details. Chapter v, "Anglo-Dutch Relations Bearing upon America, 1648–59," Chapter vi, "Anglo-Spanish Diplomacy Relative to America, 1648–89," and Chapter vii, "Anglo-Portuguese Colonial Diplomacy, 1648–89," are concerned with English diplomacy from the Peace of Westphalia (1648) to the English Revolution of 1689, while Chapter ix, "Anglo-French Diplomacy with Regard to America, 1648–1702," covers the same period and then continues to the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1702. It is impossible to avoid some repetition in developing these chapters.

Anyone who seeks to write the early history of English diplomacy as it bears

upon America must rely heavily upon Frances Gardiner Davenport's scholarly *European Treaties Bearing upon the Territory of the United States and Its Dependencies* in three volumes that brings one down to the conclusion of the Treaty of Utrecht (1715)—without reference to the less useful fourth volume of the *Treaties* by Charles O. Paullin, covering the period 1716–1815, since the latter offers no such aids as do the illuminating essays in the Davenport volumes. It holds true of the present book. It can be said, nevertheless, that Savelle's entire volume testifies to his scholarly approach to diplomatic history. The work is, in fact, a climax to a long period in preparation for such a task. In 1934 his "Colonial Origins of American Diplomatic Principles" was published in the *Pacific Historical Review,* and in 1939 came "Diplomatic Preliminaries of the Seven Years' War in America" in the *Canadian Historical Review;* this was followed in 1940 by *The Diplomatic History of the Canadian Boundary, 1749–63,* and in 1942 by *Foundation of American Civilization,* which gives considerable space to American colonial diplomatic history. Finally, in 1957, "The Forty-Ninth Degree of North Latitude as an International Boundary, 1719: The Origin of an Idea" appeared in the *Canadian Historical Review.*

In the present volume I should like to commend particularly Chapter XIX, "Angloamerica in the Diplomacy of the Seven Years' War, 1756–63," as the best account in brief compass that we possess. The bibliography, together with the footnotes, merits only praise. Savelle may rightfully claim to be the leading living authority on diplomacy involving America during the colonial period. Even so excellent a book, however, is not free from error. The map on page 182—outlining the European possessions in the eastern Caribbean in 1736—does not list Grenada as a French possession but as an island "assumed to be neutral in later negotiations," despite the fact that it was heavily populated by the French who by 1763 had possessed it for over a century. Nor in Article IX of the peace treaty of that year when it was surrendered to Great Britain was it listed as "neutral."

Lehigh University LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON

WILDERNESS AND THE AMERICAN MIND. By *Roderick Nash.* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 256. $6.50.)

To trace the American attitude toward wilderness from its European origins to the Wilderness Act of 1964 is quite an undertaking, but the author has done this and more. He begins with a problem of definition. What is a wilderness, and how has it been defined historically? (For the ancient Hebrews it was a desert.) He is interested in a wide variety of subjects as related to his theme. Among the dozens of individuals examined at some length are Henry David Thoreau, John Muir, and Aldo Leopold, each of whom gets a chapter. Particular episodes in the movement for conservation and wilderness preservation come in for extended attention. The essential theme of the book is that a transformation has occurred in American thinking about wild places—from fear and hatred to appreciation and even reverence—but that such a change has not assured real protection of the remaining areas. They may be "loved out of existence" rather than brought under ax, plow, or superhighway. "By definition

man is alien to wilderness, and even the most careful camper leaves the marks of his passage on the land."

In the early chapters this study is reminiscent of Hans Huth's *Nature and the American* (1957). The change in popular attitudes is traced in a similar way, with an emphasis in each on Romanticism and the transcendentalists. But Nash devotes almost half of his book to the twentieth century, to "The Wilderness Cult," "Hetch Hetchy," and "Aldo Leopold: Prophet," as well as to recent controversies and decisions. His focus is sharper, he treats rigorously various conceptions of wilderness, and his objectivity is such that he does not align himself clearly with the preservationist groups. The book is both scholarly and readable. Much of the biographical information is interesting, and the reader is likely to be surprised by the subleties of American thinking about wilderness. Even the skeptics may find themselves agreeing with the cumulative arguments for preservation. Benton MacKaye, Robert Marshall, Sigurd Olson, Joseph Wood Krutch, and many others have recognized the inevitable "tension" between civilization and wilderness, but they argue eloquently for the contribution that wilderness can make. As Krutch once expressed it, "the wilderness and the idea of the wilderness is one of the permanent homes of the human spirit." But the author does not ignore those other Americans who have decided that "the dream, like the wild continent," is "beyond recovery."

University of Illinois J. Leonard Bates

LIQUOR AND ANTI-LIQUOR IN VIRGINIA, 1619–1919. By *C. C. Pearson* and *J. Edwin Hendricks*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 342. $8.75.)

The late Professor Pearson worked on this book at intervals over many years; his coauthor revised both the text and the full footnotes, drawing upon some of the modern histories of temperance. Their book, despite its balanced title, treats only superficially the sellers and drinkers of liquor and emphasizes those who sought to regulate or prohibit it. The study views regulation as an outgrowth of the Virginia tradition of local government and hence as "the most successful answer" to the alcohol problem. It convincingly attributes the demand for more stringent restriction of the use of liquor to the middle classes, especially as embodied in the Baptist and Methodist Churches. In the early twentieth century, the enemies of strong drink temporarily overcame the upper classes and "the rabble" (as the poor are occasionally termed) and imposed prohibition.

Too much of this history of temperance is overaged wine in new bottles. While its first half attempts slight modifications of the account given in John Allen Krout's *The Origins of Prohibition,* it mostly supplements that historical classic with confirmatory details. In so doing, the book gives a good description of the regional and class conflicts over temperance within ante bellum Virginia, but seldom recognizes adequately the role of outside influences. The general interpretive studies of pre-Civil War reform, which would have helped to supply this deficiency, are used little or not at all. Often overlooked are what seem to be opportunities for fruitful comparisons of the Old Dominion's temperance move-

ment with those of northern states. A large portion of the book is, instead, provincial in approach and needlessly arid in its prose.

But the chapters on the Anti-Saloon League redeem the rest. They are based upon such valuable sources as early interviews with participants and manuscripts sometimes no longer extant. They contain an astute analysis of the league's leaders, constituency, and methods. Especially illuminating are the discussions of relationships between the "Dry" and Democratic machines, between the disfranchisement of Negroes and the prohibitionist victory, and between the closing of the liquor sources of the upper classes and the revival of the "Wets." An abbreviated summary suggests the direction of Virginia's policies on liquor since 1919. The book as a whole lends further support to the contention that prohibitionists were mainly nonurban, middle-class, evangelical Protestants.

Kent State University FRANK L. BYRNE

ROGER WILLIAMS: THE CHURCH AND THE STATE. By *Edmund S. Morgan.* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1967. Pp. 170. $4.50.)

THIS book presents the most arresting analysis of Williams' thought that has yet appeared. It penetrates the obscurities of helter-skelter polemics to reveal underlying symmetry and simple profundity. Professor Morgan believes Williams has been misunderstood and misjudged. Too little noted is the sturdy conservatism of Williams' insistence upon moral law. His liberalism with respect to liberty of conscience and confidence in reason, moreover, was more limited than Jefferson's. His realism, daring, and originality in the search for root principles has perhaps been underestimated. The book stresses his drive to follow an idea to its logical consequences. He sought the rigor of moral consistency. He insisted on realism in viewing history and analyzing government. His critical reading of history and his scriptural typology were at odds with uncritical Christian historiography; historians, in Williams' opinion, could not presume to say what God's purpose was in this or that great event.

Disagreeing with Perry Miller's view that Williams' prime concern was theology, Morgan concentrates on the church, the state, and relations between them. The analysis reveals the thrust of an original mind to synthesize basic assumptions that would enable mankind to resolve conflicts. Williams asked first the realist question—what could a state actually do?—before he asked what a state ought to do. History demonstrated that use of force to establish religion was futile. It diverted the church from its spiritual functions and the state from its civil functions when a government undertook to imprison, banish, or execute dissenters or make war in God's name. The functions a state could effectively serve were simple but basic: preservation of the bodies and goods of the people. A corollary was government enforcement of moral law, restraining disorderly acts adverse to public welfare, safety, and good morals. Protection of bodies and goods would justify defensive war, but wars to punish unbelievers were an unchristian aggression. Peoples constantly deluded themselves with the vanity that God conferred on their nation a special mission to judge and reform their neighbors. The real functions of government were to preserve bodies and goods. "Williams knew that almost any war looks defensive to the people waging it,"

notes Morgan, and "that Europe had been drenched in blood" by aggressors who thought they had a divine mission, but Williams denied that war could ever be holy.

Williams' root principles concerning the source of political authority cut through the *mystique* of divine favor and manifest destiny: government officials had no access to divinity; the only authority a government had was the power conveyed by the people; God did not authorize any body politic to act in His behalf, and therefore no people could delegate religious authority to a government; a covenant made by men in the name of God could not establish the will of God. Theories of divine favor and of holy mission to overthrow evil regimes were moralistic self-deceptions. God did not give religious duties to governments; God did not command rebellions against unholy regimes; God did not authorize wars for holy ends. With the coming of Christ, God put all nations on a par. God did not favor one people or one kind of civil government above another. Williams, concludes Morgan, "made all governments equal and removed the need for a government's sitting in judgment on every other government." This volume is one of the finer fruits of the new literature on Puritan thought.

Wesleyan University SAMUEL HUGH BROCKUNIER

CIVILIANS UNDER MILITARY JUSTICE: THE BRITISH PRACTICE SINCE 1689, ESPECIALLY IN NORTH AMERICA. By *Frederick Bernays Wiener.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1967. Pp. xxxii, 346. $11.50.)

IN *Reid* v. *Covert* and *Kinsella* v. *Krueger,* decided in 1956, the United States Supreme Court sustained the convictions by military tribunals abroad of two American women, one the wife of a sergeant, the other the wife of an officer, for the murder of their husbands. The Court held that neither Article III of the Constitution nor the Fifth or Sixth Amendments protected the American "camp follower" when he was tried by American military tribunals for offenses committed in foreign lands; as long as the defendants were not denied due process, the Congress could provide for the trial of such offenders as it saw fit.

A change in the composition of the Court, and a change of vote by a member of the majority, resulted in a rehearing. In 1957, after reargument, the Court withdrew its decisions in the Reid and Kinsella cases, wrote new opinions, and held unconstitutional in time of peace and as applied to these two women, Article II (11) of the Uniform Code of Military Justice under which the military court had originally assumed jurisdiction. The ruling rested on the fact that the defendants were charged with capital offenses.

Three years later, there came other decisions of the Court—*Kinsella* v. *Singleton, Grisham* v. *Hagen, McElroy* v. *Guagliardo,* and *Wilson* v. *Bohlender*—that extended the protection of the Constitution in peacetime to wives and dependents of service personnel and to civil personnel charged with noncapital crimes.

In all of these cases, Mr. Frederick Bernays Wiener, the author of this volume, served as counsel for the defendants.

Following these decisions, Wiener "sought to assemble consecutively all the

materials that had been presented in a whole series of briefs filed in the several cases," and he further intended to supplement "at least in some measure the historical research that under the pressure of time had up to then been necessarily undertaken on a once-over-lightly basis." The latter led him, among other depositories, to the archives of Windsor Castle, the William L. Clements Library, the Boston Public Library, the Public Record Office, the New York and Massachusetts Historical Societies, the Peabody Institute, and the Ministry of Defence Library. So voluminous was the material and so untouched its use by scholars that what Wiener had intended as a single background chapter on the British experience turned into a book.

Civilians under Military Justice begins with a consideration of the first Mutiny Act (1689) and the first camp follower Article of War; it ends with an adequate treatment of the Army and Air Force Act of 1955. Fully half of the book deals with the court-martial jurisdiction of the British Army in North America between 1765 and 1783. "In sum," says Wiener, "the rulings in England at the time that the Thirteen Colonies went their separate way reflected a municipal military jurisdiction quite as limited as that now obtaining in the United States. . . ."

Wiener has written an authoritative and important book. It should prove of value both to the legal scholar and to American and British historians of the revolutionary period. For those who are, to a degree, familiar with the cases, Wiener's contribution is the depth and extensiveness of his study, bringing to light a great mass of significant material heretofore ignored or forgotten.

Vassar College C. Gordon Post

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY. By *Russell F. Weigley.* [The Wars of the United States.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. xiv, 688. $12.95.)

It was a happy thought on the part of the editor and publisher (Louis Morton and Macmillan) of "The Wars of the United States" series to include a volume on the history of the United States Army. And it was a happy choice to assign this volume to Professor R. F. Weigley, who had previously demonstrated his competence to handle large or significant topics by producing a perceptive study of American military thought and a biography of Quartermaster General M. C. Meigs of the Civil War era.

This particular topic is large partly because of the period that had to be covered, from the colonial years to the 1960's. It is large too because the United States has had throughout its history two armies: a regular or professional army and a citizen or militia army. Weigley rightly conceived that he had to tell the story of both armies and to combine the story when the armies merged, as they have done in wars. Such a broad scope was not the mark of the two histories of the army that previously have been standard, one by W. A. Ganoe (1936) and the other by O. L. Spaulding (1937); they were concerned mainly with the Regular Army, and both reflected the bias toward citizen soldiers fixed in military thinking, and often in civilian thinking, by Emory Upton. Weigley repudiates the Uptonian bias and also the notion of some champions of a citizen

army that a professional establishment is dangerous to democracy. His massive book, based on wide reading, written with spirit, and argued with sense, must become the standard treatment.

In a review it is possible only to indicate the broad features of the book. As the author summarizes his purpose: "This is a history not of battles and campaigns but of the Army as an institution maintained by the nation to fight its battles and campaigns, or to deter a need to fight them." The book is, it is fair to say, a record of the army's way of making war—of its command arrangements, its organization, its administration, its weapons, and the like. The sheer bulk of the information on these subjects alone will make the book a prized reference.

But this is more than just a huge factual compilation. Weigley attempts to describe and analyze an army way of making war that is an expression of American culture. He catches up the essence of his thesis in his summary of World War II which, he says, "called for the very ingredients that American history had best prepared": the mass citizen army, the skilled regular officer corps, the lavish equipment of industry, and, finally, the enemy repulsed and beaten. The war was, in fact, "a kind of Indian raid writ large."

It may have been also the last war in which these ingredients would appear. Weigley thinks that in the future the US may have to fight limited wars of the Korean and Vietnam type, wars that are like the wars of the eighteenth century. But these older limited wars had remained limited because "they were fought in the absence of democratic public opinion and so were not fanned by popular passions into national crusades." In short, a new military tradition in America is in the making. Weigley believes that the army will be able to adjust its thinking to the new ways of war. It is the most flexible of the three services, he writes, and this adaptability constitutes "a prime assurance of its ability to serve the country in the uncertain future."

Louisiana State University T. Harry Williams

THE CONSERVATIVE TRADITION IN AMERICA. By *Allen Guttmann.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 214. $6.00.)

After the appearance of Louis Hartz's *The Liberal Tradition in America* one could only ask: Is there a conservative in the house? Opening untried doors, Allen Guttmann finds that the conservative tradition in America has persisted primarily as a phenomenon of letters, a subject often neglected by students of formal political theory. Indeed, the major contribution of Guttmann's book is his fine analysis of literary conservatism. Among American writers, for example, Guttmann finds the human dwelling as the central conservative symbol—from Irving's Bracebridge Hall and Hawthorne's Seven Gables to James's Palazzo Roccanera and Faulkner's Mansion. In other chapters the literary theme also emerges as the author studies the revival of conservative ideas in More's new humanism, Tate's southern agrarianism, Ransom's New Criticism, Santayana's timocratic Hellenism, and, of course, Eliot's Anglo-Catholicism.

Guttmann's major purpose, aside from discussing the alienation of the aesthetes, is to "trace the decline of Conservatism in American political life" and "to indicate why certain men and movements are not as conservative as they are

sometimes claimed to be." To this end the author concentrates on three institutions. In the realm of political thought, he traces the familiar story of conservatism's failure to survive either in the loyalism of Boucher, the federalism of Ames, or the schizoid organicism of Calhoun and Fitzhugh. Nor could it abide American Catholicism, whose liberal wing, having long ago repudiated Brownson's medieval *étatisme,* is currently celebrating ecumenicalism and rejoicing in "the end of the 'Constantine Era' and in the prospects of a free Church in an open society." Even the "Military Establishment," Guttmann contends in what doubtless will be his most controversial chapter, is no bastion of conservative ideas or influence. Drawing upon the sociological studies of Huntington and others, as well as the political performance of generals during World War II, the author maintains that despite its authoritarian structure the military is compatible with "social democracy" in both domestic and foreign affairs. "It was the Ivy Leaguers in the C.I.A. and not the graduates of Annapolis and West Point who subverted the Arbenz government in Guatemala and the neutralist coalition in Laos, who overthrew Mossadegh in Iran and managed the fiasco at the Bay of Pigs." What this statement purports to prove is difficult to say, unless Guttmann is prepared to show that the military would have made different decisions. Perhaps the military's innocent democratic idealism, noted recently by Mary McCarthy on her Vietnam tour, shrouds a graver atrophy of moral sensibility in the heat of war. In this connection Guttmann discusses Melville's *Billy Budd* as a dramatization of the military ethic. There is no mention, unfortunately, of these lines: "A man who though he would always maintain his manhood in battle might not prove altogether reliable in a moral dilemma involving aught of the tragic."

Compared to the studies of Kirk, Rossiter, Viereck, and others, Guttmann's book lacks a sustained argument; it is a series of independent essays tied together more by the publisher's thread than the author's thesis. Within chapters, however, Guttmann displays a mastery of recent scholarship and a gift for synthesis, an engaging prose and a feeling for the relevant. As an author who is striving for a "socialism with a sense of the past," moreover, Guttmann reveals again that a writer on the Left can possess a deep respect for genuine conservative values.

San Francisco State College JOHN P. DIGGINS

JARED ELIOT, MINISTER, DOCTOR, SCIENTIST, AND HIS CONNECTICUT. By *Herbert Thoms.* ([Hamden, Conn.:] Shoe String Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 156. $6.00.)

THIS book might have been better entitled "Colonial Connecticut and Jared Eliot." Nearly half of it is concerned with various aspects of the history of the colony: its birth, early medical history, progress in education, and the importance of its churches. Most of the important early settlers, clerics, and governors receive some attention. Eliot and his antecedents are mentioned whenever possible in this narrative.

There follow chapters on Eliot. He began his professional life in 1706, the year he was graduated from Yale. He taught for a time and attained a Harvard M.A. In 1710 he became a pastor, and for the rest of his life he combined clerical duties with calls as a physician; his medical knowledge had come from service as

an apprentice. In addition to these activities Eliot served for thirty-three years on the governing board of Yale, contributing much to the development of that institution. Besides being a prominent cleric, physician, and educator, Eliot was a farmer. Except for a few sermons, his only published work, *Essays upon Field Husbandry in New England* (1760), was in this field. Dr. Thoms devotes a long chapter to it.

The book contains several illustrations of gravestones, houses, and old portraits. To an appendix are relegated letters and further notes on Yale and on Eliot's varied interests in such things as silk and iron manufacture. The footnotes follow; they indicate that the author seems to have relied largely on secondary sources. There is an index.

Thoms has given us a good glimpse of early Connecticut, but he has presented too much material and introduced us to too many people in too short a space. Information about Eliot is scattered and is hard to retrieve even with the help of the index. The book is not well organized; it gives the impression of being a series of sketches rather than a unified whole.

Fredericksburg, Virginia GORDON W. JONES

ULSTER EMIGRATION TO COLONIAL AMERICA, 1718–1775. By *R. J. Dickson.* [Ulster-Scot Historical Series, Number 1.] (New York: Humanities Press. 1966. Pp. xiv, 320. $7.50.)

DR. Dickson's study of emigration from Ulster to North America in the years between the Peace of Utrecht and the Battle of Lexington is confessedly and necessarily focused upon Irish Presbyterians. The author sets the transatlantic migration of Irish Presbyterians against the immediate background of a large Scottish Presbyterian migration into Ulster in the years following the overthrow of the Jacobite regime in Ireland and the establishment of peace in that country after 1691. Between 1691 and 1715 approximately fifty thousand Scots went to Ulster and took lands on favorable terms for lease periods of twenty-one and thirty-one years. The expiration of these leases and the unwillingness or inability of northern Irish landlords to renew on similarly favorable terms, a succession of generally bad harvests between 1715 and 1723 and again in 1727 and 1728, and depression in linen exports during those same years combined to produce the first two major waves of emigrants from Ulster to America in the periods 1718–1720 and 1727–1729. Other waves followed thereafter with the climax of the period covered by this study occurring between 1770 and 1775.

The author agrees that most of the emigrants leaving Ulster for America during the eighteenth century were Presbyterians, but he does not see religious persecution as a principal cause of the emigration. To be sure, tithes, the Test Act, and challenges to the validity of Presbyterian marriages issuing from ecclesiastical courts were all matters not lightly dismissed. Yet, in the real world of eighteenth-century Ulster these matters were of immediate practical concern to only a small number of Irish Presbyterians. Improvement of the legal position of Presbyterians and their church in Ireland, furthermore, actually antedated the beginning of large-scale Presbyterian emigration from the country. Although legal toleration was not granted until 1719, toleration was a fact for Irish Presby-

terians after the Hanoverian succession. With Allan Brodrick and William Conolly, the two most outspoken and persistent champions of toleration for Protestant Dissenters, installed respectively as Lord Chancellor and Speaker of the Irish House of Commons in 1714, the probability of enforcement of the Test or Acts of Uniformity against Irish Presbyterians was extremely remote. Restoration and enlargement of the *regium donum* preceded the first wave of emigration by four years. Some Irish Presbyterians may have emigrated for the sake of conscience or to escape prelatic bigotry, but the vast majority left in pursuit of economic opportunity and the prospect of a better life in America.

Dickson describes and discounts the activities of land promoters; he discusses the role of port agents, official and landlord attitudes toward emigration, the number and kind of vessels engaged in the emigrant trade, the duration of voyages, and arrival conditions in the receiving ports. The book includes six highly useful appendixes containing important data on emigrant ships, volume of the trade, and newspaper accounts of emigrant voyages.

Although I would dissent slightly from the author's interpretation and relation of the linen trade to the emigration of 1770–1775, on balance this book is a highly interesting, well-written, thoroughly researched, specialized study that will be silently honored by much scribbling on lecture notes. Dickson's work will be of special interest to scholars teaching and writing in the fields of American colonial history and Anglo-Irish history.

University of Notre Dame ROBERT E. BURNS

THE LETTERS AND PAPERS OF EDMUND PENDLETON, 1734–1803. In two volumes. Collected and edited by *David John Mays*. [Virginia Historical Society, Documents, Volumes VII and VIII.] (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Society. 1967. Pp. xxvii, 377; xiii, 382–753. $20.00 the set.)

EDMUND Pendleton was among the most considerable men of his age. A lawyer by training, he played an active role in Virginia politics before, during, and after the Revolution, serving in the House of Burgesses and First Continental Congress, the prerevolutionary conventions in Virginia, various positions under the new Virginia Constitution, and the Virginia Ratifying Convention. He was president of the Virginia Convention that instructed Richard Henry Lee to move for independence, and, as president of the Virginia Ratifying Convention, he helped to carry the day against the forces led by Patrick Henry. Yet, after his death in 1803, Pendleton's name dropped from its deserved place of prominence among America's revolutionary leaders. David John Mays, a Richmond attorney and amateur historian par excellence, has made it his life's avocation to redress the balance. This he has done in an able biography, published in 1952, and with the present work, a collection of Pendleton's known correspondence and writings.

Through some unknown stroke of fortune, most of Pendleton's private papers disappeared from view over a century ago. Those that survived were scattered in various collections, private and public, across the country. In preparing his earlier work, Mays collected and transcribed every known piece and

has now made them available in the present work. And a valuable tool this collection should prove, both as a companion to the biography and as a research tool to the scholar working in the revolutionary and the Federalist periods.

The collection is strongest in material relating to the military campaigns of the war, particularly those in Virginia. These letters reflect the anxieties of the time and reveal Pendleton as an incisive analyst of the events occurring around him. In addition, the legal papers relating to diverse matters, Pendleton's legal opinions, and his addresses to the ratifying convention will prove valuable to the student of the postrevolutionary period.

Of the letters, the majority are addressed to either William Woodward, a close friend of Pendleton's and an officer in the Second Virginia Regiment, or to James Madison, with whom he carried on a weekly correspondence for much of the war and several years thereafter. There is, however, material in varying amounts addressed to Thomas Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, and two or three dozen other individuals of lesser prominence.

The editorial apparatus is thorough and will prove useful for further inquiries. Mays has identified all individuals mentioned where it was possible to do so and has provided ample editorial elaboration concerning events and subjects that might be unfamiliar to the reader. In addition, there is a complete bibliography; each entry is labeled as to origin; and the index is complete.

If there is any criticism of the volumes, it is that there are frequent gaps in materials, sometimes as much as a year in length. An outstanding weakness is the paucity of materials relating to the Confederation period, although there is some interesting correspondence concerning the surrender of Virginia's western lands. This is, of course, not the fault of the editor but of the unknown stroke of fortune one hundred years ago, and it does not necessarily detract from the overall importance of the work.

Stratford College ALVIN L. HALL

YANKEES AT LOUISBOURG. By *G. A. Rawlyk*. [University of Maine Bulletin. University of Maine Studies, Second Series, Number 85.] (Orono: University of Maine Press. 1967. Pp. xviii, 209. $2.50.)

FOR Canadians, if not for Americans, this book is timely. Partly from motives of sustaining an interest in the past and partly from the necessity of shoring up the dwindling economy of Cape Breton Island, the Canadian government has embarked upon the project of restoring the famous fortress, a work now well advanced. Americans will not be indifferent to the venture for the successful siege of 1745 was "the most important military achievement of the American colonists prior to the War of the Revolution."

For two generations history has been well served by J.S. MacLennan's *Louisbourg from Its Foundations to Its Fall* (1918), a massive monograph written with high professional standards by a nonprofessional historian. Professor Rawlyk does not challenge the principal conclusions of this basic work. His purposes have been to intensify the investigation and magnify the conclusions within more narrow limits. What emerges is the best and fullest account of the first siege of Louisbourg that we have. Apart from its own obvious merits, the

book is a testimonial to the soundness of MacLennan's work. Most other serious writing on the subject has been peripheral.

The general thesis may be familiar, but Rawlyk multiplies its conviction many times. The New Englanders were "almost Levellers." They were raw and disobedient soldiers, but their potential was most formidable. Pepperrell had no military science, but, in a manner perhaps reminiscent of Old England, he muddled through. *Yankees at Louisbourg* enlarges upon the forebodings, current at the time, of the eventual division of the English-speaking world. This great exercise in combined operations was really the work of two distinctive peoples.

Though its setting is Canadian, Rawlyk's book is really one of American history. The New England character, its exuberant self-righteousness, and its abounding confidence are familiar historical stock in trade, but he provides much more than footnotes to the American dream. The epic of Louisbourg was not a sermon in stone. The strengths and frailties of the Yankees are here portrayed in action.

University of New Brunswick W. S. MacNutt

THE REVEREND SAMUEL DAVIES ABROAD: THE DIARY OF A JOURNEY TO ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, 1753–55. Edited, with an introduction, by *George William Pilcher*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 176. $5.95.)

The diary of a young American clergyman, which intermittently records the events of two mid-eighteenth-century years, should not be expected to arouse much interest or merit publication. True, the observations of an Edwards, a Whitefield, a Tennent, or even a Frelinghuysen would not pass unnoticed, might excite students of the Great Awakening, and perhaps even arouse the curiosity of the wider circle of colonial historians. But the words of a Davies? It is hardly a name to elicit an immediate response or even recognition. Yet the comments of this Presbyterian minister from Virginia deserve far more attention than they are likely to get, and the University of Illinois Press has performed a real service by publishing a book that is not destined to return a profit.

The diary of Samuel Davies offers a penetrating insight into the difficulties experienced by the dissenters in Hanover County, Virginia, and the efforts of a young Presbyterian minister to obtain a greater measure of toleration. On a joint fund-raising mission to England and Scotland with Gilbert Tennent on behalf of the College of New Jersey, Davies succeeded in his primary objective and also managed to obtain assistance for Indian missions and books for his private educational endeavors in Virginia. His contacts with the leading religious and political figures evoked comments both humorous and incisive. The value of a single passage on the Wesleys must serve to illustrate the tremendous importance of the diary: "Notwithstanding all their wild Notions, they appear very benevolent, devout and zealous Men, that are labouring with all their Might to awaken the secure World to a Sense of Religion; and they are honoured with Success. But I am afraid their encouraging so many illiterate Men to preach the Gospel, will have bad Consequences. I heard one of them last Tuesd.

Nt. but he explained Nothing at all. His Sermon was a meer Huddle of pathetic Confusion, and I was uneasy, as it might bring a Reproach upon experimental Religion. The despised Methodists, with all their Foibles, seem to me to have more of the Spirit of Religion than any Set of People in this Island."

Professor George Pilcher deserves commendation for having recognized the significance of Davies' diary. His editing of the mutilated and dispersed original volumes, moreover, demonstrates exceptional ability. The book is extensively footnoted, particularly identifying the literally hundreds of individuals with whom Davies came in contact; there are also a superb introduction and a fine index.

Lycoming College GERALD E. HARTDAGEN

AARON BURR: PORTRAIT OF AN AMBITIOUS MAN. By *Herbert S. Parmet* and *Marie B. Hecht.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. xii, 399. $8.95.)

THE biographer who satisfactorily explains Aaron Burr must combine unusual insight and narrative skill. Parmet and Hecht have written a skillful narrative of Burr's long, often bizarre, and seemingly purposeless life, but they have not succeeded in explaining his enigmatic and complex character. The failure would be unimportant if it were not that Burr's personal limitations—his opportunism, deviousness, and essential amorality—prevented him from realizing his own political or financial ambitions and rendered him, contemporaneously and subsequently, one of the most vilified figures in American history. The interpretation of Burr presented in this biography is presumably implied by its subtitle: "An Ambitious Man." But was Burr's ambition qualitatively or quantitatively different from that of other public men of his day? If it differed in kind, what was the specific content of his ambition? Such questions are neither asked nor answered in this book. It is, instead, a well-written political biography.

Judged as such, it is a competent study, but, unfortunately, no improvement over Nathan Schachner's biography of Burr published in 1937 and reissued in a paperback edition in 1961. This is disappointing, for one would expect a book of this length, based as it is on extensive research in original sources, to offer fresh interpretations. After all, another biography of Burr is justified only if it has something new to say about the events of Burr's crowded life and his impact on them. The "general reader" will doubtless find this biography instructive and entertaining, but the scholar encounters, again and again, familiar tales unrelieved by original interpretation—the story of the Manhattan Company, the alleged northeastern secessionist plot of 1804, the interview at Weehawken, the conspiracy and treason trial, to name only a few. The authors do, it is true, occasionally touch up the familiar portrait. Their account of the election of 1800, for example, is perhaps the most satisfactory description yet offered of Burr's deft footwork in holding the presidential door open for Jefferson while himself standing on its threshold. The material they uncovered suggesting that Albert Gallatin tried to push Burr through the door will also be of interest to students of the period.

But, on balance, this book will be of slight value to scholars and should attract few readers who know about Schachner's excellent biography.

Lafayette College JACOB E. COOKE

THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICANS OF NEW YORK: THE ORIGINS, 1763–1797. By *Alfred F. Young*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1967. Pp. xv, 636. $12.25.)

A BRIEF review cannot do justice to the scholarship, wealth of material, variety of themes, or the importance of this massive study. Young has re-examined the relationship between party alignment and class or economic interest posed by Beard and Becker in their seminal works. Although he begins his analysis with the outset of the revolutionary era he concentrates on the period of the Washington administrations.

Politics in colonial New York was dominated by two great competing families, Livingstons and Delanceys, and their cohorts. The war eliminated the Delanceys and brought about a split between the patriots—the conservative Whigs and the popular Whigs led by Governor George Clinton. In the new alignment, the Federalists were led by a coalition of landed families, by men with social standing long accustomed to wielding power, and supported at the polls by former Tories and tenants. The leaders of the Clintonian faction were of the middle class, the *nouveau riche,* men new to power who had risen during the war, had gravitated to the governor's leadership, and had been sustained by the largess of his office. Although politically supported by the yeomen, they had made, or hoped to make, their fortunes in the newer forms of wealth. Theirs was the politics of opportunity rather than of privilege. Neither radicals nor levelers, they advocated mild reform. Drawing little support from the frontier or the urban lower class, they sought to avoid any measures that might burden their agrarian constituents with taxes. Here was the major source of their opposition to the federal Constitution. Their Federalist opponents spoke for interests requiring national solutions and pursued careers in national government since the Clintonians denied them influence in the state. Until the 1790's nationality had relatively little to do with politics.

The Clintonians lost their grip on the state with the Federalist victory over ratification of the Constitution. Their metamorphosis into an effective party, the Democratic-Republicans, took eight years. And the major elements in this transformation were the alienation of some Livingstons, the Van Cortlandts, and New York mechanics from the Federalists, the splintering of Federalist support on the frontier, the rise of the Democratic societies, and, most important, the outbreak of the European war. The Republican party was the result of local developments and not a response to national politics. Hamilton's domestic policies were not decisive. Federalist support, moreover, was based largely on the conviction that the measures of the national government benefited the state. Neither party lacked democratic appeal to the electorate, showed interest in revising the undemocratic features of the state constitution, or took up the plea of the tenant or debtor.

Was there then a relationship between party, class, or economic interest? Young's answer might be more emphatic, but from his study it is clear that many voters split their ballot and often changed their minds and that the fortunes of both parties repeatedly rose and fell within a short span of time. Economic and class interests, moreover, were so splintered and variable that they had meaning only in a section or region. What then essentially remains of Beard's thinking?

University of Nebraska JACK M. SOSIN

PORTRAITS OF JOHN AND ABIGAIL ADAMS. By *Andrew Oliver*. THE ADAMS PAPERS. Series 4, PORTRAITS. *L. H. Butterfield,* Editor in Chief. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xxxvi, 284. $12.50.)

IN autumn 1968 the Smithsonian Institution will open the National Portrait Gallery, "a free public museum for the exhibition and study of portraiture . . ." depicting men and women who have made significant contributions to the history, development, and culture of the people of the United States. The new museum is to include within its varied activities an appropriate program of research and publication. Among its products are to be expected works such as this volume by Mr. Oliver, which is a model of its kind, standing henceforth beside two highly respected 1962 publications: A. L. Bush's *Life Portraits of Thomas Jefferson* and C. C. Seller's *Benjamin Franklin in Portraiture*. The present volume is but the first in what we are told is to be a portrait series to accompany the publication of *The Adams Papers*. Taken altogether these recent developments indicate that the study of American portraiture has entered a period of productivity and promise.

The editors of *The Adams Papers* have for a number of years accumulated a body of materials concerning portraits of distinguished members of the family. Recently they enlisted Oliver to take these in hand and to supplement them as necessary in order to fill out the record of Adams iconography. What a fortunate selection! He is not only a devoted and able amateur historian but he is, moreover, a diligent and careful student and collector of portraits. Now he has auspiciously begun Series 4 of *The Adams Papers*.

His first volume treats and reproduces "all known life portraits, busts, and silhouettes of John Adams, as well as some of the more outstanding replicas, copies, and engravings." As far as is now known, there were three dozen likenesses and unlikenesses of Adams taken from life by more than twenty artists between 1766 and 1825. About two thirds of these are preserved as originals. Of Abigail Adams about eight portraits are believed to have been taken from life by seven artists, and all are preserved. Oliver treats all these, artist by artist, more or less chronologically. Throughout the work he gives careful attention to the documentation relating to each likeness. The over-all result is a well-organized and delightful account, in words and pictures, of the physiognomy of Adams through most of his long life. It is a moving revelation of what can be wrought upon a face by time and artist.

National Advisory Commission on Libraries DANIEL J. REED

THE DOCTORS' STORY. By *Thomas Gallagher.* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1967. Pp. xix, 234. $5.95.)

Commissioned by the Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons to commemorate its two-hundredth anniversary, *The Doctors' Story* sketches the history of the college from its founding to its fusion with Columbia in 1891. The author, a novelist who, according to the jacket, has also labored at a wide assortment of tasks, from short-order cook to football coach, possesses some narrative gifts. But he does not demonstrate either the historical or the medical background to make this volume worthy of the occasion it is intended to celebrate.

Gallagher seeks to relate the development of the college to the history of New York City. But he sometimes becomes so interested in the latter for its own sake—an example is the way Christmas was celebrated in the late eighteenth century—that he includes long passages with scant relevance to his main theme. Although his text is filled with direct quotations, the author supplies no footnotes and frequently leaves the reader in doubt as to his sources. The index includes proper names but no subject headings.

Gallagher does not give a rounded picture of what medical education was like as it developed. He concentrates on the explosive and controversial aspects of the history of the college: the 1788 riot over grave robbing, the yellow-fever epidemics, the conflicts among the doctors who sought to control the school. Nor does the author possess a sure awareness of the broader medical scene within which events in the history of the college unfold. He errs with respect to which drugs were used in the late eighteenth century, gives Americans credit for inventing the old English patent medicines, and distorts facts regarding the germ theory of disease.

Sound histories of medical institutions are greatly needed. *The Doctors' Story* falls far short of meeting the standard of professional excellence that the Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons represents and deserves.

Emory University James Harvey Young

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY: FOUNDING FATHER. By *Marvin R. Zahniser.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1967. Pp. ix, 295. $7.50.)

This is the story of the long and productive career of founding father Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. Soldier, constitution maker, diplomat, and statesman—Pinckney began his services to his country in 1769 when he returned to South Carolina prepared by early training in England and on the Continent. By birth a member of the low country aristocracy, he rose quickly to a position of leadership and helped direct the colony in its movements toward revolution. As a military leader and as a constitution maker he served his state and his nation in the early days of independence. As minister to France in 1796 he reflected accurately the sentiment of the new nation in rejecting the Directory's blackmail diplomacy in the XYZ Affair. He returned to the United States a convinced Federalist, and the

bitterness of party politics in the early republic firmly cemented this former ally of Jefferson in his Federalism. He was the Federalist candidate for Vice-President in 1800 and for President in 1804 and 1808. Although unsuccessful in national politics, Pinckney prospered financially and was active in many social, political, and cultural areas until his death in 1825.

Materials concerning the intriguing and influential Pinckney family are unfortunately scarce. The society within which they operated was complex and is understood only with difficulty. As a result Mr. Zahniser fails to present an intelligible view of the South Carolina oligarchy; nor is there a clear-cut interpretation of Pinckney's character. He appears to take illogical paths that frustrate his desires for military and political greatness but that are explained only as the tortured twistings of the product of an irrational society. Pinckney was an inordinately dull man and hampers the biographer who would bring him to life.

Despite its failings, this biography does provide a long-needed summary of Pinckney's life. The available sources and secondary works have been consulted, and where there are gaps in the record the author has constructed the events as they might have happened. The volume will prove a good source for those who seek to know an epoch and its principal events in relation to one of its chief characters—Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. It is unfortunate that the book does not provide an understanding of the man.

Wake Forest University J. Edwin Hendricks

JOHN JAY, THE NATION, AND THE COURT. By *Richard B. Morris.* [The Gaspar G. Bacon Lecture on the Constitution of the United States, 1965.] (Boston: Boston University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 114. $4.75.)

Based upon the rich materials assembled under the author's direction at Columbia University by the John Jay Papers, this substantial, if compact, volume reconsiders the role of John Jay in the American Revolution and in the founding and shaping of the federal republic and argues convincingly that his reputation as "an antidemocratic elitist" and "negative and colorless chief justice" is undeserved. A more accurate view, the author contends, requires an understanding of Jay's "tight legalism" and intense nationalism, of his repeated insistence upon the importance of maintaining political stability and a strict regard for justice even in the midst of revolution, and of his determination to do everything in his power to see that the Americans took full advantage of the opportunities offered by the Revolution for improving the constitutional systems of the states and realizing the potential of the nation.

Because the American Revolution was "distinguished by its concern for . . . legality," Jay's legalism, the author points out, put him not at the far right but at the very center of the Revolution. Typical of the "conservative and legal-minded elite" who led the Revolution, Jay "took for granted that the source of all authority was the people," believed that the people should have adequate means to express their political opinions, and was unwavering in his attachment to republican government, albeit republican government that was "directed by a virtuous and educated elite" and contained powerful and effective checks upon the people at large as well as upon the several branches of government. Sharpened

by his experience in the early 1780's as commissioner to Spain, Jay's nationalism was the product of similar concerns. Dissension among the states and the political instability accompanying it, he discovered, led to humiliation abroad and, if not checked, might prevent the United States from fulfilling its promise as "one great nation." To preclude such a development and help ensure the success of the American experiment in self-government, Jay early advocated establishment of an energetic national government and as Chief Justice consistently acted to strengthen the federal government, most notably in seeking to establish "the subordination of the states to the national government in the matter of lawsuits" and the "supremacy of national treaties over state laws."

In addition to correcting older evaluations and making it clear that Jay does indeed merit "a place in the first rank of the Founding Fathers," this volume once again calls attention to the extraordinary self-confidence of those revolutionary leaders represented by Jay, the remarkable boldness their self-confidence produced, and the crucial importance of their combination of self-confidence and boldness in determining the course and ultimate character of the Revolution. Perhaps more important, it suggests, if only implicitly, that an intensive analysis of the range of personality types among the men of the Revolution and of the relationship of each type to the general process and character of the Revolution might contribute substantially to our understanding of its psychological dimensions.

Johns Hopkins University JACK P. GREENE

PRESBYTERIANS AND THE NEGRO—A HISTORY. By *Andrew E. Murray*. [Presbyterian Historical Society Publications, Number 7.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1966. Pp. xiv, 270. $6.00.)

THIS straightforward, correct survey describes the inability of American white Presbyterians to transcend the racial prejudices of their culture. Murray begins his study interestingly enough by alluding to the tension between the visible and invisible churches on racial matters, but he tends to lose the theme in anecdote and episode rather than to develop it in generalizations that could reveal its irony, tragedy, and self-delusion. A comprehensive interpretation of relations between white and black Christians may have been avoided in this study of Presbyterians and the Negro because the former appealed little to the latter, as Murray points out. Even the most dedicated southern Presbyterian missionaries such as Charles Colcock Jones could not achieve the success of the intellectually less fastidious Methodists and Baptists. In the North, Negro Presbyterians were no more numerous, and their white coreligionists made little effort to add to their number. An exception to this general white lassitude in regard to Negroes was a strain of antislavery activity that persisted among a minority of Presbyterians from the Revolution to the Civil War. Murray discusses a few of the early antislavery writers well enough, but does not explain the full extent to which prominent Presbyterians were involved in the various "abolition" societies of the Middle States from the 1790's to the War of 1812. As a denomination, the Presbyterians were never so active as the Methodists in denouncing slavery, but in the early voluntary societies they wielded power and influence far beyond their numbers. Even so, antislavery Presbyterians, like their fellow "radicals" in other denomina-

tions, were soon frustrated in their efforts to fight slavery through the Church. And Murray shows that the presumed high point of Presbyterian antislavery sentiment (the General Assembly of 1818) was created by historians who misread the evidence.

Antislavery feeling, although not a highly treasured sentiment, was kept alive by the colonization movement, a fact that Murray plays down to emphasize the "respectable racism under the cloak of benevolence," which the American Colonization Society symbolized. This and other faults were eventually realized by a few colonizationists who became abolitionists. For these last and most virulent opponents of slavery Murray has much admiration. He recounts their antics and odysseys without pronounced partisanship and certainly without apology for his denomination. (Murray is a Presbyterian minister.) Abolitionists, however, failed to win enough converts, and after the Civil War white Presbyterians were as reluctant to assimilate the Negro as they had first been to free him. Again, a small minority tried to work for and sometimes with the Negro, but not until the civil rights movement of the 1960's did the Presbyterian churches really begin to become publicly committed to full human equality. The story obviously is not a new one; it is all too familiar. Murray adds faces, names, dates, and details to what some people would call an indictment but for the author's sensible avoidance of easy moralizing.

Besides the tendency to rely upon examples rather than synthesis and analysis, the book has some unfortunate faults of craftsmanship. Murray undoubtedly has worked long and hard on his project—his bibliography and notes reveal an admirable and intimate knowledge of original sources. Yet he did not use or analyze most of the Presbyterian periodical literature; he did not use appropriate secondary works on various aspects of his problem: abolitionists, Reconstruction, the civil rights movement, race relations. In addition, he sometimes slips sentences into his story that should have been left out. He notes, for example, that in the 1850's "there was some tendency in the South to modify the Slave system." Immediately we want to know among whom this tendency was felt and to what purpose and what the nature of the modification was. But there are no helpful answers.

Murray's book, however, is not without merit. It raises implicit questions about the changing function of the church in an age of social unrest; it offers Presbyterians a dispassionate overview of their racial sins; it gives the scholar some details to work with; it shows how revivalism was not by itself a necessary cause of abolitionism; it tells how a few Presbyterians worked hard for racial equality. As usual they were too few, and not a few of them were Negroes.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill DONALD G. MATHEWS

EXPANSION AND AMERICAN INDIAN POLICY, 1783–1812. By *Reginald Horsman*. ([East Lansing:] Michigan State University Press. 1967. Pp. 209. $5.75.)

PROFESSOR Horsman's book is an elaboration and extended treatment of a theme he first propounded several years ago in the *William and Mary Quarterly* (XVIII [Jan. 1961], 35–53). He sees, essentially, an irreconcilable inconsistency between American desire for expansion across the continent and the efforts of the national

government to establish an honorable and just Indian policy. He traces this inconsistency back to the period of the new federal government. Although the first Indian policy of the new nation after the Revolution was land acquisition without remuneration from supposedly defeated Indian tribes, Indian resistance soon forced first the Continental Congress and then the federal government to pay for aboriginal "land title." Beginning in Washington's and achieving full recognition in Jefferson's administration was a coordinate goal of "civilizing" the Indians. If the Indians farmed in the white manner, they would need less land, and then white settlers could live on most of the formerly occupied land. Thus morality and expediency, expansion and honor could march triumphantly together across the continent. This neat solution to the double problem of conscience and greed was defeated by both unwillingness of the Indians, even if civilized, to sell lands, and eagerness of the whites to settle beyond guaranteed treaty boundaries. In the end, Horsman maintains, land hunger always won over national honor and fair treatment of the Indians. Thus by 1812, Horsman argues, the United States had originated the tradition of cloaking crass desire for territorial expansion beneath a mantle of high morality.

The thesis and the data in this slender book are not startlingly new. What material was not included in Horsman's four earlier articles upon these matters is generally covered in such other works as Walter Mohr's *Federal Indian Relations, 1774–1788,* Francis Prucha's *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years,* and Randolph Downes's *Council Fires on the Upper Ohio,* all of which he cites. Nor has Horsman gone beyond his predecessors in using manuscripts, as he might have, for example, by reading the Haldemand transcripts in the Public Archives of Canada. Though his thesis is not so original, he might have proven it more conclusively than previous writers, but this would have taken many more pages and a much more complicated model of analysis than Horsman employs. Lastly, I, for one, was bothered by his failure to distinguish carefully among tribes or between factions within tribes. Although the Indian side of the story may not be important to his argument, still we have reached the stage in writing about Indian-white relations of differentiating aboriginal groups more precisely than is done in this book. Such distinctions might, in fact, have aided his case as well as expanded our knowledge of the period.

This book will prove useful only to those who need a quick summary of information upon the topic without going to either Horsman's own articles or the important works he cites in his bibliography. I only wish he had devoted his well-known talents to one of the many topics relatively unexplored in the field of Indian-white relations rather than to one that is comparatively well covered.

University of Minnesota ROBERT F. BERKHOFER, JR.

GAYOSO: THE LIFE OF A SPANISH GOVERNOR IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, 1789–1799. By *Jack D. L. Holmes.* ([Baton Rouge:] Louisiana State University Press for the Louisiana Historical Association. 1965. Pp. x, 305. $7.50.)

THIS book, writes Holmes, is more than a biography of "a great man. . . . It is a story of the critical decade, 1789–1799, in the Lower Mississippi Valley." And so it

is, for Manuel Luis Gayoso de Lemos y Amorín, the first Spanish governor of the Natchez District, is the *deus ex machina* around which flow the currents of politics, economics, society, and military affairs. Facets of all of this have been written by J. W. Caughey, C. Gayarré, L. Kinnaird, and A. P. Whitaker, but Holmes is the first to come forward with a detailed history of the district during the closing years of the eighteenth century.

Gayoso assumed the office of governor of the district in 1789 after some eighteen years of a successful career in the Iberian Peninsula as an army and naval officer. Holmes pieces together the elusive facts in this period of Gayoso's life, then turns to analyze the history of the district in eight chapters, the greater part of which deals with political and military affairs. New information is presented on the functions of the syndics, the storehouse keeper (*guarda-almacén*), and the superintendent (*interventor*). Holmes also adds much to our knowledge of Gayoso as a peacemaker among the Indians, and no one should now question Gayoso's success as a diplomat, which is best illustrated by Holmes's analysis of the Indian treaties of Natchez (1792) and Nogales (1793). Also, according to Holmes, there were times when the provincial governor general, Carondelet, was saved from diplomatic blunders by the intercession of Gayoso. Then, when Gayoso was sent in 1797 to take Carondelet's position as governor general, the problems of defense and diplomacy for the entire province were well conceived and executed, despite the fact that it was difficult to obtain necessary support from Mexico and Cuba. And it is quite clear now that Gayoso was adept in his dealings with the English-speaking elements in the province. One learns, for example, that he was more tolerant of Protestants than is customarily believed.

But Holmes's contribution to the history of Louisiana does not rest entirely on his analysis of Indian affairs, diplomacy, and general problems of defense. He also provides us with a deeper insight into the economic and social life of the province than we have had before the publication of this book, though it is a bit difficult to follow his themes about such matters. He seems to have been reluctant to overlook what might be considered minor details, especially in his chapter on social life.

All must agree, however, that Holmes has made a genuine contribution to the history of Louisiana. The book is a product of careful research in the archives of Spain, Mexico, and the United States. There is an appendix on genealogy and heraldry. The bibliography deals only with manuscript sources; authors and titles of published works are to be found in the extensive footnote citations.

University of Arizona RUSSELL C. EWING

THE AMERICAN PARTY SYSTEMS: STAGES OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT. By *Frank J. Sorauf et al.* Edited by *William Nisbet Chambers* and *Walter Dean Burnham.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 321. Cloth $6.75, paper $2.50.)

HISTORIANS and political scientists have been considering political parties in academic circles for nearly a hundred years. The former have been most concerned with narrating the development of these organizations in time, while the latter have applied themselves to describing and analyzing contemporary partisan

institutional functioning. Nearly fifty years ago with the creation of the Social Science Research Council the idea of cooperative study was promoted, aimed at a cross-fertilization from which would come a more comprehensive and cooperative conceptualization of the problems that each discipline was considering independently.

The Social Science Research Council and its Committee on Comparative Politics together with certain interested historians eventually cooperated to produce a conference on American Political Party Development assembled at Washington University under the leadership of William Nisbet Chambers of its history department. More than a score of historians and political scientists held a retreat there in April 1966, and this volume contains twelve of the papers discussed in its sessions. Chambers and one of his colleagues in political science at Washington University were designated the editors.

Chambers has defined the central problem of this discussion as the analysis and explanation of American party development and the particular character of American politics. A correlated problem was that of uniting as far as possible in one methodology the techniques used to produce studies in institutional evolution over time and analyses of contemporary functioning. Both sides yielded something: the political scientists admitted the time factor and joined in defining stages of development going back to 1789; the historians undertook to recognize the usefulness of mathematical statistics and their formulas, of graphical presentation of analyses, and of various neologisms.

The result was a significant methodological break-through. Its general framework is the evolutionary concept that the continuous American two-party system at work since 1790 has developed in the form of "five discernible national party systems" following one another in chronological succession. These systems have rather been shaped by than have shaped the changing conditions of American society. They have been "constituent" factors in American political development. The scholars' task is to integrate the study of the evolution of political parties with the general pattern of the development of the entire American political system for they are not independent variables. Each of the twelve contributors, six historians and six political scientists, was creative and provocative, and there was a meeting of minds. My chief regret is that they did not go back far enough in time and take account of the great age and firm establishment of certain of the basic patterns of behavior involved. There are certain allusions to English factors but in my opinion not enough.

Chambers cannot be too highly praised for his enterprise in bringing this work to fruition, and we must commend both him and his associates for the vigor and penetration of their thought. The formulation of a new and original synthesis should be the next step, and further study should be given both to the suggestion in this work that the party has outlived its functional effectiveness as a constituent factor in a swiftly changing society and to the possible contrary conclusion that the basic patterns of political behavior are so ancient and well established within the American culture as to defy obsolescence. Fresh and more comprehensive study of American parties should appropriately start from these discussions, and the dialogue should be continued.

University of Pennsylvania Roy F. Nichols

"OLD BRUIN:" COMMODORE MATTHEW C. PERRY, 1794–1858. THE AMERICAN NAVAL OFFICER WHO HELPED FOUND LIBERIA, HUNTED PIRATES IN THE WEST INDIES, PRACTISED DIPLOMACY WITH THE SULTAN OF TURKEY AND THE KING OF THE TWO SICILIES; COMMANDED THE GULF SQUADRON IN THE MEXICAN WAR, PROMOTED THE STEAM NAVY AND THE SHELL GUN, AND CONDUCTED THE NAVAL EXPEDITION WHICH OPENED JAPAN. By *Samuel Eliot Morison.* (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown. 1967. Pp. xxii, 482. $12.50.)

THIS meticulous study of one of America's outstanding naval figures reveals an often slighted crucial segment of national development. Perry's career illustrates the role of the navy in protecting and promoting American interests abroad during the first half of the nineteenth century, and the comprehensive title enumerates the major accomplishments of this man whose fame has been overshadowed by the exploits of his older brother.

Setting the stage with a graphic portrayal of late eighteenth-century Rhode Island and the exciting life of busy Newport, the author sees Midshipman Perry entering the service at a time when "Madison shared Jefferson's irrational prejudice against the navy, as did the Western and Southern blocs which then controlled Congress." Unlike the dashing Oliver, Calbraith was "methodical, serious, conscientious, bent on becoming a good officer, getting on with his fellow reefers, winning the respect of the ratings and the esteem of his superiors." His service as a junior officer in the Atlantic during the War of 1812 was undistinguished, and the author shifts to the Battle of Lake Erie to defend Oliver's role against those who asserted that Elliot was the real hero. Following the war Calbraith served in the Mediterranean and then helped found Liberia by selecting a "healthy site" to promote a movement in which he had a deep interest. Subsequent duty in the Mediterranean provided an opportunity to gain diplomatic experience in dealing with the governments of Turkey and the Two Sicilies, in the latter case employing his squadron to make a "cumulative impression" which led to a treaty settling American claims and anticipated the method he was to follow in Japan. Digressing slightly, the author presents an account of the *Somers* mutiny and concurs with the decision to hang the three mutineers.

Perry's naval career reached its zenith during the Mexican War, first as vice-commodore and later as commander of naval forces in the Gulf of Mexico. A detailed account of blockade, amphibious, and river warfare provides the most recent scholarship on naval operations during the conflict and reveals exemplary interservice cooperation in establishing beachheads and furnishing support. But much of Perry's influence on the navy lay in his espousal of reforms that he vigorously promoted while at sea and during his intermittent tours ashore. He early embraced the introduction of steam propulsion; the author considers him the "father" of the steam navy. Shell guns, ironclads, and professional education were among other changes that he urged and partially succeeded in having adopted. But he opposed the abolition of flogging and doubted the effectiveness of what he called "moral suasion" to enforce discipline. The expedition to Japan is treated fully.

In his research for this work the author followed his customary method of visiting the scene of events, and material from Japanese and Mexican sources complements domestic primary documents and papers. The narrative is sprinkled with copious quotations from the writings of Perry and other contemporaries, and Morison's affection for the sea is obvious as he depicts life in the old navy in somewhat nostalgic prose. But the central figure emerges as the epitome of a breed of naval officer that regarded seamanship as merely a part of the job. Amateur scientist, educator, and accomplished diplomat, Perry came to view the Pacific as "America's sea of destiny" and exemplified the qualities necessary to make it so.

Naval War College RAYMOND G. O'CONNOR

KINDRED SPIRITS: KNICKERBOCKER WRITERS AND AMERICAN ARTISTS, 1807–1855. By *James T. Callow.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1967. Pp. xxii, 287. $7.50.)

PROFESSOR J. T. Callow's interdisciplinary study of the mutual influence of Knickerbocker writers (such as Irving, Bryant, Cooper, and Paulding) and American artists, 1807–1855, is the most detailed and comprehensive coverage of the topic so far available. His voluminous footnotes and his forty-two pages of precise notes drawing on reviews and comments in more than a dozen contemporary magazines testify to his pioneer scholarship. He has drawn on many hitherto unused and unpublished manuscripts, and his interpretations are temperate and judicious. Emphasis is on the paintings of such men as Asher Durand, Thomas Cole, Thomas Doughty, and John Quidor, but Callow also has much to say of landscape planning, parks, and architecture. Chapter VII, "The House and Its Environs," helps to illuminate Allen Guttmann's recent concern with successive symbolic houses to illustrate his suggestive "Conservative tradition." Durand, Cole, and Doughty mostly rebelled against such earlier trends as emphasis on aristocratic portraiture, and in their major work they turned to semiromantic pictures of the indigenous American landscape. This trend is parallel to the rise of literary nationalism after the War of 1812. The painters and writers were also partially in revolt against the excesses of the Greek and the Gothic revivals; they were pioneers in functionalism and in the employment of the associational psychology involved with the use of historic places designed to arouse genuine if lofty emotions, often tinged with religious awe.

Much new detail is provided regarding the personal associations of such artists and writers as S. F. B. Morse and Cooper, Cole and Bryant, Greenough and Willis. Callow elaborates on the ways in which the artists served the writers and influenced their works; such concern is balanced by the study of the writers' services to the artists. Irving provided Quidor with more than a dozen scenes for his paintings, as did Cooper for F. O. C. Darley. Verplanck's strategic position in Congress enabled him to secure commissions for Durand's engraving of "The Signing of the Declaration of Independence" and for Greenough's statue of Washington for the Capitol. Perhaps a bit more might have been done with political orientation or the implications of it.

In general the book helps to impress the reader with the extent to which, before writers such as Emerson and Hawthorne emphasized inwardness and "the interior of a heart" given to introspection, the literature of the Knickerbocker era was concerned with the surfaces of life symmetrically ordered that aroused pictorial interest. Callow is to be congratulated on a scholarly, polished, readable, and nicely illustrated study.

University of Wisconsin HARRY HAYDEN CLARK

ADVENTURE AT ASTORIA, 1810–1814. By *Gabriel Franchère.* Translated and edited by *Hoyt C. Franchère.* [The American Exploration and Travel Series, Volume LIII.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xxxix, 190. $5.95.)

IN 1808 John Jacob Astor incorporated the American Fur Company and projected a bold plan to capture the Far West fur trade by founding a depot at the mouth of the Columbia River. Failing to win over his Canadian rivals, Astor nonetheless engaged several experienced men of the North West Company and formed the Pacific Fur Company in 1810. To invade the Pacific Northwest, Astor organized both a sea expedition and an overland expedition. Gabriel Franchère of Montreal was one of the Astorians sailing from New York with the maritime party aboard the *Tonquin.* On the westward voyage the ship stopped at the Falkland Islands and Hawaii before reaching the Columbia. Franchère escaped the *Tonquin*'s tragic sinking off Vancouver Island because he was left behind to build a trading post and negotiate with the Indians. When Astoria was sold to the British in 1814, Franchère returned overland on a hazardous trip to Montreal.

Between 1810 and 1814, Franchère wrote a diary of his adventures and observations. In 1819 he expanded his record into a journal that was published in French the next year. An English edition of 1854, partly inspired by Senator Thomas Hart Benton's interest, both added and deleted data. Franchère, an eyewitness, also refuted what he considered flaws in Washington Irving's *Astoria.*

The present book is a new translation by a great-grandson of the narrator with a careful collation of the original manuscript and the French and English editions. The editor's splendid introduction explains his methodology, evaluates other sources, presents biographical data about Franchère, and assesses the Astoria venture. In skillful footnotes the editor makes pertinent annotations and compares Franchère's record with those written by two other Astorians, Ross Cox and Alexander Ross. Besides being a historically significant account of the Oregon Country, the book has value for its descriptions of Hawaii, various Indian tribes, northwestern forts, and several aspects of the War of 1812 occurring in the Pacific and Canada. Though a simple chronicle of events, it was written with deep human understanding. The book is superbly edited, generously illustrated, and adequately indexed.

San Jose State College BENJAMIN F. GILBERT

THEATER IN THE ANTE BELLUM SOUTH, 1815–1861. By *James H. Dormon, Jr.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 322. $8.00.)

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the theater provided Americans with cultural entertainment of a relatively high order. Compared with the average movie of today, the plays seen by colonial Americans and Americans on the ever-moving frontier were superior in intellectual content. Shakespeare, for example, was a reliable staple of dramatic fare from the beginning of theatrical history in America.

The present volume chronicles the development and flowering of theatrical entertainment in the South before the Civil War. It is a worthy companion to another work on the history of the theater, Hugh F. Rankin's *The Theater in Colonial America* (1965). Both of these excellent studies, expansions of doctoral theses, are proof that research of this type need not be dull and that many fields of genuine importance remain to be investigated. These contributions to social and intellectual history provide fresh and new information of value. For one who has spent much time contemplating the dust from the beating of old straw, particularly the flailings of students of English literature, it is refreshing to come upon studies that have meaning and substance.

In an introductory chapter, Dormon gives a summary of theatrical conditions in the colonial period with special emphasis upon the southern colonies. Concentrating upon the period 1815–1865, he ranges widely and does not confine himself entirely to the Old South. Chapters III and IV, for example, deal with theatrical performances in the lower Mississippi Valley, with considerable attention to St. Louis. Since no towns, not even New Orleans and Charleston, were sufficiently large to support permanent acting companies, the theaters of the South depended upon traveling companies. After a run in the principal towns, itinerant actors took to the road and performed in such makeshift theaters as they might find; when regular playhouses were lacking, they utilized schoolhouses, town halls, and sometimes even vacant warehouses and barns.

The repertory of these companies was surprisingly varied and good. With Shakespeare as an unfailing base, they added popular plays from the more recent London stage. The quality of acting was also frequently of a high order. Many actors and actresses of distinction were seen in such out-of-the-way places as Franklin, Tennessee, Tuscumbia, Alabama, and Opelousas, Louisiana. English companies as well as native American groups of players toured the back country. One of the most notable of the American touring companies was that managed by Solomon Franklin Smith, better known as Sol Smith. The two published volumes of his memoirs, plus unpublished letters and diaries in the Missouri Historical Society and the Harvard College Library, provide a remarkable (and highly entertaining) insight into life on the southern and southwestern circuits in the period 1829–1853.

Plays and players made a significant contribution to the intellectual growth of provincial Americans, in the South and elsewhere. "The widespread existence of amateur theatrical companies, even in isolated rural communities, points to a people who believed the theater to be a normal, desirable form of entertainment

and recreation," the author points out. These amateur actors were inspired by traveling companies that visited their communities. Smith's company was pestered by would-be actors seeking stage careers and would-be playwrights eager to have their drama produced. The theater was a vital influence in the first half of the nineteenth century. Dormon has made a useful contribution to social and intellectual history. Other students will find his discriminating bibliography helpful in making further explorations in this field.

Folger Shakespeare Library LOUIS B. WRIGHT

THE PAPERS OF JOHN C. CALHOUN. Volume III, 1818–1819. Edited by *W. Edwin Hemphill.* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press for the South Caroliniana Society. 1967. Pp. xxxiii, 772. $10.00.)

THE third volume of *The Papers of John C. Calhoun,* like the second, covers a mere eight months of his service as Secretary of War (the months embraced in this volume being August 1818–March 1819). At this rate, therefore, we may expect a total of twelve volumes dealing with the eight years of his service in the War Department alone. This would be a welcome prospect if the documents printed in Volumes II and III gave us fresh or valuable information about the policies of Monroe's administration, or about Calhoun's character and private life, or about his thoughts on public issues and needs, or about the activities of his friends and associates. Unfortunately this is not the case. Most of the approximately three thousand documents printed or summarized in this volume deal with routine matters: inquiries about pensions, requests for appointments to West Point, expenditures and supplies for the army, dealings with the Indian tribes, reports to Congress, preparations for Major Stephen Long's intended explorations of the Rocky Mountains. Altogether these documents reveal that Calhoun was an industrious and systematic administrator and that his grasp on the affairs of his department was firm. Yet it all makes dull reading, despite an occasional flash of fire provided by such items as General Winfield Scott's three exasperated letters of early 1819 seeking (in vain) the War Department's permission to make public an angry correspondence he had had in 1818 with Andrew Jackson and parts of which Jackson had showed to his friends to discredit Scott.

Like Volume II, this one has no footnotes, and the explanation accompanying each document is usually limited to making known the location of the original. A twenty-six-page introduction to the volume provides an excellent summary of the main events covered.

Emory University JAMES RABUN

THE PAPERS OF ANDREW JOHNSON. Volume I, 1822–1851. Editors, *LeRoy P. Graf* and *Ralph W. Haskins.* Editorial Associates, *Harry T. Burn, Jr.,* and *Patricia P. Clark.* [Sponsored by the University of Tennessee, the National Historical Publications Commission, the Tennessee Historical Commission.] (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1967. Pp. xliv, 700. $15.00.)

THIS, the first of ten volumes of *The Papers of Andrew Johnson,* covers the first forty-three years of the seventeenth President's life. Born in 1808 in Raleigh,

North Carolina, Johnson was apprenticed to a tailor. In 1826 he moved to Greeneville, Tennessee. In the following years he married, fathered five children, founded a successful business, and began his political career. Successively, he became an alderman, mayor, state legislator, and a United States congressman during the period covered by this volume.

Since Johnson became literate relatively late, only 95 extant letters of consequence were written by him through 1851. These are reprinted along with 127 from others to him. This paucity of Johnson materials can partly be explained because many of his personal papers were destroyed during the Civil War. Among his correspondents were James K. Polk, William L. Marcy, and Horace Greeley.

The two principal editors of this work, from the University of Tennessee history department, have zealously tracked down surviving Johnson correspondence from sources as geographically scattered as the Huntington Library and the Massachusetts Historical Society. Johnson's more important speeches are also reprinted. The materials disclose a fact that Johnson's biographers usually miss: that he was not always a Democrat. In the mid-thirties Johnson supported Hugh L. White for President against Martin Van Buren. Johnson's defeat in 1837, partly as a result of this stand, convinced him to become a regular Democrat until the Civil War. The editors have excluded from this collection only material of the most routine nature. Even then at least one example from them is reprinted in full. Other items that do not deserve full inclusion, but that help to depict Johnson's personality, are calendared with a brief statement of their contents. Personages mentioned in the letters are carefully identified, and the sources of all items included are clearly indicated. In letters the correspondents' spelling is faithfully reproduced except where it might cause confusion. Then additional letters, words, or *sic* are employed to clarify the language. The original punctuation is also retained except for the use of bracketed periods.

This first volume of *The Papers of Andrew Johnson* meets the highest canons of scholarship. We have been provided with an excellent research tool for Johnson's early years.

Nevada Southern University RALPH J. ROSKE

THE STATE, THE INVESTOR, AND THE RAILROAD: THE BOSTON & ALBANY, 1825–1867. By *Stephen Salsbury*. [Publication of the Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America, Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xx, 404. $10.00.)

It has long been assumed that, given the well-known nineteenth-century rivalry among Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore for western trade, the Boston & Albany was built primarily to tap such traffic. Now, in a deftly told account based solidly on the voluminous sources in Harvard's Baker Library, Stephen Salsbury demonstrates that it was, rather, the determination and dollars of Boston and Springfield business leaders that opened the state's interior to industrialism by completing the through rail line by 1841.

Salsbury does far more than establish this reinterpretation. He shows, for example, why the intense regional rivalries of the day prevented any state aid

at the outset; the Boston & Worcester, incorporated in 1831, had to be content with a liberal charter giving private investors a thirty-year monopoly of their area and a virtually free hand to fix routes, operations, and rates. Improvising brilliantly as they went along, these backers of the B&W began service in 1834 and linked their terminal cities the next year. They obtained, meanwhile, a similar charter for a road from Worcester to the state line, the Western. Building over rugged hill country in a rather sparsely settled region, however, posed novel challenges. Thereupon the doughty industrialists of Boston and Springfield parlayed the ever more convincing record of the B&W into a successful bid for state aid to the Western. Beginning in 1836, and contingent throughout on simultaneous private participation, that aid eventually amounted to two-thirds of the total cost. Albany meanwhile helped finance the final western link completed in 1841. By the latter part of that decade the Western was financially secure, and eventually every penny of government aid was repaid.

This is but part of the tale. For a whole generation the older and stronger B&W bickered with the Western over rate divisions; harmony was attained only when outside competition forced merger in 1867. Salsbury unravels the intricacies of this and other developments with refreshing lucidity. Nor does he neglect the fascinating story of technical and administrative innovation: the commuting regime of the B&W, for example, inaugurated a whole new way of living, whereas the fact that the Western was—briefly—the nation's longest line called for entirely new techniques for control and safety.

This is a thoughtful book, meticulously documented. It is also exciting, written with contagious enthusiasm. And it is significant in pinpointing the many areas in which the Boston & Albany line was, in truth, a pioneering venture.

University of Western Ontario RICHARD C. OVERTON

THE HICKSITE SEPARATION: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF RELIGIOUS SCHISM IN EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY AMERICA. By *Robert W. Doherty*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1967. Pp. vii, 157. $7.50.)

IN 1827 and 1828 the Religious Society of Friends in Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois separated into two bodies: Orthodox and Hicksite. The separation lasted more than a hundred years and even now is not wholly healed. Quaker historians have not written much about this schism. Hitherto, the fullest modern treatment has been Rufus M. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism* (1921). Jones saw the Hicksite position as a mysticism that was traditionally Quaker in its sources but also somewhat modern in its implications, and he saw Orthodoxy as resulting from an admixture of an alien evangelicalism into simple, nondoctrinal Quakerism. Jones hinted at the possibility of a sociological interpretation when he pointed out that Hicksism predominated in the rural meetings and Orthodoxy in the urban ones, but he left the matter with this hint.

Robert Doherty in this book frankly sets about to analyze the separation primarily in terms of the social status of its participants. In other words, his sources are historians' sources—wills, mortgages, census returns, poor tax records,

meeting records, contemporary journals, letters, and books—but his models and guides are the works of sociologists—Troeltsch, Yinger, Liston Pope, Robert K. Merton.

Using the "functional" approach of the sociologist, he does something that no previous historian to my knowledge has ever done: he collects information about as many of the individual Quakers on one side or the other as he can. Most of this information must naturally come from courthouse records and have to do with the individual's worldly goods rather than his religious ideas. But this is what Doherty is looking for. He arranges the data in many tables, showing the wealth, the occupation, the place of residence, the value and size of farms, the number of cattle, the size of mortgages, and so on of many Orthodox and Hicksite Friends. When he computes his data, he finds that on the whole the Orthodox in Philadelphia outnumbered the Hicksites and were better off. In the country around Philadelphia he finds the Hicksites in the majority. From the fact that the Hicksites in general were less prosperous, he assumes among them a degree of estrangement, alienation from the world around them. He draws other conclusions from his data, and all of them tend to fortify his general supposition that the Orthodox represented the church-type and the Hicksites the sect-type, as developed by Troeltsch.

His final chapter is called "Some Conclusions." One would expect it to be a summary of the results of his research, but he scarcely mentions his own conclusions. He takes, rather, his study as a sample of what can be done by the method of "collective biography." It brings in, for example, "persons . . . who would normally be excluded from most historical research." He says, moreover, that his method "provides fruitful insights into relationships between religion and social change." And he admits that the "functional view" does not provide *the* answer to any historical question. He calls for more historical studies involving sociological methods; his book justifies his plea. It is not the definitive answer to questions about the Hicksite separation, but it adds much to our understanding of it.

Swarthmore College FREDERICK B. TOLLES

THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN JOURNALS OF WILLIAM MARSHALL ANDERSON: THE WEST IN 1834. Edited by *Dale L. Morgan* and *Eleanor Towles Harris*. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1967. Pp. 430. $12.50.)

DURING the 1820's and 1830's a number of government and privately sponsored expeditions crossed the country that stretches from the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains. Their findings have come to us in official reports, personal accounts, and memoirs written in later years. Frequently notes jotted down along the way are sketchy, sometimes contradictory, and not always highly informative. William Marshall Anderson, who accompanied William Sublette's party westward in 1834, not only provided us with what Dale Morgan calls "the sole known account of Sublette's party en route to the mountains," but he offered much more in the way of information than the traditional mention of mileage and weather. The observer had an opportunity to study the fur business firsthand and to re-

the University of Wisconsin, providing students and mature scholars with exceptional collections in American history. To the people of Wisconsin the "Grand Old Lady of State Street" has been a source of pride and a potent stimulus to historical interest among all age groups.

Organized in 1846, two years before statehood, the society made little progress until Lyman C. Draper arrived on the scene in 1853. This zealous, indefatigable collector and promoter succeeded during his thirty-five-year career in building one of the major historical libraries in the nation. Even more talented and effective was his successor, Reuben Gold Thwaites, who combined the instincts of a scholar with a genius for administration and academic statesmanship. In his era the society developed a cordial and productive relationship with the university, enhanced its prestige as a center of scholarship, and acquired popular and legislative support. This brilliant era ended with Thwaites's death in 1913, and for nearly three decades the society faltered under weak management. Then, during Edward P. Alexander's brief but decisive administration, the role of the society was radically redefined, and a "popular type" program was instituted. This new dimension of the society was immeasurably extended by Clifford L. Lord, who succeeded in giving the society an identity independent of the university and extending the influence of the society into every part of the state. By 1955, when this history ends, Wisconsin had become a multipurpose society serving every conceivable constituency and embracing functions as diverse as those of any comparable agency.

This bulky and excessively detailed narrative will hardly commend itself to the casual reader, for it is essentially an administrative history and as such is intended to constitute a definitive record for those who have been, or may become, closely involved with the society. It leaves many questions unanswered, perhaps the chief of which would involve evaluations of the society's impact on the people of Wisconsin, on the university, and on the larger world of historical scholarship.

Rutgers University RICHARD P. MCCORMICK

JAMES W. MARSHALL, THE DISCOVERER OF CALIFORNIA GOLD: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Theressa Gay*. (Georgetown, Calif.: Talisman Press. 1967. Pp. 558. $10.00.)

THIS oversize book is neither orthodox history nor biography. The author's enthusiasm and tenacity strike the reader at once. Less commendable are tendencies toward adulation of subject, antiquarianism, manufactured imagery, and the insertion of conversations that professional historians would want more closely documented. In 1848 Marshall was an obscure carpenter who, quite by chance, discovered gold along the banks of the American River. He did so while in the employ of Johann Augustus Sutter, the Swiss impresario who built a trading post and fort at New Helvetia, today's Sacramento. After the discovery, Marshall became a California hero. Had he also become a prime mover and shaper of the new state's future society, this book would fill a greater void than it does. History need not be written only about great men, but one may justly question whether a volume devoted to so local a figure might not have

been slimmed. Yet, almost all biographies throw undeniable side lights upon the social history of an epoch; this is sometimes their most redeeming feature.

Marshall was born in New Jersey; his life reflected the internal movement of the American people. He traveled to Ohio, Illinois, Nebraska, and Oregon before he reached California. He saw service during the Mexican War in the California Battalion. After the war he went to work for Sutter. The California gold mania was to bring Marshall, like Sutter, relatively limited material satisfactions. Upon his death in 1885 Marshall left behind an estate slightly in excess of five hundred dollars.

To cast Marshall in the role of a major figure, as does the author, is to misjudge the importance of the individual in history. Thirty years of painstaking work, nevertheless, went into her book. This devotion cannot fairly go unnoticed nor can the fact that little was heretofore known about Marshall. Now, revelation both of his personality and of the details of his life has replaced folklore and mythology. Clear writing and an indefatigable search for sources, nationally as well as locally, are obvious. In places the torrent of facts concerning Marshall is channeled rewardingly, and with worthwhile thoroughness. In recounting the history that deals only tangentially with her main subject the author could have profited from the services of a first-rate editor. One encounters repeatedly sections of the book that ought to have been eliminated. Though the book may seem cumbersome, it is not a work of superficial popularization of the sort that the press is wont to praise, especially in California. Finally, while the notes are more than extensive, there is no bibliography.

Occidental College ANDREW ROLLE

FRONTIERSMEN IN BLUE: THE UNITED STATES ARMY AND THE INDIAN, 1848–1865. By *Robert M. Utley.* [The Wars of the United States.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. xv, 384. $9.95.)

THE Regular Army played a decisive role in the development and settlement of the trans-Mississippi West between 1848 and 1865. Military units, for the most part in garrison before the Mexican War, were in the field after 1848 exploring and mapping the western territory, improving travel and communication, protecting emigrant trains, and pacifying hostile tribes. The focus of this book is the army's Indian campaigns during the period 1848–1865. Cavalry and infantry ranged from the Great Plains to the Pacific shore attempting "to perfect a scheme for managing the Indians that balanced the requirements of national expansion against those of humanity to an alien minority destined for subjugation."

Two intriguing features of the book are the anomaly of congressional expectations and penuriousness and the folly of applying formal military tactics in the Indian campaigns. Congress expected the small Regular Army to accomplish a vast assignment with limited appropriations; it also encouraged the use of volunteer groups to fight Indians as "a mechanism for funneling federal money into the pockets of a community's citizens." Congressional parsimony made it necessary for troops to spend valuable military time gathering forage, building posts and roads, raising food, and herding livestock. Congress reduced the army's mobility, too, for it found it cheaper to keep an infantry regiment in the field at

$200,000.00 a year than a cavalry regiment at $500,000.00, in spite of the counsel of experts that "only mounted troops could fight Indians with any hope of success." The author feels that Congress "declined to pay the price of Manifest Destiny," and the Regular Army was "inadequate for the Indian wars."

Utley points out that the army was not without fault in its attempt to pacify the West. Infantry and cavalry tactics and textbooks "concerned themselves exclusively with conventional warfare against a civilized foe. Officers and men were left to learn for themselves to conduct operations against their primitive foe." Infantry and cavalry provided official presence of United States dominion, but from the vast catalogue of engagements one is impressed that the mounted Indian warrior was a superior tactician, and the only way that cavalry and infantry units, pinned down by sweeping Indian columns, could fight their way out was with the reliable twelve-pounder mountain howitzer charged with canister.

Frontiersmen in Blue contains excellent maps and a strong bibliography, although its comprehensive quality would be enhanced by spelling out in detail the manuscript sources. This work's faults and flaws are minimal in view of its scope. One of its several impressive features is the author's talent for drawing from the indispensable detail of campaigns those significant trends in frontier military policy. Certainly Utley has applied creative management to a great mass of military minutiae and given it a meaningful, readable format.

University of Oklahoma ARRELL M. GIBSON

ECONOMIC CHANGE IN THE CIVIL WAR ERA: PROCEEDINGS OF A CONFERENCE ON AMERICAN ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE, 1850–1873, AND THE IMPACT OF THE CIVIL WAR, HELD MARCH 12–14, 1964. Edited by *David T. Gilchrist* and *W. David Lewis*. (Greenville, Del.: Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation; distrib. by University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville. 1965. Pp. ix, 180. $2.45.)

THIS volume is a more or less verbatim report of a conference sponsored by the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation in spring 1964, organized "to explore the hypothesis that significant changes may have occurred in the institutional framework of economic life during the War years which resulted in the high rate of growth in the postwar decade." Speakers talked informally from notes as did the commentator for each session; discussion followed. Since even historians do not talk with footnotes and do occasionally in oral discourse produce convoluted sentences, skillful editing is apparent. Even so, most presentations emerge refreshingly simple and direct as compared with formal papers read at conventions. Papers and discussions were somewhat more structured than coffee break conversation, but the conference retained much of the flavor of that institution.

George Rogers Taylor surveyed the scene with "The National Economy before and after the Civil War." Robert Sharkey talked on commercial banking, Harry Pierce on foreign investments, Morton Rothstein on markets for agricultural commodity exports, Louis Hartz on the relations of government and business, A. Hunter Dupree on science and technology, and Alfred Chandler on the organization of manufacturing and transportation. Distinguished speakers

deserved competent critics. Such were provided: Fritz Redlich, Vincent P. Carosso, William N. Parker, Daniel J. Elazar, Robert V. Bruce, and Arthur M. Johnson.

The audience responded with polite questions and comments. Thomas C. Cochran, whose now-famous article in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, "Did the Civil War Retard Industrialization?" was the "inspiration" for the conference, suggested that foreign trade may actually retard industrialization; Stephen M. Salsbury indicated reservations; Hugh G. J. Aitken mentioned the Canadian experience; and James P. Baughman expressed some interest in periodicals. Speakers and conferees were selected, for the most part, because of their "specialized interest in the history of institutions closely related to economic life"; the quantitative approach was deliberately avoided. The sanity of the discussions was thereby preserved; differences were pleasantly and calmly examined; no one shouted, "but you are not asking the right questions." It might not have been as productive, but it might have been more fun to have had Robert Fogel, Douglass North, Alfred Conrad, and Ralph Andreano in the audience.

Harold F. Williamson, general chairman for the meeting, offered a summation that is as satisfactory for book as for conference: "not all participants were prepared to accept the preponderant interpretation of the principal speakers that aside from commercial banking, the Civil War appears not to have started or created any significant new patterns of economic institutional change."

University of Montana ROBERT L. PETERSON

THE CONQUEST OF APACHERIA. By *Dan L. Thrapp.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 405. $6.95.)

FEW Indians surpass the Apache in their reputation for ferocity, and for expertness at the type of guerrilla warfare they waged against the whites. This reputation emerges intact from Thrapp's broad, if not always deep, survey of their last quarter century of warfare.

After a glance backward, the author begins his narrative of the Apache wars with the early 1860's and follows them through to the final surrender and imprisonment of Geronimo. Like Chatto, Loco, Nachez, and the other Apache leaders, Geronimo seldom commanded more than a few dozen warriors. The speed with which they moved and the terror and confusion they left in their wake have made it extremely difficult to determine what bands were involved and reconstruct their movements, much less their objectives at particular times. It is possible, with some accuracy, to trace troop movements and to record the reactions of the white population, but the Apache side of the wars still eludes us.

Thrapp seems unable to decide on whom to affix the blame. While he recognizes the provocation provided by a system of bounties for Apache scalps, and by the inconsistent policies of the government, Thrapp can speak of these people fighting for their survival against overwhelming odds as "harsh, cruel, and pitiless." From the same viewpoint he can describe an Apache war party as "filled to overflowing with the thirst to murder"—a most unusual metaphor—and allude to Victorio as "a toddler barely old enough to learn the delights of torturing . . . small birds and animals." Indeed, in his anxiety to sustain the reader's interest with vivid writing,

Thrapp sometimes outdoes himself. One reads, for example, that "a solid wall of water tore down the arroyo, irresistible in its force, inescapable in its mad rush," only to learn that three troopers caught in the torrent were not even swept off their feet.

Despite some stylistic shortcomings, this coverage of the Apache wars is the best to date. Thrapp's earlier work on Al Sieber, a scout in these campaigns, acquainted him with the general subject, and he has consulted all of the principal sources. He does not appear, however, to have exploited them completely, and he seems to prefer dubious newspaper accounts and reminiscences recorded many years after the event to the contemporary accounts now available in the manuscript files of the National Archives. In short, this could have been a better book had Thrapp chosen to devote more time to the research, and a scholarly account of the Apache wars is still needed.

State University College, Fredonia, New York WILLIAM T. HAGAN

ARMY OF THE HEARTLAND: THE ARMY OF TENNESSEE, 1861–1862. By *Thomas Lawrence Connelly*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 305. $8.50.)

IT has always been obvious that the effort of the Confederacy to defend its independence met with least success in the region between the Appalachian divide and the Mississippi River; the record of this particular theater is, from the Confederate viewpoint, one of unseized opportunities, frustrated aspirations, and simple defeat. Here there never would be a southern victory that required no qualification.

The reasons have been subjected, from the war period onward, to an intricate commentary. Attention has been directed to the peculiar natural geography —the distinctive relief, the unusual rivers, the uneven fertility—and note has been taken of its inconsistency with any frontier, political or military, the Confederates could visualize. Every major critique abounds in bad roads and inadequate railways. But the favorite object of dissection has been the Confederate Army, or association of armies, committed to the region's defense, that military complex (the word is appropriate) which in the interests of simplicity is usually called the Army of Tennessee. Scrutiny has been concentrated in particular upon its commanders, and from a time when the army still operated in the field, a flood of memorabilia—some self-serving, most personal, none quite impartial—issued from the pens of those concerned. The digestion that followed was even more laborious, but it achieved, a quarter century ago, a distinctive literary felicity in Stanley F. Horn's *Army of Tennessee*, a work that also perfected a principal villain, Lieutenant General Braxton Bragg.

Professor Connelly now attempts to rewrite Horn. We may be happy that he has undertaken to do so. He undoubtedly fails to match his predecessor's stylistic quality. But it is in certain other respects a superior history. It is based upon a broader, better-disciplined research, and the conclusions reached, though less easy to assimilate, are the issue of a more judicious reasoning. If the results have been thus far a little muddy, that is hardly Connelly's fault; no parcel of the

American Civil War was muddier—in terms of terrain or of controversy—than this one.

The author has emerged, moreover, with two fairly precise theses. One is the concept of a Confederate heartland, not an original idea, of course, yet greatly and refreshingly expanded from the traditional "Crossroads-Atlanta." The other, perhaps a more authentic contribution, is the suggestion that all the principal commanders of this army were, during its formative period, almost equally bad. Primary culprit Bragg has been upgraded to a level somewhat beneath mediocrity; the others, Polk, Albert Sidney Johnston, Beauregard, and Kirby Smith, have been downgraded to match. No one, implies Connelly, was of clear competence to command a unit larger than a division. Indeed, the reader finds it hard to believe that an army of major consequence could be made to undergo such leadership for so long, yet the data are amply documented on the primary level.

Connelly's efforts must therefore be regarded as important. One suspects they will supply the standard notions as to this particular theater of military history for a long time to come.

Temple Buell College ROBERT C. BLACK III

MENNONITES IN THE CONFEDERACY: A STUDY IN CIVIL WAR PACIFISM. By *Samuel Horst.* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press. 1967. Pp. 148. $3.00.)

FROM Confederate and Mennonite records, and from contemporary letters and narratives, Professor Horst has reconstructed, to the extent to which the surviving sources permit, the story of how a pacifist, pro-Union, antislavery group in the South coped with the moral problems caused by the Civil War. Some Mennonites entered military service reluctantly, intending not to shoot; Stonewall Jackson ordered these men assigned to noncombatant duties. Others attempted to escape from the South with the aid of an "underground railroad," which also provided a mail service to facilitate communication between the escapees and their families; Horst narrates in some detail the story of two such groups. The first conscription laws provided no exemption for conscientious objectors, and even when the statutes were changed to recognize the rights of specified religious bodies, the members could never be sure whether the exemption would continue in force. Although the Mennonites were in fact safe from the draft after October 1862, many of them were molested. Their horses were pressed into service; civil officials collected more than the lawful 10 per cent of their produce; and the press was hostile. One notable elder, John Kline, suffered repeated arrest and eventually was murdered. Notwithstanding their small number, which was further decimated by escapes from Confederate territory, and in spite of oppression, the Mennonites remained true to their beliefs. Horst pays them and their courageous Bishop Samuel Coffman a well-deserved tribute.

The book is excellently documented, but the footnotes are in the wrong place. Admittedly the outgrowth of a master's essay at American University, this volume should find recognition in the monographic literature of the Civil War period.

Gambier, Ohio EMIL OBERHOLZER

THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU IN SOUTH CAROLINA, 1865–1872. By *Martin Abbott.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 162. $5.00.)

THIS valuable study is free of the bias and cynicism that marred many earlier histories of the Freedmen's Bureau, attitudes that probably still warp popular conceptions of that agency's work. Although Mr. Abbott focuses on the Negro and his plight and aspirations during Reconstruction, rather than on white officials and white planters, his emphasis is always on human situations and not on race as such. His approach—a sensible one that more historians of Reconstruction might follow—is to assess the enormous need for postwar social and economic adjustment and then to measure accomplishment against that standard. He describes the bureau's work in administering relief in South Carolina, in education, in establishing economic stability, and in promoting "general welfare," all of which helped give meaning to freedom for the Negro. Yet the bureau's efforts in each of these areas were inadequate, the author finds, because it was constantly handicapped by having too little money and too few agents.

Abbott does not criticize the bureau for meddling in politics and for corruption, the usual charges, but for doing too little within its legitimate sphere. The bureau's failure to achieve more was hardly the fault of its personnel, he writes. Instead, guilt lay with government and the controlling majority: "the President lacked the concern, the Congress lacked the courage, and the nation lacked the conviction" to take that comprehensive action which alone might have saved the freedmen, and hence the nation, from much consequent travail. In particular the government erred when it failed to serve the economic needs of the freedmen by providing them with land.

This is inescapable truth. Yet self-examination may spare us from making easy judgment. "The average American does not realize how large a burden in long-term investments he must carry if poverty problems are to be solved," Gunnar Myrdal commented recently. If, as seems probable, the magnitude of sacrifice demanded by current problems remains uncomprehended, how unlikely was it that Americans in 1865 would understand the enormous needs of their day and advance the revolutionary programs that would have been required to cope with them. All evidence suggests that Abbott's understanding of contemporary dilemmas contributed to his formulation of the assumptions that underlie his book. I intend this as high compliment.

Ohio State University MERTON L. DILLON

THE UNITED STATES ARMY AND RECONSTRUCTION, 1865–1877. By *James E. Sefton.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1967. Pp. xx, 284. $8.00.)

DURING the years after the Civil War the United States Army played a critical role in the reconstruction of the South. To the army fell the tasks of preserving order after the collapse of the Confederacy, of ruling the conquered territory under martial law until President and Congress could agree upon a plan of restoration, of enforcing the policy finally determined upon in the 1867 reconstruction legis-

lation, and of supporting the new biracial regimes established in the South. *The United States Army and Reconstruction, 1865–1877,* is a careful and scholarly analysis of how the army met these numerous difficult assignments. Based heavily upon the records of the War Department in the National Archives, this is a useful monograph, which at once gives a broad picture of the army's work in the South and also supplies sufficient case studies to illustrate its operations in detail. If Mr. Sefton does not considerably alter the accepted view of the army's role, he does establish with firm documentation that its work in the South "was creditable to the Army as an institution."

What Sefton adds to our general understanding of the Reconstruction era is less certain. Believing, with W. T. Sherman, that "No matter what change we may desire in the feelings and thoughts of people South, we cannot accomplish it by force," he is hostile toward the more radically inclined army officers like U. S. Grant, John Pope, and Adelbert Ames, but instead of arguing his case against them, he casts slurs and uses loaded language. He is acerb in his comments upon the biography of Edwin M. Stanton by Benjamin P. Thomas and Harold M. Hyman, which views the contest between President Johnson and the Radical Republicans as in part a struggle for control over the southern occupation forces, but his sniping from his footnotes inflicts at most flesh wounds. Correctly observing that "power, influence, and activity are functions of much more than mere numbers," Sefton also challenges John Hope Franklin's view that the army necessarily played a small role in the final stages of Reconstruction because so few troops were stationed in the South. His own evidence, however, points to numbers of instances where federal forces in the South were too thinly spread to prevent disorders, and he fails to see the significance of his observation that "the citizens [of the South] offered no violence to the soldiers; to have massacred a command of federal troops would have had serious repercussions."

In short, Sefton's book does not add much to the continuing debate on the Reconstruction era, but as a valuable contribution to the history of the United States Army it abundantly illustrates the work performed by the troops in the South during the years after Appomattox.

Johns Hopkins University DAVID DONALD

THE MONEY QUESTION DURING RECONSTRUCTION. By *Walter T. K. Nugent.* [The Norton Essays in American History.] (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1967. Pp. 127. Cloth $4.50, paper $1.25.)

AFTER many decades of relative neglect the money issue in post-Civil War America has in recent years received much attention from a variety of historians and economists including Irwin Unger, Stanley Coben, Milton Friedman and Anna Schwartz, Richard Timberlake, Allen Weinstein, and me. The latest entry in the list is this volume by Dr. Walter T. K. Nugent of Indiana University.

The title of this book does not seem entirely felicitous. The money controversy of the *post-bellum* decade was an inseparable part of the general political climate. Yet the word "Reconstruction" as used in the title refers primarily to a period of time. Little attempt is made to plumb the depths of interaction between the money question and other political and economic issues of the time. No doubt

this would have been impossible to achieve in such a short treatise, but the use of the word "Reconstruction" in the title implies a breadth of view that is not present.

Nugent devotes somewhere between a third and a fourth of his pages to a discussion of international monetary affairs including the trend toward gold monometallism and the failure of efforts toward international bimetallism. His treatment of this subject is quite useful and plausible, particularly his argument that the movement toward gold on the part of France and Germany was designed to achieve nationalist rather than internationalist goals.

The treatment of the "Crime of '73" in this volume is quite similar to the argument first set forth by Weinstein in a paper delivered at the meeting of the Organization of American Historians in 1966. Research by Weinstein and Nugent has now made it quite clear that a drastic fall in the market price of silver was anticipated in the late sixties by such key personages as George Boutwell and John Sherman and that this foreknowledge played a considerable role in the framing of the fateful coinage act of 1873. Nugent argues that "The demonetization was not undertaken to protect creditors or to give them something for nothing, but to protect instead the public credit." Here and elsewhere Nugent agrees with Unger in placing major emphasis on moral and ideological considerations rather than economic interest. This argument would carry more weight if individuals and groups could be shown to have acted against their own economic interest for moral or ideological reasons. Such examples seem about as plentiful as Eskimos in the tropics.

As a brief survey of the money question in the sixties and seventies, this book should be useful to college and university students, particularly inasmuch as it contains an excellent fifteen-page bibliographical essay. Except for the pages dealing with the international monetary scene, however, not much of this analysis appears to be new.

George Washington University ROBERT P. SHARKEY

PRESIDENTIAL SEIZURE IN LABOR DISPUTES. By *John L. Blackman, Jr.* [Wertheim Publications in Industrial Relations.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 351. $10.00.)

PRESIDENTS, politicians, professors, and the public have always been concerned that strikes not interfere with what is deemed to be public services. Thus, rising unionization among public employees has fostered numerous proposals, some laws, and frequent *ad hoc* procedures to prevent these people from emulating their blue-collar associates in the private sector and "hitting the bricks." During such national emergencies as wars, moreover, American public policy has been to try to prevent any stoppage in the production of goods and services deemed essential to the war effort. As a result, Presidents have taken a number of steps to compel continued production. In seventy-one instances during the past one hundred years, the President seized and ran operations, mainly of transportation facilities and military suppliers. Professor John L. Blackman, Jr., a member of the University of Massachusetts' department of economics, has studied these

seventy-one seizures in his thorough, but drearily written, *Presidential Seizure in Labor Disputes.*

Though Blackman deals with a hundred-year period, and with seizures that have taken place during peace, war, and reconversion (mainly, however, during the latter two), he only infrequently studies the differences in attitudes and practices over time or during different periods. Blackman usually takes the seventy-one cases and analyzes and reanalyzes them as to what percentage, for example, lasted different lengths of time under presidential control. If one, therefore, wants a thorough report of seizures in terms of the law, the types of resistance met by the President, the methods used to overcome these resistances, the extent of different controls used, the policies and standards followed, and a sympathetic, though critical, analysis of the merits of seizure, then Blackman's book is the place to go. There the reader will find all of the types, all of the percentages, plus lots of detailed tables and appendixes.

But if one wants, for example, a study in depth of any of the seizures to see what other alternative actions were available that might have resolved the dispute, one will not find this in Blackman's volume. Blackman justifiably points out that the seizures gave Presidents some flexibility in handling labor disputes; they meant, nonetheless, the end of normal collective bargaining. Plant seizures, however justified and however fairly administered, need to be studied in the framework of all procedures available to a society anxious to end a bitter dispute, procedures that facilitate not interfere with collective bargaining. And research by the numbers and by typologies, such as Blackman's, though useful, nonetheless divides the subject to be studied into parts. Some other scholar will have to weld these parts together in a much-needed history of collective bargaining in the United States.

Michigan State University ALBERT A. BLUM

ROGER SHERMAN AND THE INDEPENDENT OIL MEN. By *Chester McArthur Destler.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 305. $8.75.)

THIS volume may perhaps be most charitably viewed as an extended footnote to the author's earlier work, *Henry Demarest Lloyd and the Empire of Reform* (1963). The Roger Sherman of Destler's title was a descendant of the Connecticut signer of the Declaration of Independence of the same name, but having been born in the border state of Kentucky and raised in Tennessee and Arkansas, he spent almost two years fighting on the Confederate side in the Civil War before moving north and establishing a law practice in the oil regions of Pennsylvania in the mid-1860's.

Sherman's later career—the obstacles he had to overcome to be admitted to the Pennsylvania bar and the thwarting of his intermittent political aspirations thereafter—presents some information on the lingering difficulties of former rebels in northern society. Sherman managed to overcome most of these difficulties and to emerge by the mid-seventies as the leading attorney and spokesman for Pennsylvania's independent oil producers in their struggle with the "Octopus," Rockefeller's Standard Oil monopoly. The struggle was largely in vain, and Sherman

himself, in 1882, went over to become, for five years, a member of Standard's legal staff. These were unrewarding years for Sherman, and when his tenure ended he returned to his first love, the antimonopoly fight. His records and his knowledge in this connection attracted him to Henry Demarest Lloyd when this early muckraker was preparing his *Wealth against Commonwealth,* largely an exposé of Rockefeller's and the Standard's cruel and lawless methods.

The essential accuracy of Lloyd's materials has withstood countless attempts to discredit it, a strength that might be attributed in large part to Sherman's review of the manuscript and his other contributions to it. But Sherman himself remains a shadowy and apparently conventional figure despite Destler's biographical approach to his life and work. Destler's review of Sherman's work itself adds little to our knowledge of Standard Oil's wrongdoing, of which we perhaps have long since known enough, while his frame of reference is as archaic as Lloyd's without Lloyd's justification. Ida Tarbell's *History of the Standard Oil Company* remains much the best book on the Standard's independent opponents, offering the keenest insight into their own pathetic limitations.

West Redding, Connecticut WILLIAM MILLER

ONLY TO GOD: THE EXTRAORDINARY LIFE OF GODFREY LOWELL CABOT. By *Leon Harris.* (New York: Atheneum. 1967. Pp. xiv, 361. $8.95.)

THIS is a difficult book to review for a professional journal. As a work of scholarship it is amateurish; the author, for example, apparently believes that he can prove any point if he can find an appropriate quotation from Henry Adams' *Education.* It is the biography of a successful nineteenth- and twentieth-century businessman written almost without reference to the large body of economic history relative to the subject. The treatment throughout is episodic, a mélange of unassimilated detail. On the other hand, this is a fascinating book and one that professional historians can read with profit. Its interest lies in the particular qualities of its subject, the carbon black manufacturer and bulwark of the Massachusetts Watch and Ward Society, Godfrey Lowell Cabot, and in the liberality of Cabot's descendants, who have shared with the author not only Cabot's papers but also their own recollections and their most intimate feelings about the subject.

Cabot (1861–1962) had nearly all the virtues and defects of the Boston Brahmin in exaggerated form. A prodigious worker, a generous philanthropist, a worshiper of moral absolutes, he was also arrogant, stiff, self-righteous, and prudish. He made a huge fortune manufacturing carbon black from natural gas and then, until well into his nineties, refused to turn over control of his business to his son. He was at once both highly sexed and absurdly modest. He made enormous "demands" upon his wife, sent her passionate, frustrated letters while away from her on business trips, the erotic passages written in German. (Mrs. Cabot once complained to her sister-in-law that her greatest unfulfilled ambition was to have her own bedroom or at least a separate bed "where she could escape from Godfrey's sexual demands.") Yet in their long life together, they never wittingly saw each other naked.

Harris relies heavily upon quotations from Cabot's journals and correspondence.

Much of what he prints makes interesting reading. Cabot's narrow-minded opinions on politics, society, literature, and art are amusing, although not remarkable as examples of Victorian prejudices and tastes. More striking are his comments about business ethics and about a wide selection of social problems; he was by no means consistently conservative. Harris stresses the enormous competitive drive in Cabot, which he traces, somewhat unconvincingly, to the fact that he was something of a runt as a boy. He concludes that Cabot became a multimillionaire through hard work and meticulous attention to detail, but also in considerable measure through luck: the invention of the automobile caused a huge increase in the demand for carbon black, an ingredient in tires. Like so many industrialists of his era, he appeared to work more for power than for money, and, as his son put it rather ruefully, power meant to him chiefly "the power to enforce Right with a capital R." He was not a great man or a noble one, and certainly not a very likable one. But in these pages, warts and all, he appears to have been a formidable man, one who can be admired at a certain distance, like some exotic bull buffalo or rhinoceros in a zoo.

Columbia University JOHN A. GARRATY

ABRAHAM BISNO, UNION PIONEER: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF BISNO'S EARLY LIFE AND THE BEGINNINGS OF UNIONISM IN THE WOMEN'S GARMENT INDUSTRY. With a foreword by *Joel Seidman.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 244. $6.50.)

SOCIAL historians have always envied the abundant personal records available to the political historians. Oral history projects are, fortunately, redressing the balance somewhat, but not, of course, for the period beyond the memory of the living generation. Occasionally, however, a document comes to light that adds the same kind of personal dimension to the more distant past as does oral history for recent years. Such is the autobiography of Abraham Bisno (1866–1929). It is, indeed, a kind of oral history, since Bisno dictated it and then, evidently without reworking it, simply set the manuscript aside to gather dust until, at the death of his wife in 1944, it was discovered and circulated within the family; it finally, through the generosity of the University of Wisconsin Press, finds its way into print. Nor is it the best of oral history. A probing interviewer might have sharpened and made more concrete parts of Bisno's story. And, considering the pungency and frankness of his observations, the autobiography comes out curiously flat, very likely because he related it in English rather than in his native Yiddish. Still, it would be churlish not to be thankful for the document or to acknowledge its value for American social historians.

To begin with, Bisno tells us much about the process of immigration and acculturation. Born in tsarist Russia, he describes the hard life of the Jews there and provides an especially vivid account of the pogrom in 1881. The experience drove the Bisno family, along with many others, to the United States. Bisno has much to say about how the Russian Jewish immigrants adjusted to American life, especially about their penetration of the needle trades. The autobiography

is equally important for its illumination of early trade-unionism among the immigrant garmentworkers. A freethinker by the time he came to America, Bisno fell in easily with the radical thinking current in Chicago in the 1880's. He quickly became a dominant figure in the nascent garment unions there. Several things are notable in his account: his transition to unionist; his career as an early labor leader; his shrewd perception of the need to shape tactics to the structure of the industry; and his trials in attempting to bring stability to the volatile garment unions. Finally, the autobiography has some shrewd comments to make about life in Chicago in the late nineteenth century. Bisno witnessed the memorable events there, he knew the Hull House group, and he served under Florence Kelley as a state factory inspector for four years. Especially arresting is his comparison of the rich sensuality within his own radical circle and the dry impersonality he found among educated American reformers: "These bachelor men and women . . . seldom sing, almost never dance, and their attitude towards each other carries no sign of their sex life. . . . They treat each other as though they were not men and women."

Bisno ends his account in 1900, but his rather anticlimactic later career is traced in Joel Seidman's helpful foreword.

University of California, Davis DAVID BRODY

LABOR IN THE SOUTH. By *F. Ray Marshall.* [Wertheim Publications in Industrial Relations.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 406. $8.00.)

THE author puts forth this study of *Labor in the South* as the expression in the labor field of the South's historical uniqueness as an economic, demographic, geographic, and political region. Within this regional approach, the purpose is "primarily to analyze the factors influencing the growth of organized labor in the south" rather than to emphasize labor's collective bargaining, political, and other activities.

Treatment is largely chronological with a wide range of unions, trades, and industries (coal, textiles, longshoring, building trades, steel, agriculture, and so forth) analyzed within each of three major periods: before 1932, depression and New Deal, and war and postwar developments. Marshall analyzes more sharply in the final part of the book thematic material scattered throughout preceding chapters, for example, membership trends, union growth theory, and union growth and the impact of legislation.

This is an excellent and ambitious study. The research is thorough. The depth of documented material on every major labor union and organizing effort in the South, since the latter nineteenth century, makes the book highly valuable and assures it long life as a scholarly source in labor history. It adds new understanding to racial aspects of union organizing, makes a contribution to union growth theory, and challenges the conviction, held by many, that laws have been a major cause of union growth (for instance, the Wagner Act) or a major impediment to it (such as the South's right-to-work legislation).

Of the many factors affecting union growth in the South, Marshall believes

the economic ones to be more decisive than the ideological, social, and political. One wonders how to interpret this against the South's historical uniqueness which, as Marshall fully appreciates, rests so distinctively on the Negro presence and the values of a traditional political and social system. Perhaps the economic explanation looms larger as uniqueness (including race as a factor in union growth) recedes into history and industrialization advances.

The most revealing application of union growth theory is in the contrast between the success of the United Mine Workers and the failure of textile unions in organizing in the South. Unions have been growing faster in the South than elsewhere since 1939, and the author predicts continued growth but at a rate slower than the increase in nonagricultural employment.

Labor in the South is full of facts (and is not always easy reading) yet contains provocative analysis. It is one of the best books written on this subject.

Cornell University JAMES O. MORRIS

FIRST NATIONAL COLLOQUIUM ON THE HISTORY OF THE FOREST PRODUCTS INDUSTRIES: PROCEEDINGS, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, MAY 17–18, 1966. Edited by *Elwood R. Maunder* and *Margaret G. Davidson.* [Sponsored by the Forest History Society, Inc., Yale University, and the Business History Group, Harvard University School of Business Administration. Held at the Harvard University School of Business Administration.] (New Haven, Conn.: Forest History Society. 1967. Pp. vii, 221. $5.00.)

As indicated by its tree-tall title, this book is the result of a colloquium held in Boston in the spring of 1966. Approximately eighty people attended, with a dozen colleges represented and the remainder coming from the world of active forestry and the lumber industry. It is odd that none of the professors came from the great timber states from Minnesota to the Pacific slope. Likewise, most of the private and governmental representatives also hailed from east of the Mississippi. The findings have, nonetheless, national significance.

Nor have the forests of broad insight been neglected for the trees of technicalities. Take, for instance, the opening article by Edward C. Kirkland on "The Goal of Equality and Business Dissent." The author points out that so much of the latter nineteenth-century attempt at equality had little to do with the black race, but was predicated on a need for equality in educational opportunity and for the division of fortunes. The income tax, slight as it was at the beginning, was a step in the direction of repetitive economic opportunity through some redistribution of wealth. Nonradicals like Senator John Sherman of Ohio could speak out for "the right of every man to work, labor, and produce in any lawful vocation." And even businessmen, always lacking ideological unity, often agreed.

Also explored are the forest industry's "response to pressures and opportunity for change," as seen in a thoughtful essay by Ralph W. Hidy; a session on twentieth-century patterns of thought and action; four papers predicting the future; and the usual personal reminiscences by long-term participants in the field. On the whole it all comes off very well.

University of Texas JOE B. FRANTZ

THEODORE ROOSEVELT: THE MAN AS I KNEW HIM. By *Nicholas Roosevelt.* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1967. Pp. xiv, 205. $5.95.)

THIS is a welcome addition to Rooseveltiana. The author, a cousin of TR, contemporary of his sons, and journalist by profession, spent much time at "Sagamore Hill" as a youth. He accompanied TR to the Republican Convention in 1912, worked in Progressive party headquarters in New York during the campaign, and took a pack trip into the Grand Canyon with TR in 1913. Drawing heavily on his own diary and personal letters, he has produced what is partly a memoir and largely a character study of TR. He has contributed several footnotes to the political history of the progressive era and has made a compelling case for TR's personal commitment to reform and, of course, to conservation.

A few judgments, especially that on the Panama affair, are highly questionable. Many historians will also challenge the interpretation of TR's role in World War I. Yet most of the historical exposition is sound, and the writing as a whole is informed by modesty, critical detachment, and sharp, often penetrating insights into TR's personality. Mr. Roosevelt writes that TR's selection of Taft as his successor was "a reflection either on his political sagacity or his judgment of men, or both." He also gives an illuminating twist to some of his other faults: for example, his achievements "were so much greater than he could have dared hope" that he spoke of them "not so much in bald egotism as in a sort of paean of incredulous self-congratulation." Yet the tenor is generally favorable. Roosevelt gives many examples of TR's "instinctive kindness." He holds, again with supporting illustrations, that he was not truly vindictive. He adds to the overwhelming evidence that TR's intellectual curiosity was insatiable and his knowledge of history, nature, and literature extraordinary. And he persuasively contends, as did Gifford Pinchot, Learned Hand, Fiorello La Guardia, and scores of others who were influenced by TR, that his personality was essentially constructive. The author's low-key account of his pack trip with TR succeeds notably in re-creating the colonel in three dimensions. He also characterizes his second wife, Edith Carow, far more convincingly than TR's biographers have done.

University of Virginia WILLIAM H. HARBAUGH

JOSEPH PULITZER AND THE *NEW YORK WORLD.* By *George Juergens.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1966. Pp. xv, 392. $10.00.)

ONLY the first two years (1883–1885) of Joseph Pulitzer's editorship of the New York *World* come under examination in this Columbia University doctoral dissertation. Yet those were critical years in the development of the style of journalism that would constitute Pulitzer's chief contribution to American culture. By closely studying the *World*'s pages during that short period with an eye for journalistic technique and a solid grasp of social context, Professor Juergens tells us much about how Pulitzer mobilized a mass audience. In no single way an innovator, he blended with a unique energy and vivacity all of the emerging strategies of mass appeal: an emphasis on familiar scenes and dramatic human incidents, increasingly lavish illustration, display advertisements, extensive sports coverage, women's features, and a crusading advocacy of the aspirations and hos-

tilities of the urban populace. Through Pulitzer's editorial policies we get a revealing insight into some of the ambivalences of his readers, into their awe of the rich, for example, and their indignation at the power of wealth. Juergens' account of how the *World* treated such issues is sufficiently detailed to amount incidentally to an interesting commentary on the social scene.

Of Pulitzer as an individual or of his obsessive political aspirations we learn little. For that one must turn to W. A. Swanberg's new biography. Differences between Pulitzer's policies in New York and those that Professor Julian Rammelkamp has recently found in the editor's earlier career in St. Louis are only asserted. They are not really probed, for Juergens' research begins and ends in the New York of the mid-eighties. In larger ways also this study does not altogether sustain its claim that Pulitzer created in 1883 "the first modern newspaper." By relying entirely on secondary sources for the general history of the press, the author has denied himself the opportunity of studying in depth the relations between Pulitzer's *World* and its predecessors.

University of Michigan JOHN HIGHAM

THE PAPERS OF WOODROW WILSON. Volume III, 1884–1885. *Arthur S. Link et al.*, Editors. [Sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and Princeton University.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 648. $15.00.)

THE third volume of *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson,* which are now being published at the rate of two volumes a year, covers the period from February 1884 to the last week of January 1885. During this time the future President continued his graduate studies at Johns Hopkins University, saw his *Congressional Government* published, and secured a teaching position at Bryn Mawr College. But overshadowing all these important developments was the full flowering of Wilson's love for his fiancée, Ellen Louise Axson of Georgia, with whom he exchanged letters almost daily. The fact that Miss Axson was far away, either at home in Savannah or in New York studying art, while he read books in Baltimore helps account for Wilson's occasional dissatisfaction with what the university and his teachers, Herbert Baxter Adams and Richard T. Ely, could offer him. Letter after letter demonstrates his unabashed devotion to his "own darling" Ellen, his pain at being separated from her, and his steely insistence that his "rights" be remembered and respected when she saw the other admirers who buzzed around her. The proprieties and hardships of Victorian courtship, along with Wilson's own profound feeling for this young woman, are well documented in the letters included in this volume.

And so are the enduring qualities of Wilson's character and personality. Even his tender and affectionate love letters reveal the philosophical bent of mind, the pride and seriousness, the didacticism, the conservatism, and the prudery of the man who was to become the twenty-seventh President. Yet this man who could disapprove of Ellen's seeing "a stage full of young women with scarcely any clothing" because it was "not an improving thing to look upon" could also make light of his own foibles—at this point in his life at any rate—by observing how often people mistook him for a clergyman or missionary and ruefully acknowl-

edging his "tendency to talk big generalities—to drive a six-horse team to even the smallest vehicle of an argument. . . ."

Arthur Link and his editorial associates and the Princeton University Press are creating a handsome and expertly edited series. It is especially gratifying that so many letters to Wilson from others have been included. They round out the meaning of his own messages and provide an occasional respite from the voluminous correspondence between "My darling Woodrow" and "My own darling" Ellen.

American University ROBERT L. BEISNER

BELOVED LADY: A HISTORY OF JANE ADDAMS' IDEAS ON REFORM AND PEACE. By *John C. Farrell.* [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXXV (1967), Number 2.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1967. Pp. 272. $6.95.)

THIS is a dissertation whose author died tragically just after its completion. It has been revised slightly by two anonymous colleagues, and there is a foreword by Charles Barker, the thesis adviser. It is not a biography of Jane Addams but rather a sympathetic attempt to explore her ideas on reform and peace. It thus joins a growing body of literature that takes reformers and pacifists seriously.

After brief chapters on early influences and the founding of Hull House the book concentrates on Addams' educational thought, her concern for urban recreation, and her opposition to war, but it touches on many other areas: her attitudes toward organized labor and the Negro, her participation in the Progressive campaign of 1912, and her work for woman suffrage. The author sees the twin themes of "culture and democracy" forming the center of her thought and describes the change in her ideas from a paternalistic belief that culture could be bestowed on the poor to a more democratic concept that a major source for culture and a new social democracy was the urban immigrant. He also sees her work for peace and internationalism growing directly out of her ideas on reform. Throughout he stresses the realism and pragmatic nature of Addams' thought, and he writes almost wholly from her point of view which sometimes disguises the fact that she was occasionally naïve and often controversial.

There is a basic difficulty in the approach of this book. Addams was primarily an activist, organizer, mediator, and spokesman rather than an original and systematic thinker. She borrowed from many sources, but her own experience was more important. The author is aware of this difficulty, but by stressing the intellectual influences and contributions he distorts the picture. He has not, however, depended simply on her published writings; he has immersed himself in the manuscripts and has conducted a tireless search for the sources and implications of her ideas. Indeed the most valuable parts of this book are the extensive explanatory footnotes, the bibliographical essay, and the carefully compiled bibliography of Addams' own writings. Farrell has not said the last word on Jane Addams, but all others who follow will have to take account of what he has written.

University of Missouri ALLEN F. DAVIS

BLACK CHICAGO: THE MAKING OF A NEGRO GHETTO, 1890–1920. By *Allan H. Spear.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 254. $7.50.)

THE central frame of reference of Allan H. Spear's *Black Chicago* is the deteriorating state of race relations in that metropolis from the late nineteenth through the early twentieth century. He documents for Chicago what we know is true for the entire North in these years: that the era was typified by the emergence of an increasingly biracial society. The somewhat more fluid social patterns of the 1870's and 1880's hardened and eventually became quite rigid under the pressures of an expanding black population. Separation, segregation, and general conditions of second-class citizenship affected Negro housing, schools, and employment. Spear argues forcefully that the ghetto predated the Great Migration, and that the World War I movement of peoples simply solidified racial attitudes and conditions that had been clearly evident earlier.

Spear has chosen to write less of "the making of a Negro ghetto" than he has of the institutions and ideologies of the Chicago Negro community. His main interest throughout the book is in demonstrating that the dominant racial attitudes of Negro leaders varied with the shifting mood of the city. Under the more easygoing conditions of the 1870's and 1880's, Negro spokesmen emphasized assimilationist themes and the need for multiracial institutions; under the pressures of interracial hostility later on they stressed the necessity of group solidarity and self-reliance. One generation was somewhat embarrassed by racial designations and held them meaningless; the other accepted them, sometimes gloried in them, and used them as sources for personal advancement. What Spear has done here, and done well, has been to apply to his community the main structure of the argument that August Meier used for the entire nation in *Negro Thought in America, 1880–1915* (1963).

A subordinate but ever-present second thesis deals with the role of Negroes as an ethnic group. Spear takes great pains to demonstrate the differences, the dissimilarities, between the problems of white minorities and those of Negroes. He points to the necessity of black people fighting for citizenship rights that were granted white immigrants solely on the basis of skin color; of the racial job ceiling that forced the majority of Negroes into perpetually lower-class positions; of the inability of the black middle class to break out of the ghetto. Those scholars who insist on confusing class with color caste in America might read these sections to advantage.

The book's most serious flaw, in my view, is in its initial conceptualization. To assume that one writes meaningfully of any community by concentrating on the ideological implications inherent in its institutional development is somewhat analogous to analyzing the city by talking about the shape and tone of its buildings. To do so is to lose the spirit and juices of life. Spear counts himself out on this score in his preface when he says: "Historical materials are ill-suited for a systematic treatment of the warped personalities, the thwarted ambitions, and unbearable frustrations that the ghetto has produced. The historian cannot explain Bigger Thomas, John Grimes, or the Invisible Man; he can, it may be hoped, contribute to an understanding of the community that spawned them." I

disagree totally with the substance and implications of this restrictive vision. And even to remain within its confines, however, I would suggest that a fuller discussion of ante bellum racial attitudes in Chicago is essential. For it was then, not in the 1870's and 1880's, that the image of a raceless society was born. Furthermore, especially in the light of the paucity of available manuscript material, a potentially fascinating and important study of the Negro working class might have emerged from the use of the journals and papers of such labor organizations as the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen Union.

Yet measuring these limitations against the acknowledged strengths of the book, especially its careful and interesting attention to ideological and class distinctions within the Negro community, *Black Chicago* remains a sound and worthwhile study.

University of Illinois, Chicago GILBERT OSOFSKY

DIVORCE IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA. By *William L. O'Neill.* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 295. $6.50.)

IN 1889 the United States Bureau of Labor's report, *Marriage and Divorce,* brought to the public notice the fact that in each decade since 1860 the divorce rate of the country had been rising with what appeared to be alarming momentum. William O'Neill contributes an informative and engrossing study of changing attitudes toward this new social trend in the period 1890–1920, after which the public acceptance of divorce as a matter of personal choice became increasingly common. In these decades the author shows that the debate over divorce illuminated Americans' basic questions about the permanence of the family as an institution, the relation of happiness to marriage, the meaning of sex for men and women, and the role of women in an increasingly industrialized society.

Educated members of society—ministers, writers, social scientists, and feminists of both sexes—took their stands in learned publications and in more popular journals and books. It is significant that although the majority of Protestant and Catholic churchmen at first regarded divorce as an overwhelming threat to the family as the true foundation of society, they could not agree on criteria by which to limit access to divorce. O'Neill attributes the failure of the New England Divorce League founded in 1881 by a Congregational minister, Samuel W. Dike, to the lack of solidarity among conservatives. The liberals on divorce who included a distinguished range of persons such as Carroll Wright, Walter Willcox, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Edward A. Ross, and Elsie Clews Parsons similarly brought different perspectives and reached no uniform conclusions. While social scientists were in time persuasive to other intellectuals, theologians proved more important in counteracting the conservative tendencies of most religious leaders and thinkers. In contrast to the shifting balance of conservatives and liberals on divorce, a radical minority of anarchists and socialists favored nonmarriage. This book is, on the whole, particularly valuable in demonstrating the gradual accommodation of progressive attitudes on divorce to the dominant values in support of marriage and the family as institutions.

The author challenges the conventional interpretation that divorce was symptomatic of the decline of the family and claims that divorce has become the safety

valve making possible the preservation of the conjugal family system. This speculation like various other insights in *Divorce in the Progressive Era* is not fully explored.

Above all, the author tends to inject his own sympathetic view of divorce in a way that distracts from the historical focus of the book. Noting that "When divorces were expensive and difficult to obtain they were in effect restricted to middle- and upper-class persons," O'Neill continues, "But once the legal restraints on divorce eased, divorce tended to become a lower-class phenomenon. As a result, today the divorce rate among the lower class is more than twice as high as among the middle class." After a slight digression on divorce in the 1960's O'Neill states, while divorce in the nineteenth century seemed to contemporaries to be "a product of upper- and middle-class pathology, it was increasingly coming to be associated with lower-class life." Unfortunately this significant statement is not amplified in detail; nor are its crucial implications directly related to the content of this book. A welcome addition to the small body of scholarly work in this field, *Divorce in the Progressive Era* still leaves the reader with many questions unanswered. The debate on this topic should continue to draw the attention of historians.

Radcliffe College BARBARA M. SOLOMON

CHINA MARKET: AMERICA'S QUEST FOR INFORMAL EMPIRE, 1893–1901. By *Thomas J. McCormick*. (Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 1967. Pp. 241. $6.50.)

THE author presents a thoughtful analysis of the forces moving the United States in the direction of empire and the nature of the empire they envisaged. As he sees it, the basic driving force at the turn of the century was the concern that the new industrial machine would produce more than could be sold at home, and this concern was sharply heightened by awareness of the danger to the domestic *status quo*. The solution to this problem that dominated the thinking of a broad array of leaders is called by the author "informal empire." The appeal of this goal lay in its low cost and the fact that it did not come into conflict with long-held attitudes opposed to alliances, colonialism, and military conflict.

The author interprets relations with China from 1893 to 1901 in terms of this framework. The Open Door notes of 1899 and circular note of July 3, 1900, were clear expressions of the underlying aspirations of the major groups in society. McCormick states that the interpretations of George F. Kenmore and Charles S. Campbell, Jr., have, consequently, "trivialized an event of enormous importance." "Both," he says, "inadequately appreciate that the Open Door Policy accurately reflected the widely shared assumptions and analysis of most social elements in America (including many without special vested interests); that both individual and group pressures were at best minor catalytic factors." The notes, McCormick maintains, represented a basic response to a basic problem, and he describes the solution as "a most interesting hybrid of anti-colonialism and economic imperialism."

The alternatives to this policy, as seen by the policy makers, suffered from substantial defects. One of these alternatives was to join in the partition of China,

and during some brief periods this received serious consideration. Its weaknesses were that a sphere of interest offered only a limited market compared to China as a whole, and it likewise was a solution that could become a liability in elections. A second alternative was to withdraw completely, a surrender the leaders found demeaning. The Open Door solution, however, also suffered serious weaknesses. There was no way to keep the door open short of a willingness to employ force in preventing Russian expansion. Barred from making military commitments itself, the United States relied on Japan to fight the battles. In the long run, Japan pursued an independent course that ran counter to the interests of the United States.

In my judgment, this is a most important volume. The clear presentation, the appropriate caution in applying the thesis to all that happened, and the valuable use of a wide variety of sources should recommend it to many readers. The book, however, provokes a series of questions worthy of investigation. There was a great interest in foreign markets, especially on the part of publicists, but how serious an effort did the business community make to sell abroad? How many representatives did it send abroad? What credit facilities did business provide for the prospective customer? How much serious effort was there in the 1890's to establish an adequate consular service? Was the American economy so organized that it could adjust readily to the conditions of foreign competition? Were protective tariffs and the national banking and currency systems better suited to a relatively self-sufficient and rapidly expanding home market than to foreign markets? If the answers to these questions are negative, then we may find that the resolutions and speeches may not have represented any deeply held convictions in the business community.

Michigan State University PAUL A. VARG

DAVID SNEDDEN AND EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL EFFICIENCY. By *Walter H. Drost.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 242. $8.50.)

BASICALLY the product of a Wisconsin graduate seminar, *David Snedden* delineates the role and contribution to American education of this "raw-boned cowboy who did not see the inside of a classroom until he was fourteen." One expects the emergence of a frontier image and a panegyric to the values of Horatio Alger. The image is invoked *passim,* but only in the final paragraph does Drost conclude that, after all, "it is possible that his [Snedden's] own story of upward social mobility, based on hard work and keen intellect in the best tradition of the 'American Dream,' is more eloquent in its message than his own proposals of education for social efficiency."

Had this slight accolade not so adumbrated Drost, he might have equated Snedden more directly with his idol, Herbert Spencer, whose *What Knowledge Is of Most Worth?* along with *Synthetic Sociology* catalyzed and, to a large degree, demarked Snedden's own educational theme and field of sociological endeavor. Thus, this is no hero story, and Drost appears to be at pains to suggest that his protagonist is no demigod. Yet he was, for his time, a significant figure.

And one might have thought that Drost could easily have turned to Daniel

Levine's *Varieties of Reform Thought* (1964) for the Snedden recipe was very like that of Jane Addams at Hull House: "One might well argue that a Polish immigrant working in a meat-packing plant had no need to learn Latin. Yet the conclusions she reached would have had the effect of educating workers to be workers and keeping them in their place. . . ." But hardly ever is Miss Addams considered antidemocratic; nor was David Snedden. His conception of democracy did, however, place another interpretation on frontierism. His frontier was not democratic in the Turner-Dewey sense. Failures fared no better on the frontier than in the city. In fact they might not last as long! Success, not always strictly ethical, was what paid off. It is romantic to write of the common pioneers; frequently they have a common grave. The names remembered had other claims to fame. They became specialists in whatever areas they pre-empted: business, cattle, railroading, superfarming, politics, banditry, sin.

Snedden's tragedy lay in the fact that, like many another, he seemingly came to be repudiated in his own time. As his program and personal contribution matured, chronology ushered in a new time bracket with which he was not familiar: the Progressive-Dewey period with its permissive-type "democratic education." This ideology was foreign to Snedden's—and Spencer's—conception of what should be most effective for social efficiency.

When he retired from Columbia in 1935, John Dewey was in the ascendant. Snedden was hardly finished; yet a cloud obscured his memorial to American education. He received no mention in Cremin's worthy *Transformation of the American School* (1962), despite the reality that even today California's Berkeley library shows 31 Snedden titles. Spencer rates 85, but Dewey shows 113.

Snedden's sin—and Drost never lets us forget this—was that he remained conservative when all around him were making obeisance to "child-centeredness"; he remained Jeffersonian while others espoused Jackson; he had only talent, not genius.

Is it possible that the pendulum will yet swing in Snedden's direction? Drost certainly does not think so.

University of California, Davis KENNETH V. LOTTICH

THE CORRESPONDENTS' WAR: JOURNALISTS IN THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR. By *Charles H. Brown.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1967. Pp. xi, 478. $8.95.)

THIS book describes how American newspapers reported the Cuban Revolution of 1895–1898 and the consequent American war with Spain. Though the work begins with a survey of major publishers and editors, especially in New York, and concludes with some cautious paragraphs saying that yellow journalism did not bear sole blame for the behavior of the United States, the body of the book concerns neither the policies of newspapers nor their impact on events. It is about reporters. One-fifth of its text deals with those who filed dispatches about Cuba prior to April 1898; three-fifths tell of those who covered the fighting fronts. The author, a professor of journalism at Pennsylvania State University, is interested primarily in who reported what, and when and where. For historians, the work's chief value lies in its illustration of a point suggested in passing on a prefatory

page: that the Cuban crisis and the Spanish-American War mark the point at which reporters became more important than editors in shaping the character of American newspapers.

Harvard University ERNEST R. MAY

THE MEDICAL MESSIAHS: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF HEALTH QUACKERY IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY AMERICA. By *James Harvey Young.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 460. $9.00.)

HARVEY Young's 1961 volume, *The Toadstool Millionaires,* carried the social history of patent medicines to 1906. *The Medical Messiahs* broadens the subject to health quackery in general and extends it to the present. The first book was excellent; the sequel is superb. Starting from the paradox that quacks are doing better than ever despite increased rigor of legal controls and advances in medical science and practice, Young illuminates his subject against the principal trends in science, marketing, and government. His main emphasis is on the legal weapons against quackery and the federal agencies—the Food and Drug Administration, the Post Office Department, and the Federal Trade Commission—that have responsibility for wielding them. A concurrent theme is the work of the American Medical Association and the National Better Business Bureau in the private sector.

Faced with an overwhelming mass of sources and a story of great complexity, Young proceeds by means of case studies of the campaigns against major quacks. Too often the case study technique is a superficial and misleading mask for inadequate research. Not so here. These nightmare tales of charlatanry are carefully integrated into the larger story they illustrate. Their use is peculiarly appropriate, for it was in campaigns against individual miscreants that the government sharpened its tactics and learned the limitations of its arms. The persistence of quackery cannot be explained in terms of defective legislation, inadequate appropriations, resourceful promoters, ignorance, and faulty logic alone. Young suggests that despite sometime support from men of enlightened intellect (Senator Paul Douglas gave his allegiance to Krebiozen), most disciples of the medical messiahs may be afflicted with Hofstadter's "one-hundred percent mentality." Those who follow the *ignes fatui* of quackery may suffer the same frustrations and imperatives as those committed to extremes in politics, economics, and religion.

This book is written in tight, graceful prose that reflects thought rather than substitutes for it. Done with a sure feel for the larger political, social, and economic background, it demonstrates that historians who would make socially relevant contributions need only adhere to the best canons of their art.

Bethesda, Maryland OSCAR E. ANDERSON, JR.

CHALLENGE AND REJECTION: THE UNITED STATES AND WORLD LEADERSHIP, 1900–1921. By *Julius W. Pratt.* [American Diplomatic History Series.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. viii, 248. $5.95.)

ANY challenges as demanding as those the world imposed on the United States during the first two decades of this century would, of necessity, require a massive

response. The United States entered the century as a so-called world power, with interests in Europe, Asia, and Latin America. Eventually, under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson, it chose to defend its interests in Europe at the price of a major military effort. That crusade re-established, at least on the surface, the traditional nineteenth-century order of power that had served the interests of the US so well. But if the nation had played an essential role in perpetuating that order against a German threat to destroy it, then this country's continued involvement in European affairs was essential. At Versailles, for the first time, an American diplomatist became a primary arbiter in the affairs of Europe and the world. Other nations, represented at Versailles, knew from experience that those who create the peace are responsible for the peace. World affairs, unfortunately, do not run on laws that transcend the policies and interests of individual states. Yet Wilson, in his emphasis on the creation of a new world order, failed to convey this essential knowledge to the American people. Having determined the nature of Europe's reconstruction with its power, the US, almost overnight, withdrew that power under the assumption that the peace system, once established, would operate on its own laws, or that, with its breakdown, nothing would occur that might demand a like response from the US again. In either case the judgment proved to be wrong.

This volume, as its title suggests, traces these challenges and responses through twenty crucial years. If the responses were less than clear it was because American officials simply failed to develop a body of thought that reflected the nation's interests in a real world of tension and conflict. They never learned, and thus could not teach, the lessons that the world conveyed and that they could really never escape. It need not have been so. Professor Pratt properly praises Theodore Roosevelt for his conceptualization of a national role that might have combined a maximum of security with a maximum of peace. Beyond Roosevelt, however, the author's emphasis is on fact rather than analysis. Roosevelt comes off better than Taft and Wilson, but did the decline result from the actions of Congress or the concepts of international politics that guided Roosevelt's successors? The author makes little use of contemporary critics, such as Herbert Croly, Alfred T. Mahan, and Lewis Einstein, brilliant as they were. Yet he describes many episodes with the precision that one would expect of an experienced historian. His treatment of Wilson at Versailles is superb. With its tendency to avoid judgment, the volume remains a valuable and useful survey of American foreign policy during two decades of immense challenge and activity.

University of Virginia NORMAN A. GRAEBNER

THE NEGRO IN VIRGINIA POLITICS, 1902–1965. By *Andrew Buni.* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1967. Pp. ix, 296. $6.00.)

PROFESSOR Buni's work is useful albeit conventional political history, the first state study of its kind on the twentieth-century Negro. It is a pellucid, compact, and smoothly organized catalogue of the pertinent campaigns and elections, local, state, and national, but it fails to consider the dynamics of the vital interaction of individuals and organizations in the politics of race advancement.

For most of this century, the author shows, the Negro and the race issue

played relatively minor roles in Virginia politics. Always, however, a handful of Negroes kept up the protest. They challenged the disfranchisement provisions in the courts, registered disapproval of Republican lily-white policies by running a full slate of lily-black candidates in the 1921 gubernatorial campaign, and worked on voter registration. With the 1954 Supreme Court decision, the rhythm of sluggishness and indifference changed to passion and commitment; Senator Harry F. Byrd, finally breaking his magisterial silence, led the forces of "massive resistance" against the integration of schools until the courts called a halt in 1959. In the next years federal actions in combination with "the movement" wiped out election encumbrances and placed over 100,000 Negroes on the voting books. In 1965 one of the principal leaders of "massive resistance" made an opportunistic *volte-face* and successfully campaigned for governor on a platform promising all Virginians "full equality before the law." The author does not deal with the question of white support, open or secret, for the Negro cause prior to 1960 (are we to conclude there was none?); nor does he speculate on why violence was almost totally absent from the political scene.

The chief fault of the book lies in the author's ineffective use of the source materials he has diligently uncovered. In addition to several white manuscript collections (always revealingly disappointing) and a heavy reliance on white and Negro newspapers, Buni gets his information from Negro organizational reports and dozens of personal interviews. NAACP records and those of the Virginia Voters League, a Negro organization created in 1941 to encourage voting, are, unfortunately, scarcely touched. The unimaginative questions asked in interviews with Negro leaders seldom elicit insightful answers. Thus the personalities, styles, ideologies, methods, and goals of men and movements are seen only dimly.

As a counterweight to the intensifying assault by historians on the myth of American innocence, we need to know more about the public and private influences at work on those men who cared enough to commit themselves to change.

University of Arkansas WILLIAM CHEEK

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES: POLITICS AND REFORM IN NEW YORK, 1905–1910. By *Robert F. Wesser.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 366. $8.50.)

PROFESSOR Wesser has written an exhaustive study of the administration of Republican Governor Charles Evans Hughes during the years that launched progressivism in New York State. The main thrust of Hughes's program centered on political and administrative reform and on state regulation of public-utility and financial corporations. Most of Wesser's volume details in thorough and definitive manner the triumphs and failures of Hughes in those areas. In a chapter near the end he describes also the advances in social welfare and labor legislation that took place during the Hughes regime, reforms of a type that were in the long run more significant, in my opinion, than measures like the direct primary, which absorbed so much of the governor's attention.

Throughout the book Wesser highlights the role that practical politics—intraparty and interparty, state level and national level—played in initiating,

shaping, and deciding the outcome of the reform battles of the Hughes years. Indeed, this is the main lesson of the book, for it calls to our attention the degree to which progressivism owed its achievements to political exigencies and to the machinations of politicians, as well as to the reformist currents set in motion by the muckrakers, preachers, and social philosophers and scientists whose contributions have been dwelt on so much. And yet, as Wesser indicates, herein is just where Hughes failed. Successful for a while and on some issues because of his appeal to an enlightened public opinion, Hughes nevertheless proved ineffective as a party leader and as a reformer of New York's Republican party, in large part precisely because of his disdain of "practical politics." When he left office in 1910 the New York GOP therefore easily returned to conservative control, a condition that persisted at least until the advent of Governor Thomas E. Dewey in the 1940's. Meanwhile, beginning with 1911 New York's state government came under the domination of Tammany boss Charles F. Murphy and such protégés of his as Alfred E. Smith and Robert F. Wagner.

If Wesser extends his study of Empire State politics and progressivism beyond 1910, as he has indicated he intends to do, it should be interesting to see how he evaluates the performance of men such as these, who were practical politicians par excellence. His present book points up the importance of high-minded and independent apolitical progressives like Hughes. But it may also stimulate appreciation of the usefulness to reform causes of at least some of the men who bore the opprobrium of being "professional politicians."

Rutgers University J. Joseph Huthmacher

CONGRESSIONAL INSURGENTS AND THE PARTY SYSTEM, 1909–1916. By *James Holt.* [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 60.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 188. $5.50.)

The history of the Insurgent Republican congressmen and senators who emerged during the last years of Theodore Roosevelt's second administration was well done for the Taft years over a quarter century ago by Kenneth Hechler. But subsequently no one has followed the career of this agrarian-minded and peculiarly individualistic group in its rather tortuous and almost invariably stormy relationships with both major parties as well as with Roosevelt's Progressives. In extending Hechler's study from 1912 through the election of 1916 this book is a valuable addition to the political history of the period.

As Professor Holt states in his preface, he has not attempted to write "a definitive history of insurgency"; nor is he primarily concerned with the origins of the movement or with its ideology, but rather with "a study of the insurgents' role in the party system." Since his sources largely relate to the senatorial Insurgents, the author has paid little attention to the thirty or forty Insurgents in the House of Representatives. But within the limits Holt set for himself he has performed admirably.

This volume corrects some errors in earlier works, including some of my own. It challenges, not entirely convincingly, the assumption that the Bull Moose movement resulted in making the Republican party overwhelmingly conservative. The

comparative study of Robert La Follette and George Norris as political leaders, to the advantage of the former, is both interesting and scholarly. But the author's major contribution is in detailing the strange and seemingly illogical position of the Insurgents toward the major legislation of the Wilson period.

The author has taken scant notice of the Adamson Act and includes no discussion of the Insurgent position with reference to the labor provisions of the Clayton Act. While perhaps not important for party maneuvering, the Insurgent position on these labor issues might have illuminated some of the ideological reasons for their failure as national leaders.

Much of the strength of this volume and some of its limitations arise from the author's residence at the University of Auckland, New Zealand. For far too long American history has been almost monopolized by Americans. A view from a new point of reference such as this one is very welcome.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill GEORGE E. MOWRY

RANDOLPH BOURNE: LEGEND AND REALITY. By *John Adam Moreau.* (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 227. $5.00.)

HISTORIANS who have never so much as drilled a platoon have been known to write good biographies of generals. The minds of generals are rarely complex, and the work of organizing mass slaughter is not as complicated as it should be. Biographies of intellectuals present rather different problems. The intellectual's thought processes are by definition intricate; he must bring to his work a vast store of information; and the qualities that give him skill or genius cannot be summarized in an army "fitness report." It helps if biographers and historians who deal with intellectuals have some bent for unraveling and parsing complex ideas, some approximation of the knowledge their subject brings to his work, and a good grounding in the environment to which the man of ideas reacts. This cannot be said for the author of *Randolph Bourne: Legend and Reality.*

Mr. Moreau has patiently gone through the materials available for a biography of Bourne. A native of Bloomfield, New Jersey, himself, he has added a little to the data we have on Bourne's early life. Many interviews with Bourne's friends have also allowed Moreau to put together more than was previously known about Bourne's romantic attachments. But, when the author attempts to deal with Bourne's ideas and the intellectual's manner and means of expressing them, the results are embarrassing. Moreau apologizes endlessly for Bourne's radicalism, assuring us that in him America had "a son who loved her as much as any who had been in the trenches." The level of the analysis can be suggested most fairly in the author's own words, for example when he attempts to examine Bourne's relationship to Marxism. "There are only shaky indications that he would have been some kind of Marxist," writes Moreau, "but indeed some of that element of the Left have tried to make him their unique embryo intellectual pretty boy." Beyond such mindlessness, the work's careless writing, numerous errors, confused and incorrect footnotes, and shabby editing preclude the praise that might otherwise be given a conscientious effort.

State University of New York, Binghamton CHARLES FORCEY

THE KU KLUX KLAN IN THE CITY, 1915–1930. By *Kenneth T. Jackson.* [The Urban Life in America Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 326. $7.50.)

THIS ably researched, informative book helps fill in the history of the Klan as America's prime fraternal order of the 1920's. By study of Atlanta, Chicago, Dallas, Denver, Detroit, Indianapolis, Knoxville, Memphis, and Portland, plus brief summaries of urban Klans elsewhere, Dr. Jackson offers extremely useful quantification of Klan membership, socioeconomic position, and urban location. He also confirms the internal self-destructiveness of the Klan and additionally casts doubt on the "moral authoritarianism" interpretation of its nature.

The central interest is an attempt to view the Klan through the new urban interpretation of the twenties. The Klan, he maintains, was basically urban and stemmed from "the peculiar problems and tensions of daily life in the city." These principally came from an intra-urban "confrontation of cultures," particularly in the immigrant and Negro "zones of emergence."

The path of proof is marked by narrative wanderings and important inconsistencies. The Middle West is both offered and disproven as a historical center of tolerance; old and new immigrant communities are lumped together; Knoxville is shown as both typical and untypical of population stability; John Mecklin's view of the Klan is both rejected and accepted; and urban Klansmen are shown to be concentrated both in and outside of zones of emergence.

To focus on the city is not to establish an urban interpretation and may obscure the importance of the data. Jackson's urban Klansmen were fraternal, racist, nativist, patriotic, prohibitionist, political, Protestant, sometimes violent, and aggressively defensive, but hardly did anything unique. In dealing with the massed membership in the major cities and detaching them from their national, and often state, moorings, he misses the vital fact that their values and behavior were not substantially different from that of Klansmen elsewhere. All seemed to share a common uneasiness over change and the loss of the American certainty. The remarkable thing about the urban Klansmen was the degree that they failed to attend to what ought to have been "urban" business. They should, at least, have organized more neighborhood improvement associations and had fewer chicken dinners, evangelists from Atlanta, and antipapal processionals.

This review is not hostile to the testing of urban history hypotheses. In an otherwise useful book, however, the technique is not sufficiently developed, and the hooded knights of the Ku Klux Klan, although importantly urban, appear to have been otherwise singularly uncooperative.

University of Florida DAVID CHALMERS

THE IMMIGRANTS' INFLUENCE ON WILSON'S PEACE POLICIES. Edited by *Joseph P. O'Grady.* ([Lexington:] University of Kentucky Press. 1967. Pp. x, 329. $8.50.)

A GAP in the literature of American foreign affairs in the period 1918–1920 is adequately filled by this useful volume of eleven essays. Wilson's vulnerability to ethnic group pressures after his inclusion of the principle of self-determination in

his Fourteen Points is made apparent. In like measure, the expediency of American politicians in exploiting the ethnic issues is also evident. The reader may judge as to the degree of wisdom displayed by Wilson and his associates in their varying response to the many pressure groups.

After an overly succinct summary introduction by the editor, brief essays are presented on the Germans (Austin J. App), the Irish (Joseph P. O'Grady), the British (Dennis J. McCarthy), the Italians (John B. Duff), the Magyars (George Barany), the southern Slavs (George J. Prpic), the Czechs (Otakar Odlozilik), the Slovaks and Carpatho-Ruthenians (Victor S. Mamatey), the Poles (Louis L. Gerson), and the Jews (Morton Tenzer). Arthur J. May contributes a chapter on "The Mid-European Union."

Despite inevitable variations of quality and coverage, the essays are consistently useful in supplying information on hitherto relatively obscure aspects of Wilson's policies. Least familiar to students will undoubtedly be the essays on the Italians, the Magyars, the southern Slavs, and the Slovaks and Carpatho-Ruthenians, but there is new material in the other essays as well. May's essay on the abortive Mid-European Union is especially useful.

One is struck by the intensity of the pressures exerted upon Wilson and the immensity of the decisions he was called upon to make, frequently without adequate briefing by aids. The inevitable subjectivity and seeming capriciousness of decisions that resulted have been painfully apparent in postwar history. The authors of the several essays have been admirably reserved in their judgments, but it is clear that the most successful groups were those that reached Wilson through close associates of his, such as Justice Brandeis, or through celebrities such as Paderewski.

The documentations for the essays provide useful bibliographies for further studies, and there is a good index.

Carleton College CARLTON C. QUALEY

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION: FROM ARCADY TO ACADEME. A HISTORY OF THE PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, 1919–1955. By *Patricia Albjerg Graham.* [Teachers College Studies in Education.] (New York: Teachers College Press, Teachers College, Columbia University. 1967. Pp. x, 193. $5.75.)

THIS is a curiously pedestrian treatment of a most unpedestrian theme, but it partially justifies itself because "progressive" education still stirs emotional responses. Thus, a cool hand is helpful, even if it leads one only so far. The author's best point is that pre-PEA progressivism, from the 1880's to World War I, differed from what followed. Earlier innovators responded to changing social conditions, the rise of the city, the new immigration. They emphasized vocational training, health measures, and other priorities. Pioneers like John Dewey did indeed sanction experimentation and the child's creativity, but their principles were broad enough to respect reality and results. Progressive educators of the 1920's were more ardently "child-centered," and their antipathy to the older curriculum was more fundamental.

This book concerns itself largely with the workings of the Progressive Educa-

tion Association, from its founding to its demise: its key figures, its committees, its polemics, as reflected in *Progressive Education,* and its turn in the 1930's under such leaders as George S. Counts, who envisioned "social reconstruction" as the task of the day. The author is well aware that such persons were often excessive in their formulations, and as often without insight into the nature of the society they intended to influence. She sees their work in the 1930's, nevertheless, as a "flowering" of ideas that in some measure attained roots.

The precipitous decline of the PEA is explained by the effects of World War II, the McCarthy "era," and other developments. Unfortunately, too little attention is paid factors and personalities outside the parochial seminars of the progressives, factors that first enabled them to flourish in some measure and then attended their obsequies. The author notes that the progressives "were often wary of historical precedent." However, their qualitative sense of American experience varied. Thus, Harold Rugg's hope was to infuse history with new vitality, a goal that touched off no joy in American Legion breasts. The author insufficiently considers what conditions gave "progressive education" a bad name, even with those who repudiate learning by rote and indoctrination, and she fails to perceive Rugg's brave intention, in his posthumous *Imagination* (1963): to revive progressivism under new and more acceptable tenets than those which led them to ignominy. Additional work in the field may help us understand better how the promising progressivism of Dewey, Arthur E. Morgan, Francis W. Parker, and others became the kind of shibboleth that traditionalists were able to lampoon so successfully. *Progressive Education: From Arcady to Academe* is one-dimensional, but it contributes to the richer history that is, we hope, in the making.

Antioch College LOUIS FILLER

BACK TO BACK: THE DUEL BETWEEN FDR AND THE SUPREME COURT. By *Leonard Baker.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. 311. $6.95.)

THIS account of the epochal political battle staged in the spring of 1937 over Franklin Roosevelt's Court packing plan is journalistic history at its best—worldly, savory, and altogether delightful. From a newspaperman's point of view, at least, it is all there. First, there are the juicy little anecdotal morsels: "Cactus Jack" Garner holding his nose and turning his thumbs down upon first hearing of the President's scheme; Burton K. Wheeler in a moment of high drama surprising his colleagues on the Judiciary Committee with the celebrated letter from Chief Justice Hughes defending the Court against FDR's charges; and old Hiram Johnson of California, 1912 Progressive turned conservative, impetuously shouting "glory be to God!" at the final admission that the Court bill was beaten once and for all.

Again, the little pen sketches of the dramatis personae: Justice Louis Brandeis cast as "Old Isaiah"; Charles Evans Hughes looking "Lak de Lawd Hisself"; William Allen White, complete with green eye shade, "pecking out homilies and all-American editorials with two fingers on an old typewriter"; and Justice Willis Van Devanter calmly puffing his pipe and ever so casually handing veteran reporter John Suter the announcement of his retirement.

Inevitably, there are weaknesses. The basic interpretation is simplistic. Roosevelt, the patrician, the author holds, had determined to alter the traditional role of the national government, which until now had been "to protect the rich against the poor, the haves against the have-nots." And so he moved against a Court that, defending the interests of "the wealthy and propertied class," had placed the New Deal "under legal siege." It is all pretty simple economic determinism, with none of the subtleties of constitutional law, judicial mythology, and liberal concerns for constitutional continuity and the separation of powers that made the actual struggle so complex and confusing.

Yet the book is not without interpretive value. There are excellent analyses of the reason behind the Court bill's failure: the defection of liberals concerned with the excessive concentration of presidential power, the indifference of labor, the hostility of agriculture, Tom Corcoran's incompetence as a political strategist, and so on. In short, if the book is hardly the final word on the great Court fight, it nonetheless deserves a definite place in the constitutional historiography of the New Deal.

Wayne State University ALFRED H. KELLY

THE *PANAY* INCIDENT: PRELUDE TO WAR. By *Manny T. Koginos.* (Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Studies. 1967. Pp. ix, 154. $4.75.)

FOR more than two decades, diplomatic historians have treated the Japanese attack on the gunboat *Panay* as an isolated and relatively insignificant episode on the road to Pearl Harbor. In this detailed monograph, Professor Koginos attempts to show that it was a "vital turning point in Japanese-American relations." Although he gives a useful summary of this dramatic incident, he fails to prove his contention. Most Americans reacted to the attack on the *Panay* by demanding a withdrawal from China, and the Roosevelt administration quickly accepted the Japanese apology and offer of indemnity. Koginos emphasizes the long-run impact of the *Panay* crisis, claiming that it precipitated a major isolationist defeat in Congress over the Ludlow war referendum amendment and suggesting that it influenced Roosevelt's decision to embark on a program of naval expansion in January 1938. The author, however, is unable to prove that the *Panay* played a decisive role in either of these later developments; nor is he convincing in his assertion that they radically altered American policy in the Far East. The major shift came in 1940 when the Tripartite Pact caused the administration to begin applying economic pressure on Japan.

The limitations of this study are inherent in the author's sources. His reliance on American diplomatic records prevents him from probing very deeply into the critical question of Japanese motivation and leaves his final conclusion, that "an elite inner group of Japanese military extremists" arranged the assault on the *Panay* to force the United States out of China, completely unsupported. He summarizes American editorial opinion at great length, quoting copiously and tediously from a broad range of newspapers, but he offers little analysis of the ideas expressed and their possible impact on American policy. He is more successful in analyzing the conflict within the administration between the diplomats, notably Cordell Hull and Joseph Grew, who favored a soft line, and men like Admiral

William Leahy and Harold Ickes, who pleaded unsuccessfully for a firmer stand. Roosevelt himself remains enigmatic, though Koginos argues persuasively that the President deeply resented the Japanese attack and regretted that he was unable to respond more vigorously. Had Roosevelt not been constrained by public opinion and by his own innate caution, the *Panay* affair might well have led to a decisive change in America's Far Eastern policy in 1937. But as it was, the United States continued to acquiesce to Japanese aggression for another three years.

University of Texas, Austin ROBERT A. DIVINE

FROM THE MORGENTHAU DIARIES: YEARS OF WAR, 1941–1945. By *John Morton Blum*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1967. Pp. xi, 526. $10.00.)

As Blum is adding his own notes to the well-known, huge Morgenthau corpus at Hyde Park, notes ultimately to be available for research, Blum will have courageously exposed his standards of judgment on the materials to the censorious gaze of a later generation of researchers. I predict that he will come off well, despite the brutal revisionism in which, fortunately, historians delight. His work is most important for its demonstration of the frankness and extent of the Morgenthau collection as a unique historical tool; if FDR kept his interior privacy, Morgenthau often wore his heart on his sleeve.

However, as concerns the office conversations relentlessly recorded by Morgenthau's black box with the red light, historians may need to contrive a discount factor; for some persons interviewed have told me that dawning awareness of the box affected what they said and how they said it. One man swears that he made his own availability for consultation dependent upon shutting off the box.

Data throughout this book amply support Blum's assertion that Morgenthau asked for deletion of nothing reflecting upon himself, one way or the other. Thus, the sequences show this sensitive humanitarian and believer in sound finance yielding his arguments to Rooseveltian shifts and wartime imperatives, and suffering four years of frustrations and adaptations, climaxed by abandonment of his plan to pastoralize Germany. Such experiences, not to mention Roosevelt's propensity for derogatory teasing of his outraged admirer and outright discourtesy from congressional committeemen, made the Secretary repeatedly tell his staff he "couldn't take it." But he could and did, evidently sustained by the fundamental strength of his honesty, by his intense delight in close proximity to a President who puzzled him, and by his conviction that his yieldings were dictated by circumstances.

Some readers, including myself, may conclude that Morgenthau's role was not as influential as Blum here estimates it. The text shows the tenuousness of Morgenthau's influence at the White House, in various departments, and on the Hill, and his ignorance of such matters as atomic energy planning, intricate Bretton Woods details, and schemes for Germany developed at Tehran and London. Prior to the Quebec meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill "The Secretary had never before attended one of the top-level Anglo-American conferences." In July 1945 he was aware that he had been allowed "no real part in the negotiations with England." Even in his own back yard he scarcely realized the source of some of his most im-

portant advice for, according to some participants who have described strenuous hassles over international monetary planning to me, the Harry White on whom Morgenthau leaned for economic and financial *expertise* was much indebted to a keener consultant, Edward Bernstein, who is scarcely mentioned here. This book may rouse proponents of other figures, also.

This might be described as an unadorned narrative befitting the honest and sometimes bumbling applegrower elevated to eminence to be the whipping boy (the role he habitually described as peculiarly his) for the politician whom he loved and served unceasingly. But Blum attains real dramatic sequence in the actual events and human nature operating therein. He gives us abundant demonstration of the interdepartmental sabotaging, crass bargaining, infighting, extreme pressures, irrational errors, and pervasive chaos that tyrannize governmental administration, especially in wartime. Historians, political scientists, and economists perusing these revealing pages could well work for peace.

University of Pennsylvania JEANNETTE PADDOCK NICHOLS

CENTRAL PACIFIC DRIVE. By *Henry I. Shaw, Jr., et al.* [History of U. S. Marine Corps Operations in World War II, Volume III.] ([Washington, D. C.:] Historical Branch, G-3 Division, Headquarters, U. S. Marine Corps. 1966. Pp. x, 685. $7.25.)

THIS massive work, the third in a projected five-volume series, covers nine crucial months—November 1943 to August 1944—when victories in the Gilbert, Marshall, and Mariana Islands brought American air power within striking distance of the Japanese homeland. In this period the marine corps learned the theory, tactics, and techniques of amphibious warfare, much of it by trial and error.

The main focus here is on marine corps combat functions, yet supporting arms and services are given adequate space. Victory, after all, was accomplished by navy and marine corps teams, supported by army ground and air units, with new weapons and organizational developments. Noteworthy are the attention and appreciation paid the Japanese fighting man. The narrative is generally clear and easy to follow, especially with the numerous excellent maps provided. There are an invaluable, critical bibliography, fine pictures, and pertinent data in several appendixes.

This is a definitive study, woven from all available sources, including interviews and personal comments of participants, Japanese and American; it is critically objective in pointing out mistakes made in command, tactics, logistics, intelligence, communications, and planning, and in handling controversial issues.

Tarawa, one of the strategically located Gilbert Islands, was the first real amphibious operation against a small, heavily fortified islet defended by a determined enemy. Only a direct assault, with resulting heavy casualties, could bring the quick victory needed to avoid a Japanese attack against American transports and supply vessels.

The marines put to good use the valuable lessons learned at Tarawa in capturing the Marshalls in January and February 1944. Now American forces were within eleven hundred miles of the immensely important Marianas, with Saipan, Tinian, and Guam the special prizes. In taking these by August 1944 the marines

demonstrated they could put two or three divisions ashore, supply them, and fight well in extended combat over all types of terrain. With Tinian in American hands, B-29's, including those that dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, were able to ravage Japan.

The book is marred by several different writing styles, some purple passages, detail that is occasionally overwhelming, and the notable omission of examples that describe individual acts of heroism. Finally, the quality of research and interpretation varies from section to section, probably because several authors did the work over a period of years. Fortunately, the quality improves, and the interest grows with each succeeding campaign treated.

Baltimore, Maryland ABE BORTZ

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1945. Volume I, GENERAL: THE UNITED NATIONS. [Department of State Publication 8294.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1967. Pp. lviii, 1611. $5.25.)

THE material in this volume, in the words of the compilers, "constitutes a bridge between the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals and the Charter of the United Nations. It concentrates on the role of the United States in establishing the legal framework of the United Nations Organization." It does not include the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, the United Nations Charter, or the official proceedings of the intervening San Francisco Conference. These documents are available in other compilations. The largest single category in the present volume comprises the minutes of the seventy-nine meetings of the American delegation to the conference: twelve in Washington and sixty-seven in San Francisco. The minutes describe in much detail the discussions within the delegation of a number of delicate issues. Particularly time consuming was the question of admission of the Ukraine and White Russia as participants in the conference. Their eventual membership in the United Nations, promised by Roosevelt at Yalta, was not in question so far as the United States was concerned. When the Americans reluctantly agreed to let them in on the ground floor, so to speak, they found it necessary also to mollify Latin America by admitting Argentina, whose wartime behavior had left it in the very bad graces of Washington. Another subject that claimed attention through many meetings was the persistent but unavailing Soviet effort to secure admission of the Warsaw (Communist) government of Poland. Also significant was the long search for a formula, earnestly desired by Latin Americans, that would exempt regional enforcement actions from interference by the Security Council. The formula devised, of course, became Article LI of the Charter. Divergences of opinion among members of the American delegation are often interesting, but on the whole a high degree of consensus prevailed in this bipartisan group. In addition to the minutes of the meetings of the US representatives, there are minutes or notes of Four-Power and Five-Power preliminary and consultative meetings at San Francisco, notes of informal meetings, memorandums, letters, and telegrams, adding up to what impresses one as a very full record of the decision-reaching activities of the American delegation and its advisers. Little new or startling information, however, catches the eye upon a cursory reading. The last 240

pages of text are given to the American postconference role in preparing the way for the actual setting up of the UN, and in related activities.

The forty-page index is serviceable; the footnotes and cross references are meticulously done, though a reader wishes, here and there, that he might be briefed on the outcome of controversies whose final stages are left vague in the text.

University of Notre Dame JULIUS W. PRATT

THE TRUMAN PERIOD AS A RESEARCH FIELD. Edited by *Richard S. Kirkendall.* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1967. Pp. v, 284. $6.00.)

THIS book is a product of a conference of historians, political scientists, and archivists held in April 1966 to take stock of scholarly work on the Truman administration. The volume brings together papers by six of the participants in the conference, and the editor's introductory essay discusses opportunities for research. The other essays deal substantively with the Truman administration: foreign and military policies, by David S. McLellan and John W. Reuss; economic policies, by Barton J. Bernstein; social welfare policies, by Richard O. Davies; civil rights and civil liberties, by William C. Berman; and the Truman presidency, by Elmer E. Cornwell, Jr.

The papers are generally good, though one or two are somewhat perfunctory and another is rather too concerned with the deficiencies of earlier research. "The writers are united," observes Professor Kirkendall, "only by their assumptions that presidential libraries provide rich opportunities for research, that research in the Truman Library is in a very early stage, and that the work that lies ahead could be assisted significantly by an inventory of what has been done and what needs to be done." These scholars also seem to agree on the historical importance of the Truman years, and they make a contribution in sharpening the delineation of the period. They destroy some old stereotypes, challenge a number of earlier interpretations, and advance several fresh hypotheses. A few of the writers, particularly Bernstein, reflect an incipient "revisionism" that questions the necessity and value of the containment policy and is more critical than previous interpretations of Truman's failure to accomplish more in domestic affairs. On the other hand, Davies concludes that Truman's strong leadership preserved the social welfare programs of the New Deal. One of the most interesting and illuminating essays is Cornwell's discussion of Truman's conduct of the office of the presidency, which he places in nice historical perspective.

Two other features of this volume will make it especially useful to specialists in recent history. In the first place, the book can be read profitably as a critique of earlier scholarship since most of the essays contain critical appraisals of the literature on the Truman period. Also, several of the essays, particularly Kirkendall's cogent survey of the conference recommendations, provide many suggestions concerning research needs and opportunities. As Cornwell says in concluding his paper, "the unanswered questions about Harry S Truman's Presidency are legion."

Vanderbilt University DEWEY W. GRANTHAM, JR.

DAS AMERIKANISCHE SICHERHEITSSYSTEM, 1945–1949: STUDIE ZUR AUSSENPOLITIK DER BÜRGERLICHEN GESELLSCHAFT. By *Ernst-Otto Czempiel.* [Beiträge zur auswärtigen und internationalen Politik, Number 1.] (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1966. Pp. xvii, 442. DM 64.)

Of late, public opinion on both sides of the Atlantic has been alerted to various kinds of "gaps" that have opened, or are alleged to have opened, between the United States and Western Europe. Some of these "gaps" are perceived to be scientific-technological and managerial. Yet, European social scientists are also becoming increasingly aware of lagging on the highroad of rigorously empirical and interdisciplinary research. One purpose of the present volume is to close this particular "gap."

Dr. Czempiel addresses his labors to the validation of this hypothesis: During the first half of the nineteenth century the national interests of the United States were occasionally at odds with its fundamental world view *(Grundanschauung).* Toward the end of the century, these national interests changed direction, and, since the beginning of the twentieth century, when the USA entered the era of mass consumption, the national interests of the United States largely accorded with its fundamental world view. For the formulation of this fundamental world view, the author relies upon President Washington's Farewell Address and also, by a somewhat disconcerting leap across two centuries, upon the commentaries of Hans Morgenthau. As Czempiel sees it, the United States, a pluralistic society, projects its experience in the achievement of domestic consensus into world politics. Hence, the fundamental world view of foreign policy is manifestly oriented toward compromise, tolerance, nonviolence, and peace.

The author has wisely selected the founding period of the American security system from 1945 to 1949 as his historical focus. He has used the votes of the US Congress, for, as he sees it, the executive branch can make foreign policy only with the cooperation of the legislature, and "the Capitol is the place where the fundamental world views and the national interests of the U.S.A. are being negotiated." The author employs two methods of analysis: quantification, meaning the computation of voting behavior, and the less precise, but more exact analysis of substantive issues and of the committee recommendations and floor debates to which they gave rise.

One might have wished that Czempiel had published his tabulation of congressional voting behavior. Although he refers to his uses of an electronic computer, he does not disclose exactly what kind of variances he has measured. Notwithstanding this regrettable omission, this is a penetrating, painstaking, and, in some places, a highly original study of US foreign policy at the threshold of global commitment.

Czempiel's discussion of the Vandenberg Resolution deserves high marks for analytical rigor, relieved by gentle irony. Armed with this document, which marries lofty universalism to earthy national interest, the United States backed into NATO. True to its fundamental world view, the United States sought to solve the problem of its national security by cooperation rather than by domination. Yet the quest for international cooperation stopped short at the barrier of national sovereignty. Though championing the ideals of Atlantic and European

integration, the United States was not prepared to surrender its sovereign prerogatives, political and strategic, to the Atlantic community. In this "minimalism" that characterizes American foreign policy both toward the United Nations and the Atlantic security system, Czempiel discerns the root of the contemporary problems of the United States in international politics. To have the best of two worlds —peace and prosperity through cooperation and undiluted freedom of maneuver in world politics—would have been an unprecedented diplomatic achievement. Unfortunately, during the twenty years that have elapsed since the founding of the Atlantic alliance, the course of history has not reconciled the inherent contradictions of "minimalism." The gap between US multilateral and unilateral policies has widened, and neither the United Nations nor the Atlantic alliance has managed to bridge it. Indeed, Americans are more lonely than they think. Not the least contribution of Czempiel's evenhanded study is to have provided a counter to that one-way analysis of US-European relationships that finds the cause of the Atlantic alliance ills in the resurgent nationalisms of Europe and not—perish the thought!—in US neoisolationism. His sobering book is recommended reading for those of us who want to see ourselves as others see us.

University of Pennsylvania ROBERT STRAUSZ-HUPÉ

THE CALIFORNIA OATH CONTROVERSY. By *David P. Gardner.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 329. $6.50.)

DAVID P. Gardner's *The* [University of] *California* [Regental] *Oath Controversy* presents a well-ordered narrative and perceptive comment. The documentation, chiefly archival, has been chosen with care; the extensive quotations from those involved both help one to understand their authors' views and stimulate the reader's own speculation.

At a regular meeting of the Board of Regents of the University of California, on March 25, 1949, eleven of the twenty-four members were present; they voted unanimously to add to the oath of loyalty to the constitutions of the state and nation, required of all faculty members, these words: "I do not believe in, and I am not a member of, nor do I support any party or organization that believes in, advocates, or teaches the overthrow of the United States Government, by force or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods." This initial regental action and its variant sequels, Gardner persuasively demonstrates, had two main causes. First, the civil context: the 1949–1950 spy trials of Hiss, Coplon, and Klaus Fuchs and the 1949 central Smith Act prosecutions; the McCarthy, Tenney (California), Canwell (Washington), and other investigations and laws; and the indignation aroused by the presence of an admitted Communist, a professor dismissed from the University of Washington, on the UCLA campus as a participant in a debate. Second, an established policy position of the regents: the 1940 declaration that Communist party membership was incompatible with objective teaching and research. The board came to regard the new oath as merely an instrumental projection of this policy.

Thus began three years of controversy that gravely injured the university. The oath issue became less important than the poorly defined issue of categorical judgment upon a professor unrelated to the proving of his incompetence or unpro-

fessional conduct. The issue of group judgment was partly supplanted by a controversy regarding the ultimate authority, regents or faculty, that should appoint or dismiss the academic staff.

Matters were not helped by a poor faculty-administration communications system, ambiguous policy and inadequate machinery for joint faculty-administration responsibility, and an almost complete absence of faculty-board liaison; by a highly respected president to whom fifty administrators reported and whose faculty contacts had become too selective and personal; by faculty advisory committees whose range or authority was ill defined and who eventually came to be regarded, and perhaps to regard themselves, as plenipotentiary; by general faculty (senate) positions that attempted to cure the irremediable and voted 1,154 to 146 to reject the test oath while approving categorical (Communist party) disability by a vote of 1,025 to 268, or by a governing board that split evenly more than once, or close thereto, on tactical decisions. One weeps in despair for the failure of most of the best men of that time and place, a terrible warning to conceit.

Gardner begins his book by rejecting the view that "this was mostly a conflict over principles"; rather, he says, "In its main outlines it was a power struggle, a series of personal encounters between proud and influential men." Perhaps, but only if the principles not truly involved were of such secondary rank as academic freedom, or tenure, or the rule of the democratic majority. At a higher level there was indeed an issue of principle: the regents policy of 1940 subverted justice, and the 1949 test oath cast the net. A few men, E. C. Tolman and Ernst H. Kantorowicz among them, recognized the ultimate challenge. Can we avoid death for all men by fear if we allow the condemnation of one man, not for his misdeed, but because he has been seen among wrongdoers?

Fortunately, the admirable substance of this book will support both sides of a scholarly debate concerning causes and motivations. The door is open to further examination of a most significant episode in our history.

Washington, D. C. LOUIS JOUGHIN

CHALLENGE TO THE COURT: SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AND THE DEFENSE OF SEGREGATION, 1954–1966. By *I. A. Newby*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 239. $6.50.)

IN *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka* (1954), the United States Supreme Court incorporated the research of social scientists to demonstrate the harmful effects of segregation on the personality development of children. Thereupon a small band of academic segregationists (not all from the South) published a spate of psychological studies and tracts in an attempt to discredit if not reverse the school segregation decision. *Challenge to the Court* is largely an examination of the works of these "scientific racists." Professor Newby expends much effort in demolishing their ideas, methods, and claims to detachment and objectivity. He has ably succeeded, but at the price of tedium and repetition. Time and again, we learn that one racist after another, in their zeal to prove innate Negro inferiority through the results of IQ test scores, have failed to account adequately for environmental influences.

According to Newby, the "organization of central direction" of the scientific racist movement reposes in the International Association for the Advancement of Ethnology and Eugenics which was chartered in 1959. Thereupon the author examines the racial views of the officers and governing body of the IAAEE, which only exacerbates the book's major defect. Newby seems to be content with summarizing and criticizing the organization's publications, rather than breathing fresh life into his study by interviewing the board members and examining their archives. Such methods might have revealed the locus of power on the IAAEE board and how the organization is financed.

Challenge to the Court would have been more welcome and useful as a journal article rather than a full-length monograph.

Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville ELLIOTT RUDWICK

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: CURRENT DOCUMENTS, 1964. [Department of State Publication 8253. Historical Office, Bureau of Public Affairs.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1967. Pp. lxxi, 1406. $4.75.)

THIS collection of documents is an official record of a year that began with the President's call for "a world without war, a world made safe for diversity," and that, toward its close, found people all over the world embracing Americans for their apparently clear choice of peace in the presidential election. But if 1964 contained so high a point in the world's faith in the sound judgment and peaceful instincts of the American people, it was, also, the year of the Tonkin resolution, of the initial bombing of North Vietnam.

The greatest value of this volume, as with previous volumes in the series, is the indication it provides of the scope of American involvement in world affairs, of the fantastic burden that confronts those who would shape the foreign policy of the United States. In 1964 the problems of Southeast Asia, however large they loomed, had to vie for attention with the UN crisis over the financing of peacekeeping operations, the conflict between developed and developing countries that emerged so clearly at the UN Conference on Trade and Development, the problems posed by the machinations of a politically ambitious priest in Cyprus, the balance of payments and gold flow crisis, barbarism in the Congo, the obsolescence of NATO, the vanities of De Gaulle, and the tempest over the multilateral force. American involvement—at least the surface nature of that involvement—in all of these problems and numerous others is recorded here in the presentation of the public (as opposed to the working) papers of the Department of State, the President, other agencies of the government of the United States, and the UN. There are also a few previously unpublished documents from the files of the Department of State and a liberal salting of statements by other governments as quoted in the New York *Times* and foreign sources. All of these documents are extremely well cross-referenced.

And yet, this collection, only three years after the events, leaves a totally unrealistic impression of the climate of the year 1964. A reader, unaware that attention was focused on the militant pronouncements of the Republican presidential

candidate, will wonder how anyone could have failed to see the clear and consistent position of the Democratic administration, especially Dean Rusk, William Bundy, and Robert Barnett of the State Department, on the nature of the struggle in Vietnam; on the relationships between the Vietcong and Hanoi and Hanoi and Peking; and on the role the US had to play in Southeast Asia.

Michigan State University WARREN I. COHEN

MONUMENTA NOVÆ FRANCIÆ. Volume I, LA PREMIÈRE MISSION D'ACADIE (1602–1616). By *Lucien Campeau, S. I.* [Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, Volume XCVI. Monumenta Missionum Societatis Iesu, Volume XXIII. Missiones Occidentales.] (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval. 1967. Pp. 276, 719. $22.00.)

ALL students of New France must be indebted to the *Institut Historique de la Compagnie de Jésus*, founded at Rome in 1929, for the present volume. It is lovingly and exhaustively edited by Lucien Campeau, who also contributes an important 221-page introduction.

The longest document printed is *La Relation de la Nouvelle-France* by P. Pierre Biard (1616) from the *Bibliothèque Mazarine* copy containing autograph annotations by P. Massé. Other important early works reprinted in this collection include the *Factum du procès entre Jean de Biencourt et les PP. Biard et Massé* (1614) and Marc Lescarbot's *La conversion des sauvages qui ont esté baptizés en la Nouvelle-France, cette année 1610*. All documents, printed and manuscript, are carefully described, transcribed, summarized, and annotated. Notices of previous editions of printed materials, sometimes available in Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations*, and other pertinent bibliographic data are also given. In addition to the normal scholarly aids, the volume contains a biographical section identifying persons named in the volume.

Campeau's introduction contains an extended treatment of the early cartography of New France, a detailed description of the Souriquois (Micmac) Indian inhabitants of Acadia, an illuminating discussion of missions and commerce as motives for settlement, an analysis of the conflicts between the Jesuits and the seigneurs of Port Royal (the principal settlement), and a bibliographical study of the documents collected. Campeau's patriotism shines through his analysis. French priority or superiority is asserted over all. England looks bad, either because of its indifference toward America following the Cabot voyages or because of its later depredations (1613) against the French settlements in the north. Portuguese maps serve primarily to demonstrate French priority in the area. Yet Campeau's arguments are significant and often persuasive, as, for example, his theory concerning the displacement of cartographical names from the southern coast of Newfoundland to the present Cape Breton area. Similarly, his analysis of Indian life is perceptive and understanding, though he feels compelled to defend his order against charges that Christianity was responsible for its disintegration.

In sum, the present volume is an auspicious start to an important new series.

Smithsonian Institution WILCOMB E. WASHBURN

CANADA VIEWS THE UNITED STATES: NINETEENTH-CENTURY POLITICAL ATTITUDES. By *S. F. Wise* and *Robert Craig Brown*. With an introduction by *Richard A. Preston* and a commentary by *David M. Potter*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 139. $4.95.)

THE book has four authors: Richard Preston in an introductory chapter sets forth with rigorous economy the Canadian image of the United States today. S. F. Wise, whose contribution makes up more than one-half of the text, provides a developmental account of Canadian opinion about the United States from 1812 to 1867, and Craig Brown does the same for the period 1867 to 1914. David Potter, whose major historical interest is American history, operates as a "control," commenting on the work of Wise and Brown.

This volume deals almost exclusively with Canadian opinion of the political institutions and the political behavior of Americans. "The opinion that it synthesizes is that of the politically effective minority . . . ," but "it is doubtful that the views of the inarticulate majority of Canadians were much different from those of their political spokesmen." As Wise comes to the end of his survey and prepares to make a general statement, he seems somewhat shocked at the results of his own research, for this research has demonstrated that in the more than half a century he has surveyed there was scarcely any evidence of a generous appreciation, of a sympathetic understanding, of an amused tolerance on the part of Canadians toward their neighbors. All, or almost all, of the Canadian critique is made up of bitterness and hostility masking defensive attitudes. "U.S.A. ideas" were dangerous and must be rejected, and even when "U.S.A. ideas" and Canadian ideas were clearly converging, from the 1850's onward, the necessity to assert a Canadian identity leads Wise to attribute to Canadians "the Narcissism of small differences." This is perhaps why "one of the major problems confronting the historian of Canadian ideas about the American political system is the intellectual shoddiness of those ideas."

Did this shocking conclusion represent the historical reality; did America have no friends in Canada? Wise says that "unquestionably" many Canadians were sympathetic to American institutions. But they do not appear in the record, for here we have only that "politically effective minority," whose articulate quality makes public opinion studies so insecure.

This is a useful and an original work, and, though Potter's commentary from an American point of view is provocative, surely the concluding pages of Wise's second and last chapter constitute the highlight of the book.

University of Michigan GERALD S. BROWN

HIPÓTESIS PARA UNA HISTORIA DE LA IGLESIA EN AMÉRICA LATINA. By *Enrique Dussel*. [Publicaciones del I.E.P.A.L., Series "Pensamiento y acción."] (Barcelona: Editorial Estela-I.E.P.A.L. 1967. Pp. 219.)

ENRIQUE Dussel envisions revitalized Catholicism as a major force in a social revolution destined to end internal inequities and reduce Latin America's dependence on economically imperialistic world powers headed by the United States. Inspired by this vision, he has prepared a highly impressionistic sketch of the main

features of Latin American Catholicism from conquest to contemporary times.

He sees the control that the state exercised over ecclesiastical affairs throughout colonial times as the most significant factor preventing the development of a church that could exercise widespread influence in society because of the strength of its internal resources. In picturing the colonial state as the villain that prevented the Church from realizing its vast potential, he totally ignores internal divisions that seriously weakened ecclesiastical effectiveness.

Dussel describes how policies implemented by nineteenth-century liberals and Positivists deprived the Church of its privileges and temporal influence and left it seemingly impotent in a new secular society. He next relates how the Church, around 1900, entered upon a remarkable and little-studied period of recovery in the spiritual and intellectual realms. By the mid-twentieth century most of the anticlerical restrictions of a previous age had been removed, and the Church found itself free to operate as one of many institutions in a pluralistic society, exerting influence through persuasion, example, and education rather than through political power.

The author's sketch omits reference to the setback for Catholic influence caused by the association of many Church leaders with fascism and reactionary Hispanism from 1930 to 1950. In a glaring oversimplification, moreover, Dussel assumes that the Church throughout Latin America is today identified with the "new left," a revolutionary position that he clearly embraces.

Since he undertakes a propagandistic defense of one aspect of the multifaceted Catholicism of contemporary Latin America, Dussel is not concerned with historical accuracy. Yet his book cannot be ignored because it is a rich mine of information on the various organizations and associations founded under Catholic auspices since World War II to help the Church assume a meaningful role in a pluralistic society undergoing rapid change. The work also contains useful bibliographical references and statistical data. Finally, Dussel is perceptive in pointing out some areas that most urgently require research before an adequate synthesis of the history of Latin American Catholicism can be prepared.

University of Notre Dame FREDRICK B. PIKE

LORDS OF CUZCO: A HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF THE INCA PEOPLE IN THEIR FINAL DAYS. By *Burr Cartwright Brundage.* [The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Volume LXXXVIII.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 458. $6.95.)

PROFESSOR Brundage's second book on the Incas fundamentally retraces, in greatly amplified form, the last part of his first volume, *Empire of the Inca* (1963), but with a separate and sharply defined focus on the Incas of Cuzco. It covers the last generation of the independent Inca Empire: the reign of Huáscar, the civil war between Huáscar and his half brother Atahualpa of Quito, and the Spanish conquest to the extinction of the fugitive Inca state of Vilcabamba. Most of the volume is devoted to an eminently readable description of social and political life among the Incas of Cuzco, the remarkable system of households of dead emperors and the living one, and the civil war. Huáscar is depicted as an intemperate, incompetent ruler who undermined Cuzco's ability to govern and to resist. Ata-

hualpa, like the Spaniards, is a shadowy, marginal figure, for the center is always Cuzco.

Within its smoothly flowing, attractive presentation, the volume conceals a complicated and distinctly debatable series of insights and interpretations that are inevitable, given the nature of the materials. To tell the story of the collapse of the Inca state from the Spanish point of view is simple enough since the Spaniards have left relatively abundant records. The Inca point of view, or rather points of view in the divided state, is far more difficult to ascertain since the Incas could not write. Their legends and statements come to us either through the distorting medium of Spanish records or through writing long after the conquest. The murderous division between half brothers, moreover, has left us contradictory and irreconcilable accounts. Yet it is precisely the reconstruction of one native point of view, and indeed *Weltanschauung,* that Brundage attempts. Inevitably the selections and inferences needed to arrive at a unified account mean decisions on a long series of debatable points. Ethnohistorians are likely to argue a long time over this volume. One thing, however, is clear: it is a possible account, boldly and brilliantly done.

University of California, Berkeley WOODROW BORAH

THE ENLIGHTENED: THE WRITINGS OF LUIS DE CARVAJAL, EL MOZO. Translated, edited and with an introduction and epilogue by *Seymour B. Liebman.* Preface by *Allan Nevins.* (Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press. 1967. Pp. 157. $6.95.)

IN presenting in English translation the memoirs, letters, and will of Luis de Carvajal the Younger, an inspired Jew who died for his faith in Mexico City in the auto-da-fé of December 8, 1596, Professor Liebman contributes most significantly to Hispanic colonial and general cultural history. Written in the cells of the Inquisition in 1595–1596, these documents are of great spirituality and social import. They are the earliest known writings by Iberian Jews in the New World and are the only known extant writings of a Jew in Mexico during the colonial period.

Luis the Younger was a nephew of Luis de Carvajal, governor of Nuevo León, northeasternmost province of New Spain. Luis de Carvajal was of Jewish blood, but not a practicing Jew. Born in Castile about 1567, Luis the Younger came to the New World, along with his family, under the governor's patronage. Luis the Younger received early formal education in a Jesuit school, but when his father eventually divulged to him that he was a Jew, he fervently embraced that faith. Those Carvajal children not thus informed remained in the Roman Church, his brother Gaspar becoming a Dominican friar, and were long unaware of the adherence of other members of their family to the Jewish religion. First identified as a Jew in 1589 and held by the Inquisition with other members of his family, he was released under penalty, only to be apprehended for final trial and sentence in 1595. His mother and three of his sisters shared his fate in 1596. Experiencing visions during imprisonment, he became known, and signed his memoirs and will, as Joseph Lumbroso (The Enlightened).

Carvajal's writings reveal the beliefs, thoughts, feelings, and reactions of a

sensitive, spiritually illuminated, and religiously indomitable mystic. They also uniquely portray the life, religious practices, family relationships, cohesiveness, devotion, and steadfastly borne tribulations of the Jewish community in Mexico, who, as members of a proscribed faith, were forbidden to enter the Spanish New World and were forced to hide their origins and practice their religion secretly under the shadow of the ever-watchful Inquisition and Spanish law. The letters, written to his mother and sisters who were also in prison, are poignant messages of encouragement and religious hope, and his will is an irrevocable statement of his faith.

In his learned introduction, an excellent example of research scholarship, Liebman provides a biography of Carvajal, a history of his family, and an illuminating description of the life and culture of the Jewish community in Mexico. He includes English translations of certain of Carvajal's liturgical verses and prayers that were widely recognized for their literary merit as well as their spirituality. An epilogue continues the history of the family to the end of the colonial period.

That his religious enemies recognized Carvajal's spirituality and devotion is attested by the words of a Dominican, Fray Alonso de Contreras, who attended him in his last hours: "He was always such a good Jew and reconciled his understanding, which was very profound and sensitive, with the divine determination with which he was highly inspired, to defend the law of God and to fight for it."

Alexandria, Virginia ROBERT S. CHAMBERLAIN

THE KINGDOM OF QUITO IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: BUREAUCRATIC POLITICS IN THE SPANISH EMPIRE. By *John Leddy Phelan*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 432. $10.00.)

THE administrative career of Dr. Antonio de Morga, president of the *audiencia* of Quito from 1615 to 1636, provides the material for a ranging inquiry and speculation into the inner politics and practices of the higher reaches of Spanish imperial bureaucracy in John Phelan's latest book. The study has some of the baffling qualities of the Bureau of Reclamation's multipurpose dams. Within the book, there are a biography of Morga, a study of imperial practice in the appointment and control of judges to the *audiencia* and of administrative practice in the *audiencia* of Quito, a history of a particularly tumultuous visita general of the *audiencia* during the incumbency of Morga, essays on such diverse aspects of the colony as attempts to settle Esmeraldas and the Oriente, the Indians, the role of textile workshops and textile production in the economy, and the incursions of the Dutch. The final chapter, in deference to current modes, is "A Weberian Analysis of the Spanish Bureaucracy." In short, the book is a thoroughly mixed bag that careful research and considerable clarity in writing cannot genuinely unite. It should perhaps be read as a series of disparate essays; as such it represents both contributions of great value and a thoroughly interesting experiment in applying some of the speculation on decision making by sociological philosophers. In this connection, one must also read the incisive, finely reasoned article by Phelan, "Authority and Flexibility in the Spanish Imperial Bureaucracy" (*Administrative Science Quarterly*, V [July 1960], 47–65), which is very germane to his inquiry.

Inevitably in a book as anarchic, experimental, and rich in ideas and material, each reader will follow the threads of his own interests. Let me follow one of mine. Running through the essays, undoubtedly as an intended major theme, is a discussion of corruption in Spanish administration. Phelan's interest is in the extent to which corruption occurred at each level of administration and in exploration of the possibility of the development of an administrative corps with a tradition of efficiency and probity, like the British civil service in India. Phelan finds that corruption was greatest in the lower, or clerking, posts and diminished at the higher levels, the viceroys being the least involved in graft. He argues further that the provision of truly adequate or even generous salaries on the model of British India could have provided Spanish America with a corps of magistrates with a similar *esprit*. It is an arresting and interesting analysis, charmingly and cogently argued. I think, in what is very much a personal judgment, that Phelan has, nevertheless, misunderstood the nature of administration, of family requirements, and of patron-client relations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, whether in Western Europe or in Spanish America. He may, I think, misunderstand the nature of the very warp and woof of Latin American society, with its companionable accommodations on the surface. We shall be debating the ideas in this book for a long time.

University of California, Berkeley WOODROW BORAH

DOCUMENTOS PARA LA HISTORIA DE LA REPÚBLICA ORIENTAL DEL URUGUAY. Part 3, DOMINACIÓN LUSO BRASILEÑA: LA REVOLUCIÓN ORIENTAL DE 1822–1823. Volume I. Prepared under the direction of *Emilio Ravignani* and *Edmundo M. Narancio*. Preface by *Eugenio Petit Muñoz*. [Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias, Instituto de Investigaciones históricas.] (Montevideo: [the Instituto.] 1966. Pp. viii, 171.)

THIS collection of 106 documents, some of which have been previously published, will be indispensable to anyone studying Uruguayan independence, equally interesting for the history of Argentine national formation, and valuable in appreciating the effects of Brazil's separation from Portugal on the international balance of the Río de la Plata.

Brazilian independence split the Brazilian and Portuguese troops in the Estado Cisplatino. Lecor, barao da Laguna, took the Brazilian forces to the interior, leaving the Portuguese in control of Montevideo. This split emboldened the *cabildo* of Montevideo to attempt to win independence for La Provincia Oriental by assuming control of Montevideo from the Portuguese when they evacuated for home and by winning armed assistance against the Brazilians from Buenos Aires, Entre Ríos, and Santa Fe. The *cabildo* failed; the Portuguese turned Montevideo over to Lecor's Brazilians, and the Argentine provinces, guided by Buenos Aires, declined to assist against Brazil. The *cabildo* appealed to Buenos Aires to support it, "la parte ilustrada," and so finally destroy "los caudillos de la anarquia [*sic*]," including "el malvado Artigas." When the *cabildo* learned that the Portuguese were leaving Montevideo to the Brazilians, it desperately placed Montevideo under the protection of Buenos Aires and "declara que esta Provincia Oriental del Uruguay no pertenece, ni debe, ni quiere pertene-

cer á otro Poder, Estado, ó Nación que la que componen las Provincias de la antigua Union del Río de la Plata, de que ha sido y es una parte. . . ." Rivadavia felt that Buenos Aires was too weak to declare war on Brazil. He warned the governor of Entre Ríos, who was anxious to end Brazilian protection of the exiled *caudillos,* that negotiations with troubled Brazil, not war, would free La Provincia Oriental. Therefore, "siempre estaría el Gob.^{no} por que no debía anticiparse lo que el orden mismo de los sucesos debe traer á las manos sin sacrificios, que es preciso repetir, no está el país en estado de tolerarlos." *La Revolución Oriental de 1822–1823* was over, but the participants, including the Oriental Lavalleja who had been ready in Argentina, would renew it in 1825.

The history of this set of documents on the *cabildo's* representatives and representations in Buenos Aires and on relations of the governor of Entre Ríos, Lucio Mansilla, with the Barao de Laguna and with Buenos Aires, reveals Uruguay's present economic crisis. These documents were collected in Argentina and Uruguay by a distinguished group of Argentine and Uruguayan historians organized by the late Emilio Ravignani. While they were completed in 1958, publication could not be financed until 1966, and even then the already prepared prologue was omitted. A second volume, documents on the Montevideo *cabildo's* representations in Entre Ríos, Santa Fe, and Corrientes, and additional documentation on its relations with Buenos Aires, now awaits funds for printing.

Brandeis University MILTON I. VANGER

ARCHIVO EPISTOLAR DEL GENERAL MOSQUERA: CORRESPONDENCIA CON EL GENERAL RAMÓN ESPINA, 1835–1866. Edited under the direction of *J. León Helguera* and *Robert H. Davis.* [Biblioteca de historia nacional, Volume CVIII.] (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly. 1966. Pp. 487.)

AT last the publication of the correspondence of General Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera—politician, warrior, statesman, *hacendado,* merchant, and publicist—has begun. The editors have selected his correspondence with General Ramón Espina to initiate the volumes that will appear within the "Biblioteca de historia nacional'" series published by the *Academia Colombiana de Historia.* This first volume of Mosquera correspondence includes an analytical description of the Mosquera Archive, excellent biographical essays on Mosquera and Espina, sixty-five pages of notes identifying persons, places, and events referred to in the correspondence with Espina, a twenty-five-page index of proper nouns, and a table of abbreviations used in the letters. Roughly 60 per cent of the total pages are devoted to correspondence. Because of limitations imposed by cost, 101 of the 197 letters by Espina and 2 of the 51 by Mosquera are summarized in two or three sentences. The letters so briefed range in length from one to seven pages. The editors have not indicated a standard of selection other than their judgment. On the basis of their summaries, the editorial decisions appear to be well taken in most cases, but a reader may well hunger for the three pages of details on political events of the new Lopez administration of 1849 and Espina's forebodings about it. May the other volumes be not long delayed in publication.

The correspondence enables the reader to understand the relations of two men, one of patrician and the other of middle-class origins, who were friends, associ-

ates, and, after a quarter century of such ties, opponents, and who maintained an informative correspondence until they met on the battlefield. The letters contribute some information on the political process, especially on the relationship of patron and client, and on Mosquera's effort to found a third party in the 1850's. Espina, who provided Mosquera with political intelligence from the capital city, looked with dignity to Mosquera as his leader, sponsor, and recourse in financial need. Yet he, the professional officer, would not follow his friend and patron in rebellion against the legitimate government of New Granada in 1860. It was not that the government since 1830 had made much effort to cultivate the loyalty of the army by adequate financing, training, equipment, or size. On the contrary, the letters give some data on the hard realities of military service and reveal the constant financial struggle of the professional officer driven to moonlighting so that his family might subsist within the shadow of dignity.

Ohio University ROBERT L. GILMORE

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION: FEDERAL EXPENDITURE AND SOCIAL CHANGE SINCE 1910. By *James W. Wilkie.* With a foreword by *Howard F. Cline.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. xxix, 337. $7.50.)

THIS book is one of the most impressive studies on the Mexican Revolution to appear in over a decade. Combining statistical data with an intimate knowledge of public policy developments and aided by interviews with key figures of the revolutionary era, the author presents a persuasive interpretation of the Revolution viewed as a series of ideological stages. For the purposes of this study Wilkie undertook the Herculean task of collecting federal budget data, both projected and actual expenditures, from the end of the Díaz era to 1963; his imaginative use of data gives the book its great impact.

By grouping outlays under three categories—administrative, economic, and social—and presenting them in percentage terms as well as in pesos of constant value, Wilkie creates an instrument that permits him to establish the character of each administration, and to differentiate Mexican history since 1910 into ideological periods. Citing the allocation of funds as between the three categories, he shows how the Mexican state shifted from a passive role as regards economic and social development into an active one in the early 1930's. Four ideological periods are set forth on the basis of the budgetary analysis: political revolution (1910–1930); social revolution (1930–1940); economic revolution (1940–1959); and balanced revolution (1959–1963). With his analysis the author is able to show where the real shifts occur. Thus Madero emerges as much closer to Díaz in his outlook on the role of the state than is suggested by existing biographies, and Lopez Mateos, the exponent of the "balanced revolution," is strikingly close to Cárdenas in his concern for social and economic development.

In the second part of this volume Wilkie develops an analytic tool that might apply to the study of social change in other areas: a statistically derived poverty index. Using decennial census data on illiteracy, language, diet, size of community, footwear, and availability of sewage disposal, he creates a quantitative means of measuring changes in social deprivation, both over time and by region. With

this index, moreover, he attempts in his concluding chapter to relate the ideological periods studied in the first part to social change. The results are provocative as well as ironic. It is not the years of violent revolution nor those of the social revolution that have yielded the most social change, but rather it is the era of economic revolution with which Ávila Camacho, Alemán, and Ruíz Cortines are identified.

Wilkie's study thus comes as a strong reply to those who view the Revolution as having expired with Cárdenas in 1940. In terms of certain of its stated goals, such as the elimination of illiteracy, poverty, malnutrition, its achievements are only now becoming visible. But Wilkie's own data reveal the great obstacles in the way of further progress. For even if the poverty index has shown a significant decline since 1940, in absolute numbers Mexico had more people going barefoot in 1960 than ten years before and more illiterates than at any time since the Revolution began in 1910.

This volume is bound to raise controversy for some of its judgments, and it will undoubtedly cause a stir in the country it examines. Mexicanists as well as students of social change in general will want to read it.

University of Massachusetts ROBERT A. POTASH

LABOR, NATIONALISM, AND POLITICS IN ARGENTINA. By *Samuel L. Baily*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 241. $8.00.)

THIS investigation of the period 1930 to 1957, based on newspapers, union reports, and interviews, adds much to our understanding of contemporary Argentina and should prove valuable for comparing the Argentine experience with popular nationalisms elsewhere in the world. With these sources the author attempts to integrate three main aspects of labor's "social mobilization": labor organization; worker participation in politics; and the growth of nationalism within labor unions. For successful completion of a difficult task and for clarity of expression, Professor Baily deserves high praise.

Baily sets the stage with two introductory chapters that examine, largely from secondary sources, the birth of the Argentine labor movement in the mid-nineteenth century, the formation of the first labor federation in the 1890's, the early anarchist orientation and consequent repression of syndicalist activities, and the growing working-class nationalism of the early twentieth century. For discussion of the period after 1930 the author relies increasingly on primary sources, and as a result the study gains both in depth and authority. His thesis that the Argentine labor movement developed from two fundamental but conflicting tendencies —the liberal or reform nationalism of the European immigrants and the *criollo* or antiliberal nationalism springing from local traditions—will doubtless stimulate disagreement and further research. Such an explanation, nevertheless, clarifies many of the divisions and problems in labor organization during the 1930's and 1940's. Into this conceptual framework Baily has skillfully introduced Perón's domination and utilization of the antiliberal tendency and has examined with greater perspective and depth than Robert Alexander's *The Perón Era* how antiliberal and Peronista positions and objectives intermeshed and finally emerged

victorious within the labor movement. The final two chapters fill a critical gap in information and interpretation of recent developments. In reviewing and assessing the union leaders' gradual disenchantment with Perón from 1952 to 1955 Baily suggests "Perón had terminated the revolution and had compelled them to question the assumption that their interests were the same as those of the new Argentina." The stormy two years after Perón's fall "strengthened Peronism and *criollo* nationalism in the labor unions instead of weakening them as it was supposed to do."

Baily's conclusions are clear cut and forceful. The victorious antiliberal tendency "derived from the ethnocentric values and traditions of the migrant workers from the interior." But despite their success within the ranks of labor, the *criollo* nationalists failed to achieve their ultimate goals and remained a frustrated and potentially revolutionary force on the Argentine scene. With time the interior and Peronista coloration may fade and a more flexible and pragmatic approach may encourage professionalism and new alignments within the labor movement, but popular nationalism and recognition of labor's political role must be institutionalized within the Argentine nation.

Indiana University JAMES R. SCOBIE

ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION UNDER LÁZARO CÁRDENAS. By *Joe C. Ashby*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1967. Pp. x, 350. $7.50.)

FOR over twenty years Mexicanists in the United States have directed their English-reading students to Marjorie Clark's *Organized Labor in Mexico* with the admonition that the date of publication was 1934. Now, with the appearance of Professor Ashby's work, the student should also be reminded that the role of organized labor during the critical Cárdenas presidency (1934–1940) has also been the subject of serious study.

After briefly surveying the historical development of Mexican labor during the first twenty-four years of the Revolution and examining labor's supporting role in Cárdenas' power struggle against former President Plutarco Calles, Ashby launches into a detailed but not technical analysis of labor theory during the Cárdenas years. Examining the philosophical posture of Vicente Lombardo Toledano, Ramón Beteta, Alfonso Teja Zabre, and Cárdenas himself, he concludes, not surprisingly, that the Cardenista theory of labor was eclectic, borrowing from both socialism and capitalism, and tailoring specific doctrinal formulations to meet specific Mexican needs. Thus, the author's position regarding Cárdenas' labor theory is not unlike the conclusions of other scholars on the nature of the regime as a whole.

The real contribution of the work is found in the application of the theoretical constructs to a series of labor-capital conflicts during the last four years of the Cárdenas administration. The most important conflicts treated are those analyzing labor's role in the nationalization of the railroads, the establishment of the huge Laguna *ejido* system, and, of course, the expropriation of the foreign-owned oil industry in 1938. These three examples demonstrate to Ashby "that whenever foreign-owned companies failed to abide by the decision of Labor Department

authorities and the courts, expropriation was the course taken by the Mexican government, with strong support of the organized labor movement."

Ashby did not consult any union records or other manuscript collections during the preparation of this volume, but he did utilize an impressive array of published source material. The organizational structure of the book is sound, and the style, while not elegant, is quite readable. Latin Americanists interested in the Mexican labor movement will want to have this work within easy reach.

University of Nebraska MICHAEL C. MEYER

CUBA: CASTROISM AND COMMUNISM, 1959–1966. By *Andrés Suárez*. With a foreword by *Ernst Halperin*. Translated by *Joel Carmichael* and *Ernst Halperin*. [Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Studies in International Communism, Number 12.] (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1967. Pp. xviii, 266. $7.50.)

WITH the overthrow of the corrupt and brutal regime of Fulgencio Batista by the July 26 Movement, Fidel Castro commenced one of the major social revolutions of our time. Professor Andrés Suárez has skillfully recorded the progression of that revolution from its beginnings as an essentially political reform movement to the creation of a Communist dictatorship on the Caribbean island of Cuba. Suárez himself left his native island in November 1960, and he makes it clear that he is no friend of the bearded Cuban leader. Despite his disaffection with Castro, Suárez treats his subject with remarkable detachment, and this work is not, thankfully, another polemical tirade by a disenchanted exile.

It is, on the contrary, a serious and well-documented analysis of Castro's sources and uses of power, of his motivations and methods in turning Cuba into a socialist state, and of the close relationship between internal developments in Cuba and Castro's involvement in international affairs. Regrettably, the author did not exhaust all of the sources available to him for this study. Based on Cuban newspapers, particularly *Hoy* and *Revolución*, as well as other contemporary sources, this study, nevertheless, provides a highly detailed description of the events that have shaped Cuban history since 1958. Suárez has, moreover, put them into the perspective of world history better than anyone else has yet done.

Suárez regards Castro as "a consummate opportunist, gifted . . . with the audacity and courage to act with the most exaggerated radicalism if this serves his purposes." Suárez repeatedly notes Castro's lack of ideological knowledge or conviction, seeing him as a man of action who espouses whatever ideology currently serves his purpose. In the author's opinion, Castro is an exceedingly skillful diplomatist who has been able to exploit to his own ends the cold war, the Sino-Soviet rift, and the neglect of Latin America by the United States. Suárez makes it clear that the Communists in Cuba did not take over Castro, but that rather the reverse occurred. He acknowledges the ideological role that Ernesto "Che" Guevara and Fidel's brother, Raúl, probably played in Castro's thinking, but insists that such influences were secondary to Castro's own ambitious aspirations to power not only in Cuba, but throughout Latin America and the "third world" or neutralist bloc. Castroism, the author concludes, cannot now be equated with

Communism, although he admits that it may yet become so owing to Castro's heavy dependence on the Soviet bloc. But for the present Castro fits better the image of the Latin American *caudillo* than that of the traditional Communist leader. Suárez also demonstrates how Castro, along with Guevara and Regis Debray, has challenged the traditional views toward both Soviet and Chinese ideology in Latin America. Castro's refusal to abide by guidelines laid down by Marx and Lenin has subjected him to severe Soviet suspicion and distrust, although he did finally gain Soviet recognition of his government as being part of the "socialist" bloc.

Although many will disagree with some of Suárez' conclusions regarding the personality and character of the Cuban dictator, few will deny that he has made a significant contribution to the literature on the Cuban Revolution. The detail that this work provides on the development of both Castroism and Communism in Cuba and its explanation of the relation between internal and external events make it of particularly lasting value.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill RALPH LEE WOODWARD, JR.

* * * * Association Notes * * * *

American Historical Association

The American Historical Association will meet at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, December 28–30, 1968. Lawrence W. Towner of the Newberry Library is Chairman of the Program Committee, and Robert W. Shoemaker of North Central College, Napierville, Illinois, is Chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee.

The general index to Volumes LXI–LXX (Oct. 1955–July 1965) of the *American Historical Review,* a project supported by the American Historical Association's Matteson Fund, should be published by the fall of this year. A prepublication price of $8.00 for each copy has been set for prepaid orders received before October 1, 1968. The regular price of $10.00 will be charged after that date.

The Service Center for Teachers of History announces that as of September 1, 1968, the price of each pamphlet in its bibliographical-interpretive series will be seventy-five cents. Each pamphlet currently costs fifty cents. A complete list of titles is free upon request.

MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AHA HEADQUARTERS MARCH 14, 1968, 9:30 A.M.

The meeting was called to order by the chairman, AHA President John K. Fairbank. Present were: C. Vann Woodward, Vice-President; Elmer Louis Kayser, Treasurer; Paul L. Ward, Executive Secretary; Henry R. Winkler, Managing Editor of the *American Historical Review;* and elected Council members Thomas C. Cochran, Philip D. Curtin, Caroline Robbins, Carl E. Schorske, Lynn White, jr., and William B. Willcox. Also present at the Council's invitation were James B. Conacher, William E. Leuchtenburg, Louis Morton, John F. Roche, Robert W. Shoemaker, and Lawrence W. Towner, Program and Local Arrangements Committee Chairmen for 1966, 1967, and 1968; R. K. Webb; and Robert L. Zangrando, Assistant Executive Secretary. Elected Council members David M. Potter and John L. Snell, Jr., and voting former Presidents Hajo Holborn, Frederic C. Lane, and Roy F. Nichols were unable to attend.

The Council approved the draft minutes of the December 27, 1967, meeting and actions taken by the Executive Committee since that meeting as follows:

Authorization of initial actions looking toward the Association's accepting responsibility for housing and fiscal management of CONPASS (Consortium of Professional Asso-

ciations for the Study of Special Teacher Improvement Programs) beginning in the summer of 1968.

Sending official letters to the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations endorsing and urging funding for "Proposed Program of Archival Technical Assistance to Underdeveloped Nations," submitted to the foundations by the International Council on Archives.

Making the AHA mailing list available to Senator George McGovern and to Congressman Frank Thompson.

Mr. Fairbank then directed the Council's attention to the first item on the agenda: discussion of the over-all administrative problems of the Annual Meeting. Discussion opened with remarks on the problems of the Program Committee submitted by Mr. Morton. During discussion of specific administrative problems, Mr. Fairbank suggested that the question of the role of the Annual Meeting be considered in the context of the Association's whole range of functions and goals. Mr. Fairbank summarized by listing four topics that could be written up as working papers: Program Committee means and budget, means of increasing continuity on the Program Committee, possibilities for reaching into other areas and avoiding parochial subjects, and de-emphasizing the role of subgroups in AHA Annual Meetings. Mr. Woodward suggested that the agenda for the next meeting include a discussion of phasing out joint sessions.

Mr. Schorske said he thought these questions could best be explored by setting up a subcommittee of Council members to consider the functions of the meeting, based on these topics. He moved that such a committee be created; the motion carried. The Executive Secretary, in consultation with the Executive Committee, will choose its members.

Mr. Fairbank then turned to the local arrangements problems of the Annual Meeting and summarized the ensuing discussion by noting that it was the opinion of the group that the AHA Business Manager should at least assume the cashier function formerly carried out by the Local Arrangements Committee, and possibly move into other areas of this operation.

Following a short break, Mr. Fairbank announced that Mr. Ward and the Executive Committee had consulted and proposed the following membership for the Council subcommittee to consider Annual Meeting functions: Mr. Morton (Chairman), Mr. Curtin, Mr. Leuchtenburg, Miss Robbins, Mr. Schorske, Mr. Towner, and Mr. White. The Council approved the membership as proposed.

The six Program and Local Arrangements Chairmen then left the meeting, and Mr. Fairbank introduced the next item on the agenda: the proposed Woodrow Wilson Center and Hostel, and the Center for Scholars proposed by former President Julian P. Boyd in his 1964 presidential address. Mr. W. Stull Holt had written to point out that the two proposals should not be equated, to ask that the Council not allow the challenge to create a proper center for historical scholarship to be neglected, and to insist that the Association not accept a weaker substitute under the aegis of government. The Council decided to maintain Holt's point of view pending further developments.

The Council then turned its attention to the report and recommendations of the *ad hoc* Committee on Prizes and Awards appointed in December 1966 to

review the Association's prizes in light of certain problems and new developments. The report included the following recommendations:

1) The Beveridge Prize should be awarded for distinguished books rather than manuscripts; the Dunning Prize should be administered by the same committee for works by a younger scholar; and the amount of the Beveridge Prize should be increased if available funds permit.

2) The Littleton-Griswold Prize should be discontinued.

3) Two substantial prizes should be awarded every five years, one in the history of the Western Hemisphere and one in the history of the rest of the world, for a work in the English language by a scholar resident in the United States.

4) The Council should adopt the following guidelines when accepting funds in the future in order to establish prizes:

a) an endowment should consist of at least $15,000.00 or, in special cases, a guarantee of $500.00 a year for five years;

b) a specified field should be no narrower in terms of present or expected scholarly research and publication than is indicated by the Association's existing prizes;

c) after twelve years the Council should be able to alter the terms of the award with reference to new circumstances, so long as they remain substantially in keeping with the original purposes.

Mr. Fairbank then expressed the opinion of the Council as: it agrees on the importance of prizes as a function of the Association; it wants to see in time for the September Council meeting data on the exact terms and legal status of each prize now given by the Association; it would like to examine the procedure for granting prizes. Mr. Fairbank suggested that Mr. Ward and Mr. Winkler draft a statement about the nomination process for prizes and the preliminary screening of books. The Council voted to adopt the first and second recommendations of the Committee on Prizes and Awards.

The Council appointed Robert W. Shoemaker of North Central College as Local Arrangements Chairman for the 1968 Annual Meeting.

As the first item in the Executive Secretary's report, Mr. Ward asked the Council to appoint Alfred Kelly of Wayne State University as the third AHA member on the six-member AHA-OAH "watchdog" committee, the continuing form of the Joint Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Historians under the First Amendment. The membership of the new committee is composed of the president, the executive secretary, and a third member from each organization. On motion the Council so appointed Mr. Kelly. Mr. Ward said that, once the Organization of American Historians has appointed its members, the committee should establish criteria for consideration of future appeals.

Mr. Ward next reported concerning the Joint Committee on the Status of the National Archives. The Council had received the rebuttal of Robert Bahmer, Archivist of the United States, to the committee's short report. Mr. Ward proposed that the Council leave the matter to the joint committee unless its members wanted the Council to take action. Mr. Fairbank said Mr. Morton, the only member of the Joint Committee present at the Council meeting, would speak about the committee later. Mr. Ward said that the staff study, which was not presented

to the Council in December since it is a document of some 350 pages, will go to the printer's soon. Mr. Ward had told Mr. Boyd he thought the Council would want it understood that AHA sponsorship would not be indicated on the title page. Mr. Boyd agreed and said the circumstances of the AHA's involvement would be spelled out by him in the foreword. The Council directed the Executive Secretary to ascertain the exact wording of the foreword's reference to the relation of the Association to the project before such wording was made final.

The next item in Mr. Ward's report concerned the proposed assumption by the Association of the housing and fiscal management of CONPASS (Consortium of Professional Associations for the Study of Special Teacher Improvement Programs) beginning in the summer of 1968. Mr. Ward noted that the Executive Committee had agreed that the Association should take preliminary steps leading to this end.

Mr. Fairbank questioned whether it is a proper function of the Association to relate to the government with respect to history in the schools and said that, at this point, the Association's interest may have to seek a connection with government activity in that area. Mr. Zangrando agreed, noting that the government is presently the leading source of funds to improve history teaching in the schools. He said the Association needs to have a continuing role in shaping policy, rather than simply approaching government sources with special projects for funding on an *ad hoc* basis. Mr. Ward briefly reviewed the difficulties the Association now faces in seeking to initiate new projects in this area and stated that the connection with CONPASS would strengthen the Association's hand in pursuing helpful contacts. He mentioned that after an AHA delegate had completed a one-year appointment on the Board of the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE), NCATE invited the Association to appoint a delegate to serve two more years rather than rotating the board vacancy to another professional association. Mr. Ward said this indicated that NCATE valued the participation of the AHA delegate and that the Association could fruitfully involve itself in evaluation of teacher training from other directions as well. The Council voted to approve the assumption by the Association of the housing and fiscal management of CONPASS.

Mr. Ward concluded his report by commending the work of the Association staff, particularly Mr. Zangrando, which enabled the business of the Association to go forward in the weeks of Mr. Ward's absence following eye surgery.

Mr. Winkler reported to the Council on the Board of Editors' meeting held December 30. The ten-year index to the *Review* for 1955–1965 has been compiled and is about to be published for the first time by the AHA rather than the Macmillan Company. Mr. Winkler said there are outstanding questions as to the number of copies to order, the possibility of advertisements, and so forth, to be worked out by Mr. Ward, Mr. Kayser, and Mr. Douglas Harris, the Business Manager. He said that as editor he had tried to choose articles for inclusion in the *Review* that were of interest to the profession as a whole, not just small groups of specialists in narrow fields. The Board of Editors feels this trend should continue, though some feel it has not gone far enough, and others take a more conservative approach. Two ideas emerged from the meeting: to commission essays by historians to keep the profession informed concerning developments in such fields as

sociology; to begin easing absolute restrictions on the length of reviews. Mr. Cochran said he was not entirely in favor of letting reviews grow; five hundred words seemed adequate to him for an incisive critique. Mr. Winkler agreed, in general, but thought that in cases of very important works or groups of works, longer reviews would be appropriate. He mentioned the possibility of rereviewing books after perhaps ten years have passed.

Mr. White said he would like to raise a question bearing on bibliography, since the AHA is moving into this area. His concern was that the time is approaching to reach agreement among major learned societies about how references are to be indicated. He said considerations bearing on this would be simplicity and economy. Mr. Curtin mentioned a similar problem in standardizing references with respect to archiving of tapes. Mr. Winkler said he had discussed with Oscar Winther the value of publishing the lists of books not chosen to be reviewed. They agreed that such coverage could be improved, but the matter needs to be discussed further with editors of other historical journals. Mr. Winkler urged Mr. Webb to do so; Mr. Webb said he planned to do this.

Mr. Kayser moved that the Council appoint Mr. Webb as Managing Editor of the *Review* for three years, beginning June 1, on a four-fifths-time basis, with fringe benefits as described in letters from Mr. Ward to Mr. Webb dated February 2 and from Mr. Kayser to John Mundy dated February 16. Mr. Kayser made some general observations on the financial position of the Association; he then reviewed briefly the circumstances incident to a change in personnel in the office of Business Manager of the Association.

Mr. Fairbank then asked the body to return to the subject of the Joint Committee on the Status of the National Archives. Mr. Morton subsequently returned, and he was able to provide further information as part of the Council's consideration of the matter. Following discussion, the Council insisted that, if the study is published, it be published with the statement that, although it was prepared with a grant from the Association through the Council on Library Resources, it does not necessarily represent the opinion of the Council of the Association. It also suggested that the matter of royalties on the sale of the book be considered. It was moved that the Council notify the committee that it wishes clarification on the rebuttal's allegations of factual error in the report and that, as a matter of good procedure, the Council's approval of the short report be withheld and the whole matter be suspended pending receipt of such clarification. The Council adopted this motion. It was agreed that Mr. Bahmer's letter should receive a response thanking him for his views and noting that the Council is considering the contents of the letter.

Next, the Council was asked for support on the question of the future location of the British Museum Library. Members concluded that, while it may well be appropriate for individual scholars to give support to the continued location of the library in central London, it would not be appropriate for the Council, which represents the national United States historical body, to adopt a position concerning the British Museum Library.

Mr. Woodward asked the Council to adopt the following motion:

Resolved, That the Council request the Executive Secretary to frame and deliver a suitable petition to the appropriate congressional committee requesting revision of

Title 13, US Code, if necessary, so as to make available original census records for the census of 1900 and, if possible, 1910, and with provision that after sixty years have passed such original census records will henceforth be available to scholars.

He explained that the Bureau of the Census indicates that original census records are not available and will not be available for examination by scholars because the information was gathered with guarantees that it was confidential. He felt that two generations were enough to ensure privacy and that the law should be changed to ensure availability of original census data after sixty years. The motion carried.

The meeting adjourned at 3:30 p.m.

PAUL L. WARD, *Executive Secretary*

RECENT DEATHS

Newton C. Farr of Chicago, Illinois, died November 8, 1967.

David Edward Owen, Gurney Professor of History and Political Science at Harvard University, died suddenly at his home in Cambridge on February 13, 1968. His death removes from the historical profession not only a distinguished scholar in the field of modern British history, but one of its best-known and most popular figures.

He was born on December 2, 1898, in Owatonna, Minnesota. He graduated from Denison University in 1920 and received a Ph.D. from Yale seven years later. Before going to Harvard in 1937, he served at Yale as instructor and assistant professor. At Harvard he was elected to the Gurney Professorship in 1958; from 1957 to 1964 he held the position of master of John Winthrop House. At the time of his death, he was also a senior fellow of the Society of Fellows.

Owen was the author of *Imperialism and Nationalism in the Far East* (1929), *British Opium Policy in China and India* (1934), and *English Philanthropy, 1660–1960* (1964). The last book, the labor of ten years, is a major and unique contribution to British social history. In it the author accomplishes the difficult task of tracing the processes by which voluntary charitable effort characteristic of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries gave way, under the impact of the new problems presented by industrialization, to what we now know as the welfare state and by which voluntary effort is first intertwined with and then largely yields to state intervention. The book is a pioneering effort in the field, the first full account of a complex and difficult subject. All further research in this area will have to depend on it. At the time of his death Owen was working on a book dealing with the administration of London in the nineteenth century. He had completed a major portion of the work.

Owen was one of the great teachers of his generation. His course on British history in the nineteenth century was one of the most popular at Harvard, a continuously entertaining demonstration of learning and insight lightly carried and always spiced with humor. No one among the thousands who heard it, many more than once, will ever forget his famous slide lecture on the Great Exhibition

of 1851 in which the vagaries of Victorian taste and the aesthetic exuberance of the period received their full and hilarious due.

Many of Owen's students are teaching British history in universities and colleges throughout the country. They as well as his colleagues and his many friends will always remember the warmth of his personality, his quick wit, and his never-failing generosity.

Edgar L. Erickson, professor at the University of Illinois, died March 4.

Harvey Wish, professor at Case Western Reserve University since 1945, died March 7. His contributions to American intellectual history include *Society and Thought in America* and *The American Historian.*

Walter Millis, consultant for the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, died March 17, at the age of sixty-nine. He had served as an editorial writer for the New York *Herald Tribune* until 1954. His historical writings concern the relationship between civilian and military power; they include *The Martial Spirit* and *The Road to War.*

Robert Edward Drayer, assistant professor at West Chester State College (Pennsylvania), died March 29.

Joseph Straub of Kansas City, Missouri, and Archbishop Paul Hallinan of Atlanta, Georgia, died recently

Communications

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

In his review of my book, *Liberalism and Indian Politics, 1872–1922* (*AHR,* LXXIII [Oct. 1967], 201), Professor R. I. Crane makes much of certain alleged "errors of fact or interpretation." I should be glad of the opportunity to point out the falseness of each of Crane's allegations and the errors among his own "facts."

Crane challenges my view that in the mid-Victorian period the prejudices of intellectual and aristocratic liberals made for the exclusion from the Indian Civil Service of British candidates who had not enjoyed the advantage of an Oxford or Cambridge or public-school education, as well as of educated middle-class Indians. Crane writes: "The facts . . . are at variance with this view. A relatively modest proportion of the candidates came from either source ["the great public schools and universities"], with a more substantial portion coming from the special 'crammer institutions.' " Crane is wrong on several counts here.

First, Crane seems to assume that nonuniversity candidates could have attended either a public school or a " 'crammer institution,' " but not both. In fact boys who had been to a public school often, and to an increasing extent, underwent special preparation for the competitive examinations at a crammer institution.

Secondly, during the first decade of the competitive system (1855–1864) only 79 out of 458 successful candidates had not attended a university, and of them a further number had been to a public school. Of the university successes 181 were

Oxford or Cambridge men. From 1865 the chances of university candidates were affected by the reduction in the age limit from twenty-two to twenty-one years. Still, during the next five years (1866–1870) 132 out of 246 successful candidates had attended a university, while the public-school successes increased steadily (see my *Sir Charles Wood's Indian Policy, 1853–66* [1966], 93–107).

Thirdly, the intellectual and social prejudices of the framers and executors of the competitive system are beyond question. The framers intended to recruit men of social and intellectual distinction from Oxford and Cambridge (see my "The Abolition of Patronage in the Indian Civil Service and the Closure of Haileybury College," *Historical Journal,* VII [No. 2, 1964], 246–57). It became increasingly difficult, however, to attract such men (see *Wood's Indian Policy*). As the Oxford and Cambridge entrants to the ICS declined during the early 1860's Wood insisted upon enhancing the chances of "gentlemen" by altering the age limits and the marking system to the advantage of the public schools, which seemed to provide some assurance of scholarship and "character." During the next ten years the practice of cramming developed apace. It is paradoxical, for the crammer was often a public schoolboy, that there coexisted an intellectual prejudice against the crammer and an esteem for the scholarship of the public schoolboy. In consequence, in 1876 Salisbury reduced the maximum age of candidates to nineteen years and required all successful candidates to proceed to a university, which, in practice, generally meant Oxford or Cambridge (see *Liberalism,* 19–20). The fact is that "the Victorian preference for the gentleman made for the exclusion of many able middle class and Irish youths who had not enjoyed the benefit of residence at a public school, or at Oxford or Cambridge" (*ibid.,* 12), though as Wood once remarked, "nothing can keep out a very clever fellow, though he may not be up to the mark in manners and conversation" (*Wood's Indian Policy,* 101).

Fourthly, the same prejudices made for the exclusion of middle-class Indians from the ICS. The aristocratic prejudice of mid-Victorian Whigs led them to look away from the middle classes and toward their "aristocratic counterparts" in India, the "natural" or "traditional" leaders, as the class to which authority should be delegated. I have developed this point initially by reference to the policies of Wood and Argyll (*Liberalism,* 12–13). Crane acknowledges my argument that British policy "sought to accommodate to the 'natural leaders' of Indian society." But he seems not to realize the implications of that policy for British attitudes toward the exclusion of Indians from the ICS.

Fifthly, Crane misrepresents my case by making it seem that I regard social and intellectual prejudices as a sufficient explanation of the virtual exclusion of Indians from the ICS. He writes, as if the point were his own, that "More than a Victorian preference for gentlemen was at work." He entirely overlooks the first part of my explanation: that the function of the ICS was seen as to "guarantee . . . the integrity of English officials," to "safeguard the righteousness and efficiency of an imperial regime" (*ibid.,* 12–13). I have also traced the defense of the exclusion of Indians on grounds of imperial expediency and racial superiority (*ibid.,* 58–61, 76–77).

Crane further alleges that "at no place" do I "confront either the fact or its implications that the 'natural leaders' were increasingly the urban, educated, professional class who were so largely represented in the Congress." This is not true. I

have considered the point at a number of places and particularly in my concluding chapter, which inquires into the failure of the Liberals to transfer authority to Indians before they lost their grip on power in England (*ibid.*, Chap. VIII; see also 14, 98–99). There I criticize the assumption that Britain should delegate authority to the traditional leaders of Indian society, to which successive viceroys and statesmen clung even "when Britain's education and land policies, and the investment of British capital, had clearly upset the traditional order of Indian society and created a growing and politically conscious middle class" (*ibid.*, 122). The argument of one paragraph is that the aristocratic Liberals who were so prominent in the government of India were incapable of regarding the "westernized middle classes" as "the legitimate voice of a new nation." The argument of the next paragraph is that "the administration," the ICS, was a major obstacle. Yet Crane writes, as though it was his own point, that to explain the Whig-Liberal failure to come to terms with the nationalists we should "look less toward Liberal ideas and more at how India was run and by whom."

Crane contends, too, that I have erred in my account of the changes in the legislative councils pursuant to the Councils Act of 1892, in particular by referring to the introduction of the "elective principle." He believes that "a kind of representative system, but not an electoral system" (Crane's term) was introduced and that I have overlooked "the nugatory effects of the Regulations governing nominations that were issued to implement the act." I have dealt with the formation of the act in an article ("The Twilight of the Whigs and the Reform of the Indian Councils, 1886–1892," *Historical Journal,* X [No. 3, 1967], 400–14) and summarized the story in *Liberalism* (pp. 53–58). The facts in brief are these. When first introduced by the Tories in 1890 the councils bill provided for the enlargement of the legislative councils by increasing the number of nominated nonofficial Indian members. Under pressure from the Whigs the Tories accepted an amendment that was acknowledged in debate as removing any legal obstacle to the Viceroy's nominating nonofficials who had previously been chosen by an elective process. Pursuant to the act the Viceroy issued regulations that did give local boards power to recommend for nomination nonofficial Indians who had been selected by election. Elections were accordingly held, the successful candidates were nominated to the councils, and they were known as "elected members" (see the documents in *The Evolution of India and Pakistan, 1858–1947: Select Documents,* edited by C. H. Philips [1962], 67–68, 130–33).

Crane's remaining allegation concerns my "acceptance of the exploded myth that Lord Dufferin persuaded Hume to shape the Congress in a political direction." In fact I quoted the claim of the first Congress president, W. C. Bonnerjee, on the point (*Liberalism,* 50–51). Wedderburn also subscribed to the story in his biography of Hume. Whether fact or myth, the story was promulgated and accepted by nationalists and their sympathizers who knew Dufferin. This could scarcely have been the case if the story had been utterly inconsistent with contemporary views of Dufferin's attitude toward the nationalists. There is evidence that in 1885 and 1886 Hume looked upon Dufferin as "a consistent and earnest," "wise and prudent" friend (see B. L. Grover, "The Genesis of the Indian National Congress," *Bengal Past and Present,* LXXXII (Pt. II, 1963), 131–39, esp. 135–37). S. N. Banerjea wrote that Dufferin "encouraged the idea of an Indian National

Congress and sympathized with its aspirations at the outset" (*A Nation in Making* [1927], 92). In the light of the situation in 1885 Dufferin's encouragment of a political Congress seems not unlikely. The problem then was not so much nationalism as Ripon's legacy of Anglo-Indian hostility. In 1861, when British policy toward landlord-tenant relations on indigo plantations aroused Anglo-Indian opposition, Wood (later Lord Halifax) had introduced a Councils Act that balanced Indians against Anglo-Indians in the legislatures (see *Wood's Indian Policy*, 62). In January 1885 Dufferin wrote privately to Halifax that he wanted to support Ripon's "beneficent projects . . . for the good of the people" (A. C. Lyall, *Life of Dufferin* [1905], II, 75–76). The Bonnerjee story of Dufferin's conversation with Hume early in 1885 is not inconsistent with such intentions. From March 1886 Dufferin began to write of reforming the legislatures, which had been the major demand of the first Congress in the previous December. In 1888 he proposed a scheme of reforms and the introduction of the elective principle.

Crane's rejection of Bonnerjee's story as an "exploded myth" presumably rests upon three recent articles, which show that Dufferin made no claim to have influenced the formation of the Congress and, further, that he was severely critical of the Congress (Grover, "Indian National Congress"; Mrs. K. Bishui, "Lord Dufferin and the Indian National Congress," *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, IV [No. 2, 1964–65], 73–79; A. Parel, "Hume, Dufferin and the Origins of the Indian National Congress," *Journal of Indian History*, XLII [Pt. 3, 1964], 707–25). I have given prominence to Dufferin's attacks upon the Congress, but these began after Hume had started what Dufferin regarded as inflammatory pamphleteering (*Liberalism*, 55–56). Bishui and Grover make much of the skeptical tenor of Dufferin's comments on the plan for a political Congress in a letter to the governor of Bombay in May 1885. But Dufferin's comments are not surprising. For here Dufferin was advising the governor against supporting the Congress overtly by accepting Hume's proposed invitation to be chairman of its first meeting. Dufferin's failure to write favorably of Hume's initial proposal for a Congress would not be out of character. It would not be the only time that he spoke with two voices. Cross later complained of receiving "to my horror . . . a despatch [from Dufferin] . . . containing an elaborate scheme of reforms . . . although in his speech . . . [that same month] he pointed out the danger of assenting to the views of the so-called 'National Congress' " (Viscount Cross, *A Political History* [1903], 121). The Bonnerjee-Wedderburn testimony and its long acceptance remain difficult to explain away. The results of recent research into the origins of the Congress are less explosive than Crane would have us believe. While all facts harden when they are not misrepresented, all are not equally hard.

School of Oriental and African Studies,
University of London
R. J. Moore

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

May I thank you for the opportunity to reply to the letter of rejoinder from Professor R. J. Moore concerning my review of his book, *Liberalism and Indian*

Politics, 1872–1922 (1966). As per your request, I shall keep my reply as brief as possible.

Two general comments to begin: the request that I review *Liberalism and Indian Politics* urged me to use no more than four hundred words. In my effort to stay close to the assigned limit, I may have stated some of my opinions rather baldly. The nuances and characteristic scholarly qualifications of certain very complicated issues could not be explored adequately in so brief a review.

I was asked, moreover, to review *Liberalism and Indian Politics,* and *not* any other publications by Professor Moore. In his letter of rejoinder, Professor Moore cites materials from two of his other publications. I was not asked or encouraged to review such publications, and I do not quite see how disagreement over the book I did review can appropriately be resolved through reference to publications not examined in my review.

In the rejoinder, Professor Moore asserts that I am in the wrong on the matter of the effects of the bias against middle-class candidates for the ICS examinations. My point, in the review, was that "English middle-class youths were entering the ICS, but middle-class Indian youths were not."

To contradict my statement, Professor Moore cites figures, in his letter of rejoinder, for the years 1855–1870, concerning proportions of university men among ICS candidates. It seems to me, however, unwise to use data for years *prior* to 1870 in support of an argument advanced in a book devoted to the period 1872–1922. One could safely extrapolate figures forward from the 1860's only if one were confident that the situation had remained virtually unchanged. There is evidence from the archives to suggest that the situation did not remain unchanged after 1870.

Dr. Bradford Spangenberg has devoted much of one chapter of his splendidly documented doctoral dissertation, "Status and Policy: The Character of the Covenanted Civil Service of India and Its Ramifications for British Administration and Policy in the Late Nineteenth Century" (1966), to a careful study of all relevant archival materials bearing on recruitment to the ICS. His evidence goes to show that at least by 1876 "the number of university students or graduates participating in the examinations had dwindled to a minority among the candidates" (p. iii). Dr. Spangenberg gives figures taken from official records showing that in 1874 some 55 per cent of the successful candidates had no university degree or affiliation. He quotes, furthermore, from C. L. Tupper to the Secretary to Government of Punjab, on July 24, 1875 (in *Papers Relating to the Selection and Training of Candidates for the Indian Civil Service* [1876]), in a widespread conclusion that the system of "crammers" tended to "'defeat the principles upon which [the] system [of competition] was originally framed,' that is, that candidates should be graduates or preparing for graduation from the universities" (p. 34). Dr. Spangenberg also quotes from *The Oxford Magazine* (X [Mar. 23, 1892], 271) to the effect that the crammers had helped "socially unfit" persons to pass the ICS examinations.

Dr. Benjamin Jowett, master of Balliol, writing to Lord Ripon late in 1882, remarked that "the best boys from the public schools have very rarely competed for the ICS. . . ." Again, in an article in *The Edinburgh Review* (CXXXIX [Apr. 1874], 336), it was argued that youths of undistinguished social origins were lowering the quality of the ICS. Lord George Hamilton, writing to Lord Curzon

in 1899, said of members of the ICS, "No doubt he [the civilian] is at times a prig, and, *being largely recruited from the middle classes,* he lacks at times the manners and consideration that the hereditary exercise of influence so often gives . . . [italics mine]." On May 7, 1876, Sir Fitzjames Stephen wrote to Lord Lytton: "You must never forget that 19 civilians out of 20 are the most commonplace and the least dignified of 2nd and 3rd class Englishmen." Again, Lord George Hamilton said in a letter to Curzon on July 27, 1900, that beginning about 1875 "we tapped a very bad stratum of the social world" among ICS recruits. Space will not permit continuation of these representative quotations. All of the archival evidence so carefully used by Spangenberg goes to show that middle-class Englishmen did enter the ICS, and not in insignificant numbers. This caused me to question the *significance* of the bias against such people in explaining why only a small handful of Indians got in. Professor Moore did indicate in his book that other factors played a role—though I could not find space to refer to this in so short a review—but it seemed to me that undue emphasis was placed on the anti-middle-class bias as an explanatory mechanism.

Professor Moore also contradicts my comments concerning the Councils Act of 1892. In my review I tried to suggest, in a few words, that the act meant "elections" in a very special and limited sense. Let me cite but one example of what I had in mind.

In the North-West Provinces and Oudh, the District and Municipal Boards were reconstituted in 1884 as a result of Lord Ripon's initiative. The new-style Local and District Boards had a total of 1,300 elected and 300 appointed members. An electorate of 13,000 was created, among a rural population of over 40,000,000. On the Municipal Boards 1,200 members were elected and 200 were appointed by the government. The total municipal electorate was 51,151 persons out of an urban population of some 3,000,000. This entire arrangement is closely documented and analyzed by John L. Hill, "Congress and Representative Institutions in the United Provinces, 1886–1901" (doctoral dissertation, Duke University, 1966). When the Councils Act of 1892 came into effect the crucial issue arose of how the members of the council were to be chosen. In his fourth and fifth chapters Dr. Hill has utilized extensive archival sources to explain the process by which regulations covering membership in the Legislative Council of the North-West Provinces and Oudh was settled. Out of a total of fifteen seats, seven were to be filled by nominated officials, while "selected" Municipal Boards were to choose two members and "selected" District Boards were to choose two. The Senate of Allahabad University was to nominate one member, while the Upper India Chamber of Commerce, a European body, was to nominate a member. The British Indian Association of Oudh was to nominate one of its members.

For these purposes the District Boards were divided into two groups: "Each District Board was to elect one representative, who would meet with the representatives of the other [District] boards in his group and nominate one member to be appointed to the [North-West Provinces and Oudh] Legislative Council" (*ibid.*, 211). One group comprised twenty-four delegates from twenty-four District Boards, while the other group consisted of delegates, one each, from twenty-one District Boards. These were the men who formed the second-stage, indirect "electorate" to nominate two members to the council.

Ten Municipal Boards were designated, also in two groups, to send their representatives, one from each Municipal Board, to nominate two members of the council. Five Municipal Boards sent a delegate each to the Lucknow group, while the other five boards sent their five delegates to the Allahabad group. Each group of five electors nominated one among them to fill a council seat.

It does not seem to me that this process of two-stage "election" via a minute handful of electors can appropriately be described as election in the normal sense of the word. This is why my review said that this was "a kind of representative system, but not an electoral system." If space permitted, I could list similar forms of nomination from other provinces, or point out that the Punjab did not even use the 1892 act, but rather the 1861 act, in forming their council.

On the matter of Lord Dufferin's apparent role in influencing A. O. Hume and the origins of the Congress, Professor Moore surmises that my opinions rest upon three recent articles that he mentions in his letter of rejoinder. He then discusses the three articles that he thinks formed the basis for my views and states that the result of these studies is "less explosive" than I had indicated.

I do not think this is the place to evaluate the articles mentioned by Professor Moore. Enough to comment that such articles, and other studies he does not mention, seem to me at the very least to call into serious question the accuracy of the Bonnerjee-Wedderburn accounts. Despite Professor Moore's letter, I remain quite unconvinced on the point.

Space limitations do not allow me to continue this reply vis-à-vis other statements advanced in Professor Moore's letter. I hope this interchange may prove fruitful in that other practitioners in the field of modern Indian history may be challenged to give serious attention to the substantive issues. In this way historical scholarship can be advanced to our mutual academic benefit.

Duke University ROBERT I. CRANE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In a recent issue (*AHR,* LXXIII [Feb. 1968], 840) Professor John H. Wuorinen reviewed my book *Communism in Finland,* and in view of the nature of his criticism I feel obliged to clarify a number of points.

Professor Wuorinen argues that the answers that I give to the questions raised in my book are incomplete due to my failure to take note of four factors and circumstances.

First, why do Finnish Communists campaign under the façade of the Finnish People's Democratic League (SKDL)? The answer (although it could have been spelled out in more detail) is to be found on pages 206–207: without the façade voters would be driven away from the party.

Second, it is suggested that I fail to take into account the change in circumstances under which the Communist party operated in the pre- and post-1944 periods. But one does not have to read very far in my book to discover that in the prewar period the party was illegal (or semilegal) and in the postwar period legal. Surely one should not have to say much more in order to inform one's readers that circumstances did change and were important in the fortunes of the

party. Professor Wuorinen's assertion, furthermore, that in the post-1944 period anti-Communist discussion and debate have been restricted will surprise those of us who think of Finland as a democracy. A recent American survey regarding freedom of the press in the United States and twenty-five European countries is revealing in this respect. Finland with a score of +3.05 ranked third, behind the Netherlands and Switzerland, on a scale ranging from absolute freedom (+4) to absolute control (−4).

Third, it would seem that I fail to see the divisive effects of the legacy of the Civil War, and, what is more curious, one is led to the conclusion that I fail to see the conflict of 1918 as a civil war. But the impact of the Civil War is clearly noted on pages 88–89 of my study (especially note 31), and Chapter III is even entitled "Civil War." I am particularly puzzled by Professor Wuorinen's point about the Civil War, since in my review of his latest book (*Slavic Review,* XXV [Mar. 1966], 161–62) I argue that *he* fails to see the events of 1918 as a civil war.

Fourth, Professor Wuorinen correctly notes that I have not wrestled with the fact that the Communist party does not draw much support from the intellectuals in Finland. The social composition of the party is, however, dealt with at some length in an article that I have written for a forthcoming volume of *Sowjetsystem und demokratische Gesellschaft. Eine vergleichende Enzyklopaedie.*

In sum, the lukewarm reception of my book by Professor Wuorinen revolves around interpretation rather than facts. Perhaps our differences were pinpointed thirty-seven years ago by Carl Becker in his presidential address to the American Historical Association: "It should be a relief to us to renounce omniscience, to recognize that every generation, our own included, will, must inevitably, understand the past and anticipate the future in the light of its own restricted experience, must inevitably play on the dead whatever tricks it finds necessary for its own peace of mind. The appropriate trick for any age is not a malicious invention designed to take anyone in, but an unconscious and necessary effort on the part of 'society' to understand what it is doing in the light of what it has done and what it hopes to do."

Syracuse University JOHN H. HODGSON

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Hodgson's comments on my review of his book give me a welcome opportunity to point out the following. The explanation of the founding of the SKDL (pp. 206–207 of the book) deals, it seems to me, primarily with the role of several dissident Socialists and not with the part played by the Communists. The chances are that only top-level Communists know the real plans and purposes of the party in the fall of 1944, and an outside researcher, no matter how conscientious, cannot therefore be expected to discover the whole story. Secondly, Professor Hodgson is quite right in pointing out that Finland's press is free, and I should have been able to make it clear that my statement referred to the voluntary, self-imposed restraint illustrated since 1944 by the press in discussing Communism and its purposes in Finland, and especially in commenting on the nature of the Communist order of things in the USSR. Thirdly, the "Red vs. White" approach to the Civil War in 1918 does seem to obscure the fact that the war was precipitated

by a revolt, several weeks after the Soviet government had recognized Finland's independence, against the legal government headed by Svinhufvud. To bring out this basic point therefore helps to illuminate where illumination is needed.

Finally, both in my *A History of Finland* (1965) and *Scandinavia* (1965) I specifically characterize the 1918 war as a civil war. The former states (p. 216) that "The obstacles to the nation's freedom were removed only after a war, at once a civil war and a war of independence, had been fought." The latter has a paragraph reference to the war (pp. 38–39) that speaks of it as "a struggle for independence as well as a civil conflict. . . ."

Columbia University JOHN H. WUORINEN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Jesse D. Clarkson's review of my *Danilevsky: A Russian Totalitarian Philosopher* (*AHR,* LXXIII [Feb. 1968], 861) makes it look as though a device by which innovation and nonconformity are frequently and subtly stifled in other areas of contemporary American social and cultural life is also in use in the historical profession. Let me explain.

The study of history may be approached in various ways. Among these, two are relevant here: the descriptive and the analytical. History of the former kind seems to be modeled on those lengthy passages in the Bible where we are given lists of who begat whom on the premise that everything else was taken care of by an inscrutable Providence. Professor Clarkson offers an unusually clear example of this style of historical thought when he disparages my omitting to mention such (to me) inanities as the "vital Czech origin" of Russian Pan-Slavism and the fact that Iury Krizhanich's seventeenth-century Pan-Slav manuscript was first published about ten years before Danilevsky's *Russia and Europe* (though, Professor Clarkson notes, "presumably Danilevsky was unaware of it"). While this chronicle method of history has been subject to doubts at least since the time of Edward Gibbon and while Professor Clarkson's version of it is apparently now a purist one, it continues to have great vitality in our time, especially in the Russia branch of the American historical profession.

Nevertheless mine is another, an analytical approach to history. A historian may be interested in examining the structure and dynamics of the historical process itself at any given time. He may look, for instance, into such things as the nature and multiple origins (social, cultural, psychological, accidental) of the Russian intelligentsia. In the course of such an inquiry he may legitimately find himself grappling with the most fundamental problems of social change; the nature of Russians' responses to Westernization and modernization; the degree to which such responses were informed by native and by foreign, by subjective and by objective factors. At the level of method he may legitimately be drawn into consideration of the way the work of social scientists can be used by the historian. At the philosophical level (for history may be regarded as a humanity), he may even ponder questions about the structure of human behavior in general. My work on Danilevsky was an effort in this kind of analytical history. I was therefore not worried—as Professor Clarkson is—about the feasibility of intensive study of a very ordinary and relatively uninfluential intellectual. The study of Danilevsky (it was I who questioned the bases of his hitherto not inconsiderable

reputation as a philosopher of history and Pan-Slav theorist) was worthwhile to me because it provided a fairly good chance, partly because he was ordinary, to scrutinize in a concrete way basic social and cultural processes in modernizing Russia, especially in regard to such matters as leftist romantic radicalism, intellectual totalitarianism, the intelligentsia, the meeting of changing Western science and changing Russian Orthodoxy. I did not fail to point up the innovational nature of my procedure. I called the study several times a biographical history and said that it represented a somewhat new kind of historical research. Certainly I recognize that history has long been advancing beyond the chronicle method; I have acknowledged the contributions to me of others. But still I think my analytical thrust and my biographical focus were sufficiently novel to have been so designated.

When a scholar tries something new, it would seem only fair that his effort be considered on criteria appropriate to it or that there be discussion of the criteria themselves. Professor Clarkson, however, has dismissed my work out of hand because I did not do the sort of history he does. He ridicules me for my "tenacity." He dismisses my claim to have done something different by accusing me of having "steeped" myself "in pseudoscientific jargon." He suggests I wrote the book because of some irrational devotion to the late Mikhail Karpovich, whose suggestion that I study Danilevsky is mentioned in the preface. He illustrates his ridicule chiefly by holding up my own frank statements about Danilevsky's lack of great influence and mediocre intellectual stature and then pointing to my supposedly idiotic detailed analytical work on him. All in all he dogmatically imposes on my book—and finds it sadly wanting—his notion of what historical study is: the "begat" theory, and if the subject did not beget, he cannot be significant, especially in the "history" of something important like Russian totalitarianism, and should not be studied, at least not hard.

I call attention in some detail to what has happened here both for my own sake and because I am reasonably sure that similar things can happen to other people trying new approaches. At best in any large institution such as the historical profession, the conventionalists will greatly outnumber the innovators. Unless the former are, as seems unlikely, all tolerant, open-minded, and bright, there is always the danger that innovation will get summarily dismissed and even greeted with ridicule. We all know how easy it is to gain assent by resonating with the other members of our in-group. But it is childish behavior, intolerable in a community of scholars. The damage done to individuals, personally and professionally, reeks of injustice. The most serious consequence is the loss to innovation itself. With or without scorn, the would-be innovator can go on working on the new, but, in default of responsible criticism and scholarly exchange, how can his general line of innovation ever undergo the modifications needed to turn it into a real contribution?

I am sure you will agree that the American Historical Association should not be a forum of stupidity and bigotry. Professor Clarkson acts, however, as though it were. And his apparently instinctive, almost visceral sense that one reviews books by primitive appeals to his fellows' traditionalist biases leaves one wondering about that sense's institutional setting.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology ROBERT E. MACMASTER

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

Clarkson's review of MacMaster's *Danilevsky* is the most shameful I have ever seen. In his flight from the book Clarkson is more insensitive, more complacent, more tightly swaddled in his self-righteous mantle of ignorance than was Musmanno, when he so cleverly unmasked Arendt as a Nazi sympathizer. The *Times,* of course, *never* selects suitable reviewers, but it is difficult to understand how you made such an unlikely choice. Malia, Pulzer, Petrovich—surely you could have found someone not afraid to concede that men's thoughts are a part of history, that totalitarianism is perhaps not yet fully understood.

Dalhousie University Richard Bonine

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

It is regrettable that Dr. MacMaster's letter, like that of his loyal friend Bonine, seems to have little or no relevance to my review, though his letter may perhaps serve as the review he wishes you had printed. If MacMaster had accomplished any of the things he had in mind by way of analysis, I should have been very glad to praise him for his achievement; unfortunately, I found it possible to admire only his stated aims, while regretting their nonfulfillment. If some passages in my review seemed to MacMaster like ridicule, he should bethink himself that they are passages quoted from his book. Perhaps, too, MacMaster was more influenced than he was aware by certain "lengthy passages in the Bible"; he has simply disguised the "begats" under more sterile terms such as "influences," "heritage," "tradition," and so forth, well larded with "charismatic," "kenotic," "scientistic," and the like. It is quite obvious that his literary style is not up to the standard of the King James Version.

Permit me to repeat some of my earlier queries:

If it is important to MacMaster to note that Danilevsky had some peripheral contacts with Pan-Slavism, why is it to him inane to inquire into the bases of Pan-Slavism itself? Does he really understand Pan-Slavism, which he seems to think was merely "secularized" Slavophilism?

My mention of Krizhanich was not in connection with the "Pan-Slav" cast of his thinking, but in connection with MacMaster's confused, not to say naïve, discussion of totalitarianism. Would not consideration of Krizhanich's thought have given MacMaster a better perspective and spared him some of his frantic struggles to determine which ideology "begat" which?

I should still be interested to know why MacMaster says that Danilevsky "was a forerunner of the Bolsheviks . . . not of the Nazis" (p. 299). Is it because "Some totalitarian philosophers (the 'Russian type') have a . . . rationalistic . . . temper, others (the 'Western type') are . . . irrationalistic," and that "Danilevsky's philosophy . . . was of the Russian type" (p. 300), although "Danilevsky's philosophy was not authentically rationalistic . . ." (p. 251), occasionally even meriting the adjective "schizoid" (p. 283)?

Verily, MacMaster has labored, amidst a welter of ill-digested jargon, but has suffered the fate that the ancients said may befall even a mountain.

Brooklyn College Jesse D. Clarkson

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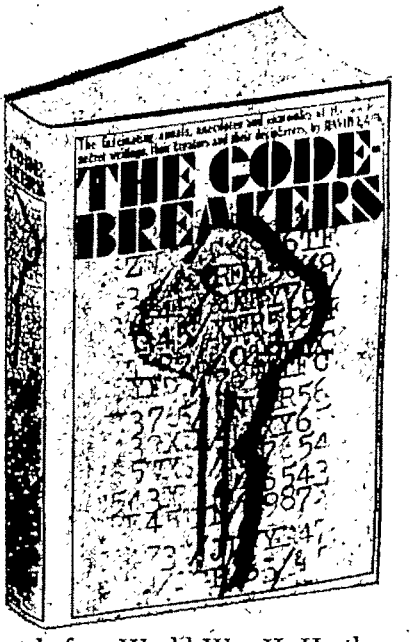
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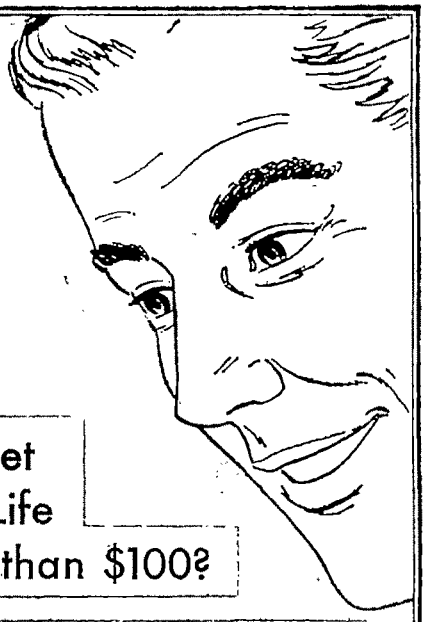
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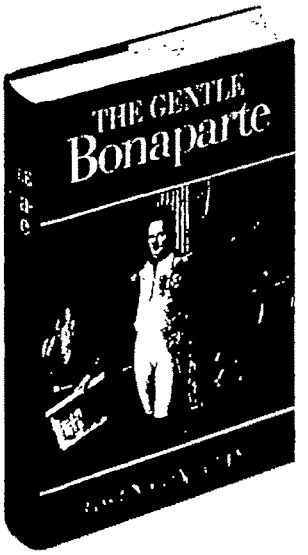


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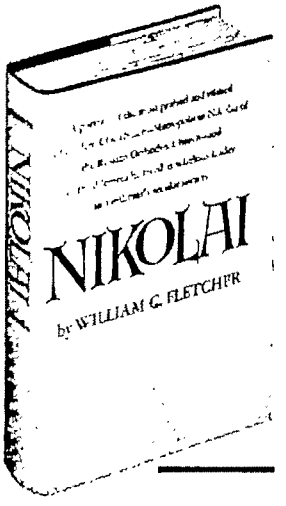


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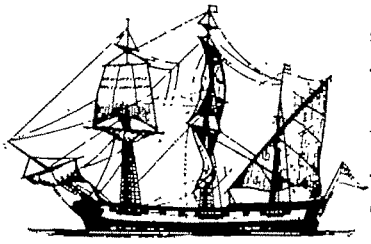
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